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*S. G. Heiskell*



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# ANDREW JACKSON

AND

## EARLY TENNESSEE HISTORY

ILLUSTRATED

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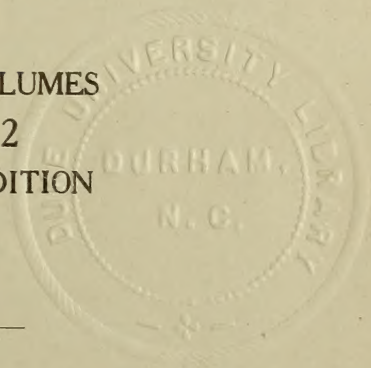
BY S. G. HEISKELL,  
A TENNESSEAN,  
KNOXVILLE, TENNESSEE

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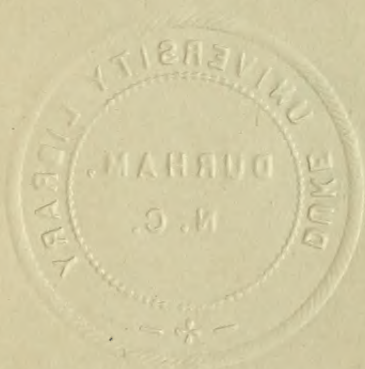
IN TWO VOLUMES  
Vol. 2  
SECOND EDITION

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## PREFACE TO VOLUME II.

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By an error Chapters 36 and 37 on Hugh Lawson White were printed in the first volume, but were intended to precede Chapters 38, 39 and 40, and to begin the second volume, where the reader could have everything in reference to Judge White before him altogether.

The manuscript for these five chapters was submitted to Major T. S. Webb, of the Knoxville Bar, whose wife was a great-niece of Judge White, and also to Judge Hugh Lawson McClung, of Knoxville, formerly Chancellor of the Knoxville Chancery Division, and a great-nephew of White.

When these five chapters were written I felt that no man ever lived in America, the revival of whose memory would be worth more to the American people at this time than the revival of the memory of this Tennessee Cato, with his simple virtues, his immaculate honor and his patriotism which was as fervid as Washington's and as fixed as the everlasting hills. Since writing those chapters I have been more impressed in studying existing conditions in the United States and comparing them with Judge White's character. Every fundamental principle that enters into the make-up of a great and good man was his, and even hostile scrutiny was never able to find a weak joint in the armor of a long and often severely tried life. At this writing the outlook over the American people is decidedly unpleasant, not to say alarming, even revolting. Never before in our history have our people seemed so devoid of friendly fellowship for each other. We boast that we entered the European War "to make the world safe for Democracy" and our contributions of men, money and war supplies for that stupendous contest, entitle us to the highest honors in the victory. But when it was over and peace came, we proceeded and are trying now each to build a fortune at the expense of every one else; each

laboring to get richer and richer even though everyone else grows poorer and poorer; each desperately attempting to empty the money contents of his neighbor's pocket into his own. The Golden Rule and all semblance of it seems to be banished from the land.

How marvelously different from this degeneracy of mind, heart and pocketbook, is the clear, pure splendor of Judge White's life and character! How perfectly would his principles apply to existing conditions in solving our problems and lifting us from the mire we are now in! How quickly and thoroughly would his perfect sense of justice eliminate that domination of low and unscrupulous selfishness which abound! What a moral lighthouse would shine and how glorious would be its radiance, if the story of his life were told over this broad land! What a political illumination would take place if every politician would follow in his footsteps!

It is for reasons like these I have thought that, as far as could be done in the space allotted him in these volumes, the record of Hugh Lawson White's life should be set out to the end that that record might contribute to the healing of the nation.

May 22, 1920.

S. G. HEISKELL.

## CHAPTER 1.

Hugh Lawson White—Declares Himself Politically  
Independent—Speeches—Comparison with  
Theodore Roosevelt—Letter to Lyman  
C. Draper—Nancy Scott,  
His Biographer.

## DECLARES HIMSELF INDEPENDENT.

Judge White's differences with Andrew Jackson originated in Jackson's selection of Martin Van Buren to be his successor in the presidency. White was unalterably opposed to Van Buren, and thereby hangs a long historical tale. Jackson's personal friends and followers charged that White was jealous of Van Buren and attributed the split with Jackson to unworthy motives. The modern student feels that the charge of jealousy might be conceded, and still there be nothing to the discredit of White. White and Jackson had been lifelong friends and as intimate probably as two public men ever were, and that, too, notwithstanding the radical differences in the mental, moral and physical make-up of the two. In all of Jackson's troubles White had been his loyal supporter. White was the intellectual peer of Van Buren, and, in point of character, was Van Buren's superior. Van Buren was a typical New York politician. White had old-fashioned ideas about consistency, honor, duty, conscience, and life generally, and these old-fashioned views were the ideals of life.

The student naturally asks, "Why shouldn't White expect to be the successor of Jackson?" They were from the same State and State pride might suggest that Tennessee have two Presidents, one following the other. If White wanted to succeed Jackson, as was charged, he had ground to feel aggrieved that his lifelong friend, to whom he had been so loyal, was adverse.

The breach between the two by no means widened all at once. It was a matter of the growth of several years, and it was not until April 6, 1834, that White declared his political independence,



and, curiously enough, admitted that independence in politics usually brings diminished power and influence.

This declaration by White came about through a letter written by Condé Raguet, who addressed a letter to him on March 28, 1834, cautiously insinuating that he should be a candidate for President. In the postscript of Raguet's letter appeared this sentence: "There are two parties here, one of which would do anything to put General Jackson down, another anything to sustain him. But there is a third party, and a very large one, who care not a straw about who is President, but who anxiously desire to see some measure of relief in the country, let it operate against or in favor of whom it may." To this letter Judge White made reply on April 6, 1834, in the following letter:

WHITE TO CONDÉ RAGUET.

"Dear Sir:—Your letter dated 29th ult., and the project which accompanied it, reached me in due course of the mail. Other duties have prevented my answer at an earlier day. I feel gratified that my course has been such as to be approved by one whom I think so well qualified to form correct opinions in everything which related to the fundamental principles of our government.

"Nothing could give me more pleasure than to be the instrument of doing something which would be of lasting benefit to the people whose interests are liable to be affected by my public conduct. But I feel too little confidence in my own abilities, and am sure that my hold upon public opinion is too slender to permit the hope that this can ever be effected by venturing to become a leader. I do not carry on political or friendly correspondence with any man living. I have a cordial dislike for everything like contrivance, by which to put or keep any man or set of men in power. Thus you will see my course is too individual for me to be useful on a large scale. My whole aim and ambition is to fix in my own mind the political principles which in my own opinion best accord with the Constitution, and then to give them such practical effect as will be productive of the most good."

IN THE U. S. SENATE.

Judge White entered the United States Senate at the age of fifty-two. He was a democrat of the Jeffersonian school, and consistently adhered to its faith to the day of his death. Down to the time when he differed with Jackson on Van Buren as the presidential successor, he supported Jackson throughout. He was against the United States Bank, against internal improve-

ment by the general government, in favor of the removal of the Indians west of the Mississippi. On internal improvements, his position was that the building of roads and canals through the States was the function of the States and not of the general government. His speeches against the U. S. Bank were among the ablest delivered on that side, and it is only just to him to say that in financial and Indian matters, General Jackson followed the lead of the Tennessee Senator.

#### WHITE'S KNOXVILLE SPEECH.

Judge White made a speech in Knoxville in August, 1836, at a public dinner, which sets forth fully his political principles and reasons for his public actions. We reproduce this speech in full.

The sentiment introducing him was this:

"Our distinguished guest and neighbor, the Hon. Hugh Lawson White:—His public career has been no less conspicuous for its consistency, independence and usefulness, than his private life for its propriety, purity, and uprightness. Malevolence and persecution cannot prostrate him. Tennessee will sustain him firmly and fearlessly against the slanders of malice and the magic of the influential name.

Judge White said:

"Gentlemen: The sentiment just given, and the feelings with which it has been received, encourage me to do something more than make my acknowledgments for your undeviating support, and continued confidence.

"After an absence of almost nine months, seven of which were devoted to my duties in Congress, upon my return home, to find my neighbors, the people of my own country, ready to greet me as a friend, and to declare in the face of the world, that my character as a private citizen does not deserve reproach, and that my conduct as a public man meets their approbation, is a source of the highest gratification. More especially when I reflect how incessantly I have been assailed, and with how much industry the vilest slanders have been circulated, under the sanction of names, some of which I know are, and long have been, very dear to you as well as to the great majority of my fellow-citizens.

"For eleven years I have, in part, represented Tennessee in the Senate of the United States. Until the two last, my services, humble as they were, appeared to be acceptable to the great body of the people. Any complaints against me were made, comparatively, by a few, and they were of those decidedly opposed to the present Chief Magistrate and his administration.

"Now the matter has changed, and I have been violently assailed by some of those with whom I have formerly acted, and several of those who were my bitter opponents on account of my attachment to the Chief Magistrate, have become his zealous friends, while they still continue their hostility to me. Having resided in the State from my boyhood, and having, from the time I attained the year of discretion, been busy among the people in some capacity or other, I believe a large and overwhelming majority of our fellow-citizens were decidedly Jeffersonian Republicans, and belonging to that school of politicians myself, when honored with a seat in the Senate, I flattered myself that upon all important questions, when I honestly carried out, in practice, my own political opinions, I would also faithfully represent the opinions of my constituents. I have neither solicited nor desired the berth, and could not have been induced to accept it, if a sacrifice of any of my principles had been required. At one period, domestic afflictions visited me in such rapid succession, and with such weight, that I had made up my mind to withdraw, and let my place be supplied by some one whose mind would not be doomed to brood so much over his own misfortunes; but abandoned the idea at the earnest solicitation of some, whom I, childishly, then thought my friends, and who are now under the hypocritical pretense of continued friendship, my most deadly enemies.

"In the great struggle to bring the present Chief Magistrate into office, it became necessary that his friends should proclaim and enforce, by all the arguments they could advance, their political principles; and what were they?

"1st. All useless expenditures of the public moneys should be discontinued.

"2nd. All offices should be filled by men who were honest, capable, faithful to the Constitution, and of business habits.

"3rd. That neither Congress nor any department of the federal government had any power except that which was expressly granted by the Constitution, or was necessary and proper to carry into effect some power which was expressly granted.

"4th. That the Executive power should be so limited and regulated by law, that neither the President nor any officer appointed by, or dependent upon him, could use his influence or power to control or guide public opinion in elections.

"5th. That the Constitution should be so amended as to secure to the people the right of choosing the Chief Magistrate themselves. That the same person should not be elected for a second term, and that offices should not be filled with members of Congress.

"6th. That all surplus moneys which might accumulate in the treasury, beyond the reasonable wants of the federal government, should be divided among the States by some fair ratio, to the end that the people, to whom it rightfully belonged, might have the benefit of it for internal improvements, education, etc.



"7th. That all caucuses or combinations of men, whose object it was to create or control public opinion in the election of President and Vice-President, should be discountenanced and put down.

"These were the great and leading principles for which we, in common with others, contended. The public voice sanctioned them by the election of the Chief Magistrate in 1828. In his inaugural address in 1829, and in his subsequent addresses, he avowed and proclaimed several of them.

"They are the very doctrines on which I have practiced from that day to this, so far as my humble capacity enabled me; and I now challenge my persecutors to put their fingers on the cases in which I have departed from them.

"How then has it happened, that for the last eighteen months, or two years, my humble name has, in a certain set of newspapers, and among a certain clan of politicians, been constantly coupled with some degrading charge?

"Upon this subject, I can, perhaps, give you some facts not heretofore generally known, and this I shall do, not for the purpose of injuring any one, but for the sake of making a just defense of myself.

"The General Assembly of this State sat in Nashville in the fall of 1833. At the commencement of its session, as is my habit, I was there. While there the news reached us that the deposits of the public moneys had been removed by the order of the President, from the bank of the United States. I immediately foresaw that this would produce a violent effort in Congress to put down the Administration. I ascertained that there was a wish among the members, before the session closed, to present my humble name to the people of the United States, as a suitable person to succeed the present Chief Magistrate. To every member with whom I conversed, and to every person who addressed me on the subject, I used all the arguments in my power to prevent them from doing so; and with some that I could take most liberty with, when coming away, left it in charge, that should a nomination be attempted in my absence, to have it prevented.

"At the close of the session one of those gentlemen wrote me, that he was censured as unfriendly for not concurring in the plan of a nomination. I immediately answered his letter, assuring him he had not only acted in conformity with my wishes, but in accordance with my request, and that so sure was I that such a nomination would have weakened the President in Congress, that, if it had been made, I would have held myself bound to withhold my assent.

"In the spring of 1834, I received communications from different quarters upon the same subject, proposing that if it met my approbation, there would be meetings of the people to nominate me. To this course I gave no encouragement. During that year the President visited Tennessee, our convention was in session,

and after their rise, I was informed that some of the members had wished to nominate me, but had abandoned the attempt after they had ascertained it would incur his displeasure. On his journey to Washington, he conversed freely with some of my friends, and remonstrated against any attempt to nominate me as President, said that there must be a national convention, that Mr. Van Buren ought to be nominated as President, I, as Vice President, and when his eight years were expired, I was young enough then to be taken up as President. All this was communicated to me, and the only answer that I could make was that either office was beyond my merits, but that I could not enter into any arrangement which would operate as a lure to induce any person to vote for myself, or, for any other person contrary to his judgment. Thus the matter stood when the session of Congress commenced in December 1834. During that winter many county meetings were held, at which my name was brought before the public, as well as by the Legislature of Alabama.

"Under a full belief that a system was being put in operation, which would destroy the freedom of election, which was intended to transfer all federal power into certain hands, who, by the like process, would transfer it into the hands of others at their pleasure, and that the effect of this would be to give the operations of the government such a direction as would favor the interests of one class of citizens, at an entire sacrifice of the interests of all others, I consented that my political friends might use my name, or not, as they believed would most promote the public interest.

"In this I might have erred; but if I did it was an honest error.

"After giving this consent, and before the Baltimore Convention, I was repeatedly forewarned what I might expect if my name was not withdrawn. These threats carried no terrors to me. Whatever of character I have was given to me by my country, and whenever it becomes necessary to risk the whole of it in defense of those principles which I think essential to the preservation of liberty, I willingly stake it all. I feel that I was not intended to be the slave of any man or set of men, that I have some mind, and that the author of my existence intended that I should exercise it, that I should form opinions as to politics and religion, and freely and fearlessly act upon them, without being intimidated by what either man or devils can do. Could I have hesitated for one moment in my course, I would have fancied that I heard myself addressed from the tombs in yonder churchyard (pointing to the place where his father and mother are buried); in language like this: 'My son, remember that the same principles are now involved which were proclaimed in July, 1776. That to maintain them, I risked my life, and everything dear to man, that after struggling through a seven years' war,

with my compatriots in arms, we succeeded in the establishment of a free government; under it I lived happy, prosperous, and died without leaving a spot upon my name that good name, and that free government I left my children as an invaluable inheritance; and is it possible that, for the lack of moral courage, you will deprive yourself and your children of those blessings for which I toiled so long, and risked so much?' If I still doubted, a voice still more endearing, if that be possible, would salute my ears in accents like these: 'Can you for an instant forget the lessons taught by your mother?—remember you have not only your father's name in charge, but that you have also that of my family. Do you not recollect how I used to encourage you and your brother to discharge your duty, as my only sentinels to watch and warn me when the tories would approach our dwelling for plunder, in your father's absence in the tented field? That I would then inform you that my family were among the first to hoist the pole of liberty in the South, and among the most firm and fearless in defending it! And will you, who have not a drop of any but Whig blood in your veins hesitate as to the course you ought to pursue?' To these questions I could give but one answer, 'Fear not for me. The same good name you have transmitted, and the same rich inheritance shall be left unstained, and transmitted unimpaired to your grand-children.'

"But to proceed, the Baltimore Convention met, and in due form nominated a candidate for the Presidency and Vice-Presidency, against whom no man has heard me say one word. They have accepted the nominations, and I have no doubt, in doing so, acted on those principles which they think it right to maintain. As to myself, I solemnly declare that with the knowledge I have of the manner in which that convention was brought about, the object it was intended to accomplish, and the consequence expected to flow from it, had I been nominated by it for either office, such nomination would have been almost the only contingency upon which I would have prohibited the use of my name.

"Let me not be misunderstood. I am very far from intimating it as my opinion that the whole of that assemblage, or a majority of them, were either dishonest or dishonorable men. Many of them are strangers to me, and I hope were governed by worthy motives, and I doubt not believed great good would result from their labors. I, on the contrary, think nothing but evil can result from a nomination by a set of men collected under the auspices of the executive, with a view to nominate an individual designated by him.

"Notwithstanding this nomination, my name has been permitted to remain where it was before placed, and the threatened vengeance has been pouring out upon my devoted head ever since. 'Tray, Blanche, and Sweetheart, little dogs and all,' have been let loose upon me. I have heeded them not. It has



been my aim to bear any and everything. I have uniformly conformed my public conduct to my avowed principles, and what I believe the politics of my State. So far as the Administration has acted on the principles, which brought the Chief Magistrate into power, I have been, as I think, a uniform and steady, though very humble, supporter. If on any point he has changed his principles, it is unreasonable to expect me to change with him, unless I can be furnished with sufficient reasons for such change.

"Humble as my pretensions are represented to be, we all now see, and know, that my venerable friend, the Chief Magistrate himself, in his own proper person, has openly and in the view of the sovereign people themselves, undertaken to control and regulate public opinion. This is a trouble which I am very sorry he had to take on my account. His acts are to live after him. He occupies the most dignified station upon earth. If any man living did more towards elevating him to that station than I did, it was because he had more influence. He has the efficient control of the whole fund of the nation, the disposal of our invaluable public domain, the appointment of all officers at home and abroad, the power to remove tens of thousands of officers, who have no means to procure subsistence for a day if he chooses to remove them; they must do as he directs, or be turned loose to starve. All this power I zealously strove to give him, and I did so under a thorough conviction that he would only use it in accordance with the spirit of the Constitution. That he would follow the wise example of Washington, of Jefferson, of Madison, and Monroe. That so far from openly interfering in the election of his successor, or encouraging any executive officer to do so, he would sternly prohibit it in others, and think it a high political and moral duty in himself to be perfectly 'neutral,' and lest he should disclose his preference would 'avoid conversing on the subject with his most intimate friends.' In this I have been disappointed. I have been apprised that for twelve months past he has neither been sparing nor backward in his censures of me. It gives me no uneasiness. I was willing to bear it all without complaint. My only wish was that he might so conduct as to take nothing from the high character which in common with others, I had for years endeavored to give him. Not content with this he comes to our own State, among my own constituents, those in whose employ I now am, took a circuitous route through East Tennessee, so as to be in many villages, and is still on his tour through West Tennessee into North Alabama, openly denouncing me as a "red hot Federalist," having abandoned his Administration, and being as far from him as the poles are asunder, etc. Now with great deference to the opinion of that highly esteemed and venerable man, I must be allowed to say he is entirely mistaken. I am not now and never was a Federalist, in any sense of that term recognized by or known to the American people. I am now and ever have been a Republican of Mr. Jefferson's school, so far as I

have been able to comprehend the doctrines taught by him. The true way to test this matter is for each of us to put down the articles of his political creed, and see in what we disagree. I have given you mine; you and the American people, who have taken the trouble to read what I have said, or to notice my recorded votes, know that I have practiced on my professions. It is not with me to say whether the Chief Magistrate has practised on his or not. If we now disagree in anything, I aver that I agree with the Republican creed, and that he will be found on that side which leads directly to monarchy, although I hope he does not so intend it.

"It is undoubtedly true that upon one point he and I are antipodes, as far apart as the poles are from each other. He thinks it an important point of his Administration before his time expires, to select his successor, and through the medium of a Convention, got up under his own auspices, to have the person thus selected recommended as a suitable condidate, to use all his influence and patronage to procure the election of the person thus recommended, and he denounces every man as a Federalist, and as opposed to his Administration, who will not vote for and support such person.

"I disagree with this whole doctrine, and insist it is no part of his duty to select his successor, to have him recommended by a convention, or to use his influence or patronage to induce or coerce persons to vote for him. This is obviously the point of disagreement, and I willingly leave to the present generation, and to those who are to succeed us, to say which of us holds the Republican side.

"Suppose Mr. Adams to be now President, and his term about to expire, and he had designated Mr. Clay as his successor, and was using all his patronage to induce persons to vote for him, and was actually travelling through Massachusetts and elsewhere, haranguing the people and denouncing General Jackson as a red-hot federalist, because he would not withdraw his name and vote for Mr. Clay. What would be said by our venerable friend in such case?

"With a view to bring this doctrine home to the comprehension of every man, suppose there were now a proposition to amend the Constitution, and make it the duty of every President before his term expired to select the man in his judgment best qualified to succeed him, to have a convention called to recommend such person, and then to use all his patronage and influence to have him elected. Is there any one man in America so stupid as not to see it would be taking from the people all choice, all power in electing their Chief Magistrate, and vesting it in the hands of one man? If such an amendment were to prevail, so far as the election of President was concerned, we would have to all intents and purposes a monarchy. Well: if we can be prevailed on to think this practice ought to be pursued, without

such an amendment, practically the government is a monarchy, because the people will have given up their right of choice and transferred it to one man. It is not me alone that is denounced, but every friend I have in Congress from the State. They are taken up one by one by name and denounced by the President as federalists, and opponents of his Administration. In what have they opposed his Administration? Did they vote against his three million session before last? Did they vote against expunging the journals? Not they. Not one of them. You say they are opposed to his Administration because they will not vote for the person he has selected as his successor. It is true as to one of them, Mr. Huntsman. When the President was asked how he was, he said he did not know, he was hanging on the fence, and it was doubtful which side he would fall.

"In justice to the gentleman I must be permitted to state, if there be any sincerity in man, he is as much on the Tennessee side of the fence as any of his colleagues. I have thought it right on this occasion to bring this point plainly and distinctly to your view that you might every one see the reason why I and my friends are denounced as Federalists, opposed to the Administration, and the antipodes of our esteemed and venerable Chief Magistrate.

"The real offense which I have committed is not the abandonment of my principles, but that I would not abandon them. Not because I became the tool of the opposition; but because I would not unite with an old and valued friend in doing that, under evil and mischievous advisers, which before God I believe, would rob the people of that freedom for which our fathers 'perilled their lives, their fortune and their sacred honor,' and bring reproach upon our memory when we are numbered with the dead.

"I have no controversy with the Chief Magistrate. I aspire to nothing which he wants. If there is any controversy, it is between my countrymen, who solicited the use of my name, and him. They have solicited me to let my name be used as his successor, and I have consented. This is my whole offense. If there be anything wrong in it, who is the cause of it? It is not I who am to be put down and disgraced in this controversy if Tennessee is either coaxed or coerced to surrender her choice. It is the people, who have placed me in the position I now occupy. The Saviour of the World, when upon earth, found among the small number of his disciples, one Judas, who not only sold, but betrayed him for his thirty pieces of silver. It were vain for one of my humble attainments who has nothing to offer but his best efforts to promote the public welfare, to hope that all who professed to be his friends would continue to act up to that character. Already have I found more than one Judas, who by parting with their interest in me have received, or expect to receive, more than twice their thirty pieces. I doubt not there may be more who will yet do so; but if it is the will of Providence that the use of



my name shall be of service to my fellow-men, it will be so ordered that in place of such hollow-hearted and false friends, I shall receive the aid and support of many honest men, who will desire nothing but that the government may be preserved in its purity; and if there lives the man who can induce a majority of the people of Tennessee to abandon their own principles, and sacrifice an individual, whose name they had placed before the public to gratify his wishes, then will I admit that I never understood the character of the people among whom I have lived for almost fifty-two years.

"My enemies have made a mistake. They imagine that as I have determined not to advocate my own pretensions for the most dignified station upon earth, that they may charge me with what misconduct they please, in my present station as Senator, and that I must remain silent, or lay myself liable to the charge of indecency in electioneering. I cannot and will not act on any such false delicacy. If I am unjustly accused, if I am charged with entertaining principles which do not belong to me, and these charges are made to my own constituents, by a person of the highest standing, it is due to you, it is due to the country and it is just to myself, that I not only repel the charges, but disclose the motives of those who make them.

"My political friends who have placed my name before the public are Jeffersonian Jackson Republicans, professing and practising now, the same creed they professed in 1828. Our motto is 'not words but deeds.' We determine to prove our 'faith in our creed by our practices.' If for this we are to be denominated 'new-born Whigs,' we are content. Instead of being placed in the company of aliens and strangers, we will still be in the embraces and arms of our long-cherished principles. 'Names are nothing,' said our venerable Chief Magistrate in his letter to Mr. Monroe. Dress a tory in the garment of a whig and he will be a tory still. As well might we expect to conceal the wolf by putting on the covering of the lamb, as to suppose that we conceal the conspirator who seeks to deprive the people of their right of suffrage, by throwing over him the name of a 'good old Jefferson democratic republican.'

"All political power is vested originally in the great body of the people. It all resides there yet, except such portions of it as they have vested in their different agents, to be used for their benefit. They have reserved to themselves the right freely to choose the two highest officers known to the Constitution, in that mode pointed out by it.

"This right is the sure rock upon which the whole superstructure rests. Upon it I have planted myself. 'The rains of slander may descend, the floods of calumny may come, the winds, the storms, and the tempests of denunciation may beat upon me,' but there will I remain unmoved, until some political earthquake shall shiver both it and me to atoms.

"In conclusion, permit me to add, that as to our venerable and esteemed Chief Magistrate, if in anything I have said there is the appearance of unkindness, or want of respect, it was certainly not intended. He has assailed me openly for my conduct while in your employ. One of the first laws of our nature is self-defence. I obey that law as a freeman, whose rights and reputation are dear to him. We disagree in opinion on a most important subject. At our age, and every circumstance considered, it becomes us both to disagree in opinion, in good temper. In times past he had had his troubles, and in them he never was without a friend to justify or excuse his conduct when I was present. He has decreed that we shall separate, or I surrender that freedom for which my father fought. The first is the only alternative for a man determined to preserve his self-respect. He and I are poorly employed, if we lose our temper about human governments. In the course of nature they must soon cease to have any operation upon either of us. We must soon appear before a tribunal where the Judge himself will be the only witness. He cannot be misled as to our acts or our motives; and my prayer is, that instead of applying the rules of strict justice to either, our errors, vices and infirmities may find forgiveness in His mercy.

"If thanks from the fullness of a grateful heart would avail you anything for your unshaken confidence and steady support under every change and vicissitude of life, I would put them out as long as my strength would permit; but I feel that I have detained you already too long. I offer you the following sentiment, in which I know you will cheerfully unite.

"Practices, not professions: The Republicans of Tennessee are now what they were in 1828, Jacksonians, following the creed of that Apostle of Liberty, Thomas Jefferson. Should this entitle them to a 'New-born' name they care not; provided they are left in the full enjoyment of their inalienable right of suffrage. They would rather have even a bad name with good principles, than bad principles concealed under a good name."

The election came on. White was defeated, but carried Tennessee by a 10,000 majority, and the State of Georgia, and on August 1, 1838, at Knoxville, he made a speech to his constituents which demonstrates his feelings at the time. His comparison in this speech of Van Buren to a "miserable lizard" is the only instance the author has been able to find of extreme denunciation in any of his speeches. This speech was very long and we make extracts from it.

#### WHITE'S SECOND KNOXVILLE SPEECH.

"For what did you and I toil and labor to displace Mr. Adams? It was that we might bring back the practice of the government to sound Jeffersonian principles; to an economical expenditure of the public money.

"Before the second term of his successor had expired, some of my political friends believed my humble name ought to be presented to the people as a candidate for the high station he filled. Some in this assemblage well know I remonstrated against the use of my name, and foretold that with my limited capacity and humble pretensions, no hope of success ought to be entertained. They thought differently; I did not, and would not yield my assent until informed that the federal executive had threatened that if I did permit the use of my name, I should be rendered odious to society. This threat answered a purpose that the persuasion of friends could not. Despotism never has governed and never shall govern me. My name was given to the public, and should have been, if the act had lost me the good opinion of every political friend I had upon earth, and I might almost add if it had even endangered the good opinion of my wife and children. The result is known to us all. The Administration did its worst. Its thousand presses were opened upon me and my friends, and here I am, in better health, and I think entitled to more character than when they commenced upon me. Still, let no man scorn the power of the press. To withstand its influence is a perilous effort. I have made the experiment, and now assure you, that I should feel less risk in to-morrow shouldering my musket and knapsack, and marching to the swamps of Florida for a six months' campaign against the Seminoles, than in encountering such incessant discharge of calumny and slander from all the presses which an American executive has the power to bring into action.

"In this conflict you, the freemen of Tennessee, were my shield. The poisoned arrows of my enemies have fallen harmless at my feet. I have sustained no injury, and your firmness has given a brilliancy to the star which glitters over the name of Tennessee, of which we may all be proud.

"For one, I am quite satisfied with the result. Let none suppose I am either disappointed or mortified. Still more, all may be assured that with my consent my name will never again be used for any office whatever. If I ever had any aspirations for high office, time has put an end to them. I am not so old yet as to have the childish belief that my vigor of body and mind are to last always. In all the stations I have yet occupied I have been enabled so to acquit myself as never to mortify my friends. Humble as my pretensions are, I have sometimes been placed in high office, as the associate of some who had much character among men; many of you were witnesses of the manner in which our official duties were discharged, and I am proud in the belief that my reputation has never suffered by any comparison. My hope and prayer is that I may have discretion enough to surrender even my present station before I am so enfeebled, either in body or mind, as to make it necessary for the interest of Tennessee to hiss me from the stage.



"The present executive (Van Buren) knows full well he has no distinctive character of his own; that he must conform to the will and wish of those who placed him in his present high station. He knows the means by which he acquired it, and must act out his part.

"Remember that the miserable lizard can reach the pinnacle of the same spire on which the eagle proudly perches himself; but the process by which he reaches it is very different. The latter trusting to his native strength and his own good wings, fearlessly soars aloft, and proudly perches himself on the summit, in view of all beholders. While the other, degraded reptile, stealthily and cautiously creeps up, clinging to, and ascending, that side of the column which will screen him from observation until he reaches the pinnacle, and then slyly peeps over, ready to shrink back when he finds himself discovered. Do you ask what then is to be done, when a political lizard has taken possession of the station which ought to be occupied by the eagle? My answer is ready. Through the ballot-boxes, keep steadily switching him, until he descends to that level which it is the interest of mankind he should occupy.

HUGH LAWSON WHITE AND THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

#### A COMPARISON.

It is rare among political leaders to find rules of political conduct laid down by themselves of such character, and under such circumstances, as to convince the reader that they are the real and genuine convictions and opinions of the men giving them expression. Generally we do not credit politicians with saying what they really believe. We know that politicians have "played politics" in every land beneath the sun from the time that the development of man made evident differences in mental capacity, and that one might have the brains, chicanery, selfishness or callous nerve to get the advantage of his fellows by means that do not square with the rules of right. Politics generally means policy, and policy has no objective but success, and no fixed rules or principles except those that will win. A political leader who even sometimes exhibits his real and fixed views on a public question, commands our surprise, and one who at all times submits public questions to the test of conscience and principle, as Hugh Lawson White did, commands and receives our unlimited admiration, even our awed veneration. How many politicians of the latter kind has America produced?

Politicians are never always right, or always wrong, always honest or always crooked. Generally they are speckled and have

varied and tortuous records. If we could only inject into the inmost convictions of the American people the motto adopted by Alexander H. Stephens in his "War Between The States," "Times change and men change with them, but principles never change," we would improve the mental clarity of the people, and purge our political life of an endless amount of charlatantry, duplicity, raw crookedness, hypocrisy and thinly disguised dishonesty. We would eliminate the current and imbecile saying, "Wise men change their minds, fools never." Wise men never change their minds on any matter involving principle, and fools can not be considered as having any principles to change.

Humanity has reached a deplorable stage if it can be truthfully stated that there are no fixed principles for public men to be guided by, that we are left to play politics, to try expedients, to cultivate popularity, to be "practical politicians;" in other words, to act on the idea that the end justifies the means, and that there is no criterion but success.

Theodore Roosevelt died in 1919 and published his autobiography in 1916, in which he clearly sets out the reasons and methods of his political conduct.

Hugh Lawson White died in 1840 and in his letter to Condé Raguet, and in various public statements, he plainly sets out the reasons and methods of his political conduct. It is our purpose to compare the reasons and methods of these two leaders, and to contrast their professions with their acts.

It should be kept in mind that every politician is presented continuously with two kinds of issues.

First, the issues which involve characteristics like personal honor, official honor, truthfulness, patriotism, sincerity, disinterestedness, candor, impartiality, integrity and others that are indispensable to real manhood. These characteristics must be lived up to by every man, whether politician or private citizen, who claims to be guided by the rule of right. It is rare there can be any real difference of opinion as to what is right in the forum of conscience in regard to public questions.

Second: The issues of policy, judgment, discretion, management, public health, the exercise of the police power by the State, public convenience, and hundreds of others that make up the greater part of the acts of Congress and State legislatures, in which fundamental and generally recognized principles are not involved, but only questions of what is best to be done under the circumstances

for the public welfare. In this class of issues, if the politician is not a grafter for money or property or office, and does not vote merely as a matter of favor on one side or the other, and not in accord with deliberate judgment, he cannot be legitimately criticized if he votes wrong, for anything but an error of judgment. The very large majority of public questions are of this class, and they reach the daily lives, comfort, prosperity and happiness of all the people of all the States.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

In studying Theodore Roosevelt it should be kept in mind from the outset that whatever his acts and conduct might have been in public affairs, he was essentially a political preacher, a public sermonizer, and was curiously indifferent whether his acts and conduct agreed with his sermons or not. The commandments which he laid down in his autobiography for the guidance of himself, are a curious mixture of correct principles and bad principles, of truth and error, of mental acuteness and mental absurdity which were always characteristic of the man and carried out in the work of a lifetime. Roosevelt was not a thorough or profound student of anything. His mind was not constructed for deep or consistently logical thinking. He cared nothing for logic if it stood in the way of success. Inconsistency was a trifling thing to him. He was a typical New York politician of the Van Buren type, with more political courage than Van Buren had, but less weight of judgment and real strength of brains.

We will quote some extracts from his autobiography in order to show that with all his talk of idealism, reform, applied idealism, and the square deal, he was an every day "practical politician," with whom the end justified the means, if the means were not too flagrantly and obviously bad for it to be "poor politics" to make use of them.

FIRST QUOTATION.

This will be found on page 86 of his autobiography:

"Like most young men in politics I went through various oscillations of feeling, before I 'found myself.' At one period I became so impressed with the virtue of complete independence, that I proceeded to act on each case purely as I personally viewed it, without paying any heed to the principles and prejudices of others. The result was that I speedily and deservedly lost all power of accomplishing anything at all; and I thereby learned the



invaluable lesson that in the practical activities of life no man can render the highest service unless he can act in combination with his fellows, which means a certain amount of give and take between him and them."

This doctrine overturns the teachings of centuries in which mankind has held up as ideal in politics that "complete independence" which acts in each case as the politician honestly views it, and is not controlled by graft or the influence of others. It illustrates one of the curious mental obliquities of Roosevelt when he says that he "deservedly lost all power of accomplishing anything at all," because he viewed each case with "complete independence" of judgment. One wonders why a man "deservedly" loses the power to accomplish things he considers for the public welfare, because he uses "complete independence" in making up his mind what things will benefit the public.

It illustrates another obliquity of his mind where he says, "No man can render the highest service unless he acts in combination with his fellows," with a "certain amount of give and take between him and them."

What is the "highest service" to mankind? It is that service which can be rendered honorably and with clean motives and by clean methods. Such a service is an inspiration and an example. What is a man in Congress or a State legislature for if not to act and vote on his independent, personal views and judgment? If he does not so act, on whose judgment is he to act? Was he sent to Congress or to the State legislature as the dummy representative of some other man, or of some faction, or for some scheme or corporation?

Roosevelt in the above quotation set out the rules that governed him as a member of the New York legislature, and says that he there learned the "invaluable lesson" that in the practical activities of life there must be "a certain amount of give and take." Every grafter and crook and spoilsman and ward-healer and political boss and election fixer and all other human birds of prey, will say "Yea" and "Amen" to this "give and take" proposition. Tammany Hall in the days of Boss Tweed and the thieves of the Republican ring at Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, when the State capitol was built, stood on exactly the same platform. It is common ground for all the outlaws of the world to get together on, and help each other. It cannot be explained away.

But what does Roosevelt, the idealist, mean by "give and take?" "Give" what? "Take" what? What can its meaning be except that obviously given to it by man in his knowledge of politics through all the centuries? It means "give" support to the schemes of "practical politicians," and "take" support from them for such reforms of Roosevelt and his fellow idealists as the "practical politicians" might conclude did not hurt the operations of "practical politics." It can mean nothing else and never had any other meaning in the history of politics. It is an illustration of what Roosevelt calls in his autobiography "applied Idealism."

#### SECOND QUOTATION.

But there is another sample of mixed morality and curious idealism set out on page 91 of his Autobiography in which he further explains his code of political morals:

"During the three years I served in the legislature, I worked on a very simple philosophy of government. It was that personal character and initiative are the prime requisites to political and social life. It was not only a good but an absolutely indispensable theory as far as it went, but was defective in that it produced no sufficient allowance for the needs of collective action. I shall never forget the men with whom I worked hand in hand in these legislative struggles, not only my fellow legislators but some newspaper reporters, such as Spinney and Cunningham; and then in addition, the men in the various districts who helped us. We had made up our minds that we must not fight fire with fire, that on the contrary the way to win out was to equal our foes in practical efficiency, and yet to stand at the opposite plane from them in applied morality."

It would be very interesting if Roosevelt had given some illustrations taken from his public record of just what he meant in this quotation by "practical efficiency." It will be observed that he is presenting that association of idealism with "the need of collective action" (which means "practical politics"), to produce ideal results, which is certainly absurd enough. "Collective action" can only mean joint action with "practical politicians," who make no claim to be idealists, and who by some curious alchemy known only to Mr. Roosevelt, are to support ideal measures, help pass ideal laws, and prove political uplifters, in return for the confessedly limited influence of idealists who profess to be idealists through and through.

At the same time that he and his fellow idealists were operating with "collective action," Mr. Roosevelt says that he and they made up their minds that they would not "fight fire with fire." This can only mean that they would not match rascality with rascality, would not meet bribery with bribery, would not inject corruption against corruption, or chicanery against chicanery, but would win by equalling "our foes" in "practical efficiency." But how can this equalling be brought about? By a "certain amount of give and take" between the idealists and the unwashed politicians, the idealists "to stand at the opposite plane of morality" from them while at the same time giving and taking with the politicians to bring about practical results?

A man writes his autobiography to vindicate his life and conduct, and to present himself to posterity in the best possible light. And so Roosevelt's autobiography was evidently written. He evidently felt that his public acts made necessary some sort of effort to prove that idealist oil and practical politician water could be made to mix, and that he knew how to do the mixing. A wiser or a man better poised, would never have made the attempt to mix the oil and the water, and his attempted explanation only illustrates his mental eccentricity or obliquity, that could not be kept in a line of straight reason. No man ever lived who yielded principles in politics and could still be considered a man of honor. The distance between political principle and practical politics is just the distance between the man of honor and one addicted to expedients that look only in the direction of success.

We must conclude, therefore, in this comparison between Theodore Roosevelt and Hugh Lawson White, that the facts compel us to place Roosevelt in the class of the practical politicians of New York—astute, resourceful, bold, untiring and "practical," but an unlimited distance from an ideal public leader.

#### HUGH LAWSON WHITE.

Turning now to Hugh Lawson White, we find a man whose life and character can be summed up in the three words, Honor, Brains, Courage, and who as the possessor of these three qualities, can be said to be as near the ideal American as any other man ever was, or nearer.

Great emergencies require great stamina and will power to meet them, and are the tests of the strength of manhood. There are hundreds of thousands of men in the United States who de-



servedly rank as good citizens because they obey the laws, pay their taxes, support charitable institutions, meet their obligations and perform the routine duties of life and citizenship in such manner as to command the respect of their fellow citizens; but, if these same men were compelled to face a great public responsibility, where criticism and derision, or, even downright abuse, might result from their manner of meeting the responsibility, a large per cent of them would fail to measure up to the occasion, and hundreds would refuse to meet the responsibility at all.

One of the most far-reaching supplications in the Lord's prayer is that in which it implores, "Lead us not into temptation," wherein spotted and erring humanity recognizes its danger when the forbidden lure confronts it. It is mankind's wail of humiliation because of its weakness, and its incorporation into this prayer demonstrates perfect knowledge of what men and women really are. There are hundreds of thousands of good men in the United States who are good men for the reason that temptation to stray and to fall has never been presented to them strongly enough to thoroughly test their moral stamina.

If we measure Hugh Lawson White by every test that can be applied to a man, we find that he meets every one of them over and over again through a life of sixty-seven years; and, not only meets them, but emerges from them a shining illustration of the highest and finest there is in American character. At no time do we find that he ever shirked a responsibility, or quailed before an issue requiring political, moral or personal courage. His courage was not of the noisy or blatant kind, but was always cool, self-possessed and fearless. His will power was as strong as Andrew Jackson's, but was manifested differently. He was an illustrious example of that "complete independence" in public affairs which, according to Roosevelt's code of political ethics, causes a man to "deservedly lose all power of accomplishing anything at all." But, to White's honor, be it said, this danger if it ever existed, did not prevent him from being completely independent. There was not even a suggestion of "give and take" in all his long and spotless public career. He did not consider his "complete independence" a quality to shy away from in order that he might touch elbows with the practical politicians and march under their flag. No man ever held a public office in America who was more purely disinterested, and unqualifiedly

devoted to the constitution and the happiness of the American people. No man ever carried out his official duties in a manner more nearly ideal than he. In his letter to Condé Raguet, quoted heretofore, he said, "I do not carry on political or friendly correspondence with any man living; I have a cordial dislike for everything like contrivance, by which to put or keep any man or set of men in office." In the same letter he also said, "My whole aim and ambition is to fix in my own mind the political principles which in my own opinion best accord with the constitution and then to give them such practical effect as will be productive of the most good."

It may be suggested that this course is impractical, but White was in the Senate fifteen years and had great influence, and could have had more if he had tried to get it, and could have remained in the Senate in spite of his "complete independence," if he had exerted himself to remain there. His sense of official propriety was of that type which holds that the office must seek the man, and every office he ever held sought him and asked his acceptance of it. A man can be "completely independent" in political life and have wide influence, and, without impropriety, seek office, and such seeking does not detract a whit from his idealism, if he seeks it by high methods and not by those of the practical politician. But White not only did not seek office, but he made no aggressive effort to influence others. He did not go into the highways of politics to make converts. He never in his life killed a fattened calf to feed political prodigals, and it may be that his total lack of exertion of his political influence actively, constituted a weakness in his career. He was no proselyter. He gained adherents mainly by his example and by his public utterances. If a man sought his advice or his opinion, he would freely give it. His activities were negative, when they could have been positive to impress others, and in that way vastly have augmented his strength and influence.

Political contests usually are merely organized selfishness with one end in view, in antagonism to organized selfishness with another end in view; and, neither side that wins offers any very substantial ground for hope of permanent betterment in public conditions. It is this fact that makes the pure, unselfish, grand record of Hugh Lawson White blaze so luminously. It is eternally obvious, that human nature is thoroughly selfish in all the activities of life, so that when here and there a man appears whose

actions and motives are above self, and rise to heights that approach the really ideal, he shines like a star brightening a vast expanse of darkness and gloom.

One of our seemingly incurable defects is that so few men of high ideals make any effort to push their ideals into actual effect, which leaves the practical politicians complete and perpetual masters of the field. A man of high ideals can exert some influence in a private and purely personal way, but it is necessarily small. What we need is for educated men, university graduates, thoughtful students and readers of books, who sincerely want the standards of federal, state, county and municipal governments raised, to take an active part in politics. This does not mean to get down in the mire with the practical politicians, but by bold, aggressive efforts, exerted in an open, clean way, to educate the voters into a higher view of what politics should mean.

A failure on the part of the better class of citizens to do this is what has caused municipal government in our land to be synonymous with successful graft, greed, treachery and rascality, that feel perfectly comfortable just so they keep out of the jails and penitentiaries. Our municipal government is a complete and humiliating failure, for which the voters are responsible. They can have good government if they determine to have it, but they will never have it unless they bring it about. Changing the form of government merely will effect very little. Down to a few years ago, our American city charters followed the old English form of government by mayor and aldermen, and under that form, the cities became so corrupt that a change was demanded on the theory that the trouble lay in the form. So the cities began to change to the "commission" form, by which the city is governed by a commission of three, five, seven or nine, elected from the city at large, and required to devote their full time to the duties of the office. American cities are experimenting with this form to-day, and the improvement is far short of what was expected from it, but the experiment has been beneficial in one respect at least. It has shown the people that successful government does not depend on the form so much as upon the men elected to carry out the form. Good men can give good government under the old mayor and aldermen charter. Bad and incompetent men can, and are now giving bad government under commission



charters. It is very largely a question of administration, as was expressed by Alexander Pope in his metrical "Essay on Man."

"For forms of government let fools contest,  
Whate'er is best administered is best."

An error in Judge White's career which we would not expect him of all men, to commit, was his recognizing the right of the Tennessee legislature to instruct him how he should vote on measures coming before the United States Senate, and of his duty to resign in the event he felt he could not conscientiously obey the instructions. To the student of to-day this "instructing" a man out of the Senate looks as curious as some of Roosevelt's idealism. The federal constitution provides that a United States Senator shall hold his office six years. Instructing a senator out of the senate nullifies this provision absolutely, and puts Senatorial terms and membership at the caprice of changing party majorities in the legislatures of the several States.

But in Judge White's case a recognition of the right of the legislature to instruct, is explained by a grand consistency which we may not endorse, but which for the self-sacrifice it brought about in his case, we are forced to admire. In that day the trend of constitutional construction limited federal and enlarged State activities. The States were sovereign except in the granted powers, and these granted powers were circumscribed by construction as much as possible. It was held that senators were elected by State legislatures which were the organizations that spoke for sovereign States. Their voice was the voice of the State, and Judge White held himself obedient to the voice of the State, so speaking, so that when the legislature spoke he held himself bound to obey, and he did obey.

On November 29, 1839, the legislature of Tennessee directed him to vote for the Sub-Treasury bill, which he declined to do, and therefore resigned as a senator of Tennessee, although he had carried the State as a candidate for President by 10,000 majority over Van Buren, who was supported by Andrew Jackson and the powerful organization of the Democratic party. It was in vindication of his own consistency that he placed his own head on the block to be amputated by the political guillotine. This was splendid and heroic consistency, and resulted in a self-sacrifice which, if made by a politician of to-day, would dumfound the Republic.

Judge White was recognized as one of the ablest constitutional lawyers in the Senate where Daniel Webster and others in his professional class, were members. He was also recognized as one of the purest men and finest characters. Eighty years have passed since he died, and no superior has appeared in the Senatorial arena. Since his day the Mexican War has been waged, the Republican party born, slavery abolished, Lincoln's colossal figure appeared, the war with Spain taken place, the map of the world remade several times, dynasties and monarchies gone down for all time, and the European war (so great that the mind staggers and cannot comprehend it) has passed into history, and the name and fame of Hugh Lawson White have disappeared from consideration in the life and teachings of the times, except by historical students. But one biography of him was ever written, that by his granddaughter, Nancy Newton Scott, published in 1856 and long since out of print. Since that time this sketch, incomplete as it is, is the only serious effort made by any one to revive his memory and perpetuate his fame.

He was called "The Just," and "Cato," and his life and work will suffer nothing by comparison with the great Roman. The author in attempting to put upon modern canvas for modern eyes pictures of some of the great men who created the tremendous prestige of Tennessee in the first half of the last century, feels that in Judge White, Tennessee can make profert of a character, the splendor of which pales in comparison with no other, and whom the State can hold up as nearly an ideal statesman and citizen as America ever produced, if not nearer.

The author thought that he served a historical purpose in illustrating politics by bringing the professed teachings and acts of Theodore Roosevelt and those of Hugh Lawson White into comparison, and letting the student see the ultimate result of the teachings of the two men, each professing idealism, but idealism in the case of Roosevelt he was willing to yield to the practical politicians in exchange for their support, while White's idealism yielded for nothing, and he stood to the very last true to his unchangeable views of what was best for his country.

#### WHITE'S OPINION OF SOME CONTEMPORARIES.

It is always interesting to know the opinion of a successful public man of other public men, his contemporaries, with whom he comes in contact, whether as friends or opponents, and whether

the opinion is made public during the life-time of him expressing it, or after his death in an autobiography. The autobiography affords the opportunity for mature opinions and thoroughly considered estimates, and this class of book makes a strong appeal to persons who read history.

In the early days of Tennessee autobiographies were not written, and the public expression of a leader's opinion of another or others, was confined to stump speaking, or, to the small number of newspapers, with their limited circulations, and were usually given in political controversies and elections, which are not conducive to calm, honest or thorough opinions, one man of another.

It is different in our day. We have a number of autobiographies which are profoundly interesting. For illustration: James G. Blaine wrote "Twenty Years in Congress," Samuel S. Cox "Three Decades of Federal Legislation," Senator George F. Hoar "Autobiography of Seventy Years," John Sherman "Recollections of Forty Years in House, Senate and Cabinet," J. B. Foraker "Notes of a Busy Life" and Theodore Roosevelt "Autobiography."

Hugh Lawson White wrote no books and gave nothing to the public about his contemporaries that has come down to us, except in his public speeches, and in a letter to Lyman C. Draper, which Draper requested. This letter is given below and is a copy of the one in the Draper Collection of the Wisconsin Historical Society. White's estimate of John Sevier, William Blount and James Robertson will be gratefully received by the investigator of today, especially as it was given only a year before his death, and when his judgment was fully matured by the experience and observation of a long life.

WHITE TO LYMAN C. DRAPER.

"Freeland, near Knoxville, April 6th, 1839.

"Dear Sir:

"Your letter dated 12th ultimo never reached me till within the three last days.

"I am sorry I cannot comply with your request by sending a copy of the speech to which you allude. Every copy I had has been disposed of.

"I was well acquainted with each of the gentlemen, in relation to whom you desire information.

"George W. Sevier, who lives near Nashville in West Tennessee, is a son of Governor John Sevier by a second wife. His



eldest son, by a first wife is also alive, and is Major James Sevier, residing near Jonesborough in East Tennessee. They are both highly respectable, and will tell you nothing respecting even their father, which they do not believe to be true. My acquaintance with Governor Sevier commenced in the autumn of the year 1784 and continued till the time of his death. He is the same man who is mentioned as one of the distinguished heroes of King's mountain during the revolutionary war. His son last named, if I mistake not, was then old enough to be and actually was in that battle with his father. I will only add he was considered among the most gallant, patriotic and useful men, in the country where he lived, of his day.

"With William Cocke I was well acquainted from the year 1786 to the time of his death. Whether he is the same spoken of as being at Boonsborough, Kentucky in 1775, I do not know. He is not the Gen.

"Governor Willie Blount was the half brother of Governor William Blount. While William was Governor of the territory Willie acted a considerable time as his private secretary. After the State was organized he was elected a judge of the Superior Courts, he held the office but a short time, and then resigned. He was several times elected Governor, and more than once to the legislature; a short time before his death he was elected a member of the Convention to amend the Constitution of the State, and discharged his duties as a member of that body. He was a respectable and very popular man, tho' greatly inferior to his Brother William as to talents and information. Indeed I think it may be honestly said of William, he had few equals on the stage in his day.

"William G. Blount was the eldest son of Governor William. He was a young man of fine genius, by profession a lawyer, tho' he never practiced. For a while he was Secretary of State in Tennessee, was twice elected a Representative to Congress from the District in which he had been reared, and died in early life.

"I knew General James Robertson. He was among the early adventurers to what is now Middle Tennessee, and was among the most brave and useful men of his day. He was to West Tennessee during the troublesome Indian Wars what John Sevier was to East Tennessee. These two men resided three hundred miles apart, more than two thirds of that distance an entire wilderness, and each in his section of the country in every time of trouble, was looked to by his countrymen to direct what was best to be done, and then to go in person and aid in the doing of that which had been advised. Cocke spoken of in the late Creek War, that was his eldest son, General John Cocke, who now resides near Rutledge in East Tennessee, to whom I refer you for a minute account of his father's life. William Cocke was in the Creek War as a common volunteer soldier, and you will find him spoken of in one of General Jackson's official reports as highly distinguish-

ing himself at the battle of Emuckfaw, in the early part of the year 1814.

"Governor William Blount I became acquainted with in 1790 or 1791. Prior to that time he had never resided in what is now the State of Tennessee. He had lived and been a man of distinction in the lower part of North Carolina.

"In the year 1789 North Carolina ceded to the United States the country now the State of Tennessee, the United States accepted the Cession, established a territorial government, and appointed Mr. Blount Governor, in which office he continued discharging all his duties with distinguished ability and faithfulness to the year 1796 when Tennessee became a State. John Sevier was elected Governor in opposition to Joseph Anderson, late Comptroller of the Treasury, and William Blount and William Cocke were elected Senators to Congress. Blount was impeached, the Senate decided that a Senator was a civil officer within the meaning of the constitution, and that he was not liable to impeachment.

"After this, Mr. Blount was elected a Senator to the Legislature of Tennessee by the people of Knox County, in which he had always lived after removing to Tennessee.

"Doctor Felix Robertson of Nashville, West Tennessee, is a son of General James Robertson, and to him I refer you for any information you may wish respecting his father.

"William C. C. Claiborne came from Virginia to Tennessee when a young man, was by profession a lawyer, practiced for some time with reputation, was a member of the Convention which framed the Constitution, afterwards a State Judge, then a Representative in Congress, and afterwards by an appointment from the Federal Government taken to the countries below us, on the Mississippi, where he was continued in public life to the time of his death, in Louisiana. He has no children now living except one daughter. His widow is married to a Mr. Grymes, a distinguished lawyer in New Orleans.

"George W. Campbell was born in Scotland, brought to the United States in early life, settled and reared in North Carolina, came to Tennessee in the year 1797 or 1798, by profession a lawyer, practiced for some time, was a Representative in Congress, then a Senator, a judge of the Supreme Court in Tennessee, which office he resigned, was appointed Secretary of the Treasury, afterwards Minister to Russia, and a few years ago was one of the Commissioners under the Convention with France. His residence is in Nashville, West Tennessee.

"I close what I have to say by informing you that Joseph Anderson came to Tennessee in 1791 as a Territorial Judge, appointed by the Father of his Country, General Washington; he continued in that office till Tennessee became a State in 1796, was a member of Convention to frame the State Constitution, afterwards practised law with unrivaled reputation for some

years, was elected a Senator in Congress several times, finally appointed Comptroller of the Treasury, which office he held till a short time before his death, when his want of health induced him to resign.

"His children were all sons, his widow and most of his children reside in Tennessee, and should you wish to know more of him, I refer you to A. A. Anderson, Esquire, Knoxville, East Tennessee, one of his sons, who gives promise of much reputation in the profession of a lawyer.

"Very respectfully,

"I am,

"Your most obedient servant,

"Hugh L. White."

Miss Scott's biography, while frankly partial to her great kinsman, is invaluable to the student of the politics of that time. She has preserved historical matter in reference to Hugh Lawson White and other leaders of his day that would have otherwise been lost. Her devoted affection for Judge White and her modest opinion of her "Memoir" of him, make her very attractive to the reader, and as long as Tennessee history has either readers or writers, her book will live, and she with it, in high esteem. Her dedication and preface exhibit her in fine light.

"DEDICATION.

To

MRS. MARY M. OVERTON.

the only surviving sister of Hugh Lawson White, "The Just,"

THIS MEMORIAL

of his pure life and worthy deeds,  
the irrepressible outpouring of a yearning spirit, written with a  
hope that it may contribute to

A RIGHT ESTIMATE OF THE MAN,

but with the conviction that a much more perfect and lofty  
tribute is justly his due,

IS RESPECTFULLY AND LOVINGLY DEDICATED BY  
THE WRITER."

"PREFACE.

"This book has many imperfections. It is not compiled by an experienced writer, nor has it been prepared with the advantages of position or reputation. It is simply a tribute to the memory

of one beloved and departed; the offering of that almost idolatry which is found only in the breasts of those few who by nature are nearest and dearest to man. Only the merits of earnestness and devotion can therefore be claimed for it.

"The writer has endeavored to retire from view; to accomplish the present purpose in the most unobtrusive manner, by a narrative brief and plain, interspersed with such letters, speeches and other documents, as may best illustrate the relations of Judge White to the great men and measures of the times, and the high and honorable position—honorable to himself, his State and his country—which he held in the hearts and councils of his countrymen."

Col. John Bell Brownlow told the author that after Miss Scott had finished her "Memoir" the Honorable John Bell was canvassing Tennessee as a candidate for re-election to the United States Senate, and was in Knoxville, stopping at the house of Honorable W. G. Brownlow, when Miss Scott called and submitted the manuscript of her book to Mr. Bell for consideration and correction, which he undertook, and spent several days in the Brownlow home on the task.



## CHAPTER 2.

### Hugh Lawson White—The Expunging Resolution— Willing to Become a Candidate for President— Nominated by Tennessee Legislature— Letters to Friends.

#### JUDGE WHITE AND BENTON'S EXPUNGING RESOLUTION.

On March 28, 1834, Henry Clay introduced in the Senate a resolution of censure on Andrew Jackson, which passed by a party vote of twenty-six to twenty, the whigs having control of the Senate. Hugh Lawson White voted against the resolution, which, in a different form, was considered three times. As adopted it read:

"RESOLVED: That the President in the late executive proceedings in relation to the public revenues has assumed upon himself authority and power not conferred by the Constitution and laws, but in derogation of both."

On page 423 of the first volume of his "Thirty Years' View" Mr. Benton expressed his opinion of the intrinsic character, force and effect of this resolution in terms rather of contempt than otherwise, a resolution which would not seem to loom large enough to require him to devote three years of his senatorial labors to its undoing. He said:

"And thus the resolution was passed, and was nothing but an empty fulmination—a mere personal censure—having no relation to any business or proceeding in the Senate, and evidently intended for effect on the people. \* \* \* \* When passed, the total irrelevancy of the resolution to any right or duty of the Senate was made manifest by the insignificance that attended its decision. There was nothing to be done with it or upon it or under it or in relation to it. It went to no committee, laid the foundation of no action, was not communicable to the other House or to the President; and remained an intrusive fulmination on the Senate Journal; put there not for any legislative purpose but purely and simply for popular effect. Great reliance was placed upon that effect. It was fully believed, notwithstanding the experience of the Senate in Mr. Van Buren's case, that a Senatorial condemnation would destroy whomsoever it struck, even General Jackson. Vain calculation."

And Mr. Benton's opinion was right. Clay's resolution was pure buncombe, introduced for such political effect as it might have, and Clay hoped this would be great, for he had strong personal, as well as political animosity against Jackson.

Benton's resolution to "expunge" Clay's resolution was much of the same empty character as Clay's. The whole situation only proved that great political leaders can sometimes play small politics like small politicians.

Daniel Webster had no personal animosity towards Jackson, and viewed Jackson's removal of the deposits from the standpoint of the great lawyer that he was, that is, as purely a legal question, which was, "Did Jackson have the power to move the deposits?" Webster said that he had and that he also had the right to remove the Secretary of the Treasury for not moving the deposits upon the President's order. In the discussion in 1834, Benton quotes Webster as saying:

"But while thus severely condemning the conduct of the President in removing the former Secretary and appointing the present, I must say that in my opinion, it is a case of abuse and not of usurpation of power. I cannot doubt that the President has under the constitution the right of removal from office; nor can I doubt that the power of removal, wherever it exists, does from necessity involve the power of general supervision; nor can I doubt that it might be constitutionally exercised in reference to the deposits."

This opinion from the great expounder ought to have settled the question of Jackson's right to remove the deposits. And having been thus frank in his opinion, he was equally frank on the night when Benton's "Expunging Resolution" passed, when he said during the discussion:

"We collect ourselves to look on in silence while a scene is exhibited, which, if we did not regard it as a ruthless violation of a sacred institution, would appear to us to be little elevated above the character of a contemptible farce."

The Whigs contended, rightfully, that the constitution required the Senate to keep a journal of its proceedings, and Benton's resolution required that Clay's resolution censuring General Jackson, should be "expunged", which means to be literally cut out of the Senate Journal, and the Whigs declared that this expunging was a plain violation of the constitution.

Benton's only object in "expunging", as he says in his "Thirty Years' View," was this:

"The only effect of the expurgation being to express in the most emphatic manner the opinion that such matter ought never to have been put in the Journal," which clearly means that the putting of the matter in the Journal had no justification in law, and that the proper way to get it out was to expunge it out. But Mr. Benton creates a doubt in our minds of his sincerity by yielding the point, and consenting that the word "expunge" might be cut out of his resolution, and it seems that it was the influence of Hugh Lawson White, of Tennessee, that caused him to yield the point. On pages 549-550 of his "Thirty Years' View" he uses this language:

"The moment his (Benton's) resolution was taken up, Mr. White, of Tennessee, moved to strike out the word "expunge" and insert "rescind, reverse and make null and void". This motion astonished Mr. Benton. Mr. White, besides opposing all proceedings against President Jackson, had been his personal and political friend from early youth, for the more than forty years which each of them had resided in Tennessee. He expected his aid and felt the danger of such a defection. Mr. Benton defended his word as being strictly parliamentary, and the only thing which was proper to be used when an unauthorized act is to be condemned, all other phrases admitting the legality of the act which is to be invalidated. Mr. White, justifying his position, took the ground that an expurgation of the Journal would be its abolition, which he deemed inconsistent with the constitutional injunction to "keep" a Journal, the word "keep" being taken in the primary sense of "hold", "preserve", instead of "write" a Journal. But the mover (Benton) of the resolution says that Mr. White was not the only one of his friends who had yielded at that point, that others had given way and came about him, importuning him to give up the obnoxious word. Seeing himself almost deserted, he yielded mortifying and reluctant assent, and voted with others of his friends and emasculated his own motion, to reduce it from its high tone of reprobation to the legal formula which applies to the reversal of a mere error in a legal proceeding."

Thereupon Mr. Webster made a speech through which ran a note of triumph and victory over Benton, and, thereupon, Benton admits that he reversed his previous reversal, and, seemingly not aware of how comical his attitude had become, says that:

"The exulting speech of Mr. Webster restored me (Benton) to my courage and made a man of me again; and the moment the vote was over, I arose and submitted the original resolution over again with the detested word in it, to stand for the second week of the next session, with the peremptory declaration that I would never yield it again to the solicitation of friend or foe."

But it remained for John C. Calhoun to puncture Benton's final victory, and to show the amusing aspect of an expunging res-

olution passed and "expunge" entirely eliminated. Mr. Calhoun said.

"No one not blinded by party zeal can possibly be insensible that the measure proposed is a violation of the constitution requiring the Senate to keep a Journal: this resolution goes to expunge the Journal. If you may expunge a part you may expunge the whole; and if it is expunged, how is it kept? The constitution says the Journal must be kept; this resolution says it shall be destroyed. It does the very thing which the constitution says shall not be done. That is the argument; the whole argument. There is none other. \* \* \* They tell us that the resolution on our records is not to be "expunged" but is only to be endorsed "expunged." Really I do not know how to argue against such contemptible sophistry. The occasion is too solemn for an argument of this sort. You go to violating the constitution and you get rid of the infamy by a falsehood. You yourselves say that the resolution is expunged by your order. Yet you say it is not expunged. You put your act in express words. You record it and then turn around and deny it."

HUGH LAWSON WHITE.

The student who studies the proceedings on the "Expunging Resolution", is drawn to the conclusion that Hugh Lawson White, was right in every position he took, and every vote that he cast, and that he came out of that contest with his reputation for personal and official honor and ability as a constitutional lawyer, greatly increased.

As Mr. Benton says in the quotation above, White had been a lifelong friend of Andrew Jackson. When Clay first introduced his resolution of censure, Mr. White promptly took the position that Jackson had the right to remove the deposits and voted against the resolution. When Senator Benton desired to violate the constitution by mutilating the journal of the Senate, Senator White was equally firm and prompt in declaring that he could not support such violation. At first Mr. Benton clung to the word "expunge," and Senator White persistently held that other words could be used which would be equally as effective in their vindication of General Jackson, and his amendments were along this line. On March 28, 1834, in the discussion, Senator White expressed his views as follows:

"Mr. President: The object of my amendment is to enable each Senator to express the opinion he really entertains of the resolution formerly passed by this body.

"To vote for the resolution of the Senator from Missouri in its present shape, I cannot: He proposes to "expunge" from our jour-



nals one of our resolutions, which was adopted when our votes were taken and recorded by yeas and nays. The Constitution requires that "each House shall keep a Journal of its proceedings, and that at the decision of one-fifth of its members, the yeas and nays shall be taken on any question." This Constitution each member has solemnly sworn to support. When we speak of the "Journal" of our proceedings, we speak of a book kept here under our own inspection, in which is faithfully recorded, under its appropriate date, every transaction of the body. This book is the original and all others are only copies of it. Now, what is proposed by the resolution? It is to expunge one of the resolutions which we all admit we actually adopted, upon yeas and nays, on the 28th of March, 1834. Now, if we adopt this resolution, we solemnly order that our former resolution shall be erased, rubbed out, blotted, obliterated, or so corrected that it cannot be read. Suppose this order carried into effect, and any man to read our record, our journal, under date of the 28th March, he would have no knowledge that such a resolution as that complained of had ever existed.

"The answer given to this argument by the honorable Senator is not satisfactory. He says in his resolution now under consideration, "It is preserved, because it is set out word for word." But it is not under its true date; and upon that principle, if we wish to ascertain what was done 28th March, 1834, we must look not to the Journal of that year, but to the journal of 1835. This would not be a diary or journal of our proceedings according with the facts.

"Again, what would become of our yeas and nays? Are we to deprive ourselves, those of our own day, and posterity, of all means of knowing how we voted? The gentleman does not propose preserving our yeas and nays. I do not wish to lose mine, nor do I suppose any other member wishes to give up this record evidence of his opinion.

"It appears to me plain that we cannot vote expunging the journal, because it is contrary to the positive injunction of the Constitution, which we are bound to observe. Adopt my amendment, and then pass the resolution, and we accomplish everything desirable. We 'rescind' and declare 'null and void' the original resolution. This is all that can be wished by any person; we reverse our decision because we now think it was wrong; and we declare it null and void, because it was always wrong, and ought never to have been adopted.

"This is the effect of my amendment as first proposed by me; and now at the instance of the honorable senator from Pennsylvania (Mr. McKean), I have modified so as to incorporate into it the additional words 'repealed and reversed.' It now reads that the resolution of 28th March is 'rescinded, repealed, reversed and declared to be null and void.' This, it appears to me, is as strong an opinion as we can give, that the original resolution shall not stand as the judgment of the Senate, and that it ought never to have found a place upon our journals.

"Thus far I am willing to go, because it conforms to the opinion I now entertain, and to the opinion I entertained when the original resolution was adopted.

"If time permitted, I would gladly say more on this subject; but it does not, and I must content myself with expressing a hope that my amendment may be adopted, so that I can vote for the resolution without a violation of one of my most solemn obligations."

In the discussion on June 28, 1836, Senator White introduced the following preamble and resolutions, and proceeded to make an argument thereon.

#### SENATOR WHITE'S RESOLUTIONS AND SPEECH.

"Whereas, on the 28th day of March, 1834, the Senate of the United States adopted a resolution in the words following, to-wit:

"Resolved, That the President, in the late executive proceedings in relation to the public revenue, has assumed upon himself authority and powers not conferred by the Constitution and Laws, but in derogation of both."

"And whereas, upon the question whether said resolution should be adopted, it was decided by one-fifth of the senators present that the same should be taken by yeas and nays; and the votes of the several members now stand recorded on the journal of the Senate:

"And whereas, the said resolution still remains on the journal of the Senate in full force, not rescinded, reversed, repealed, or annulled; and cannot now be expunged, cancelled, or in any way obliterated or defaced without violating that clause of the Constitution of the United States which is in the following words, to-wit: 'Each house shall keep a journal of its proceedings, and from time to time publish the same, excepting such part as may in their judgement require secrecy; and the yeas and nays of either house on any question shall, at the desire of one-fifth of those present, be entered on the journal:'

"And whereas, the President of the United States in the late executive proceedings in relation to the public revenue, alluded to in said resolution, did not, in the opinion of the Senate, assume upon himself authority and powers not conferred upon him by the Constitution and Laws: Therefore, it is

"Resolved, That the said resolution, and the opinion therein expressed, be, and the same hereby are, reversed, and annulled; and it is hereby declared that the said resolution ought not to be considered as having had, or as now or hereafter having, any force or effect whatever.

"I cannot assign as a reason for either expunging or rescinding the resolution that the Senate had no power to adopt it, because I do not think so; and because I think it of the last importance we should retain with the Senate those powers vested in it for high and important purposes, and which are, or may be, essential

to preserve, the liberty of the people; but most willingly can I vote to rescind, reverse, and repeal the resolution; because I think that the Senate erred in adopting it. To say the least, there are doubts of our power to expunge, and no one, I think, ought to be certain the Senate had no power to adopt the resolution. Why, then, shall we cling to the word 'expunge,' and to this reason, when there is a plain course to pursue, in which what is due to the Chief Magistrate and to ourselves can be accomplished. To me, the reason is obvious. To expunge has become an executive measure. It is now the watchword of a party; and, by its use, those are to be hunted down who will not conform to the will of the party. In March, 1834, when the resolution was adopted, a majority of the Senate was opposed to the Chief Magistrate. His long and valuable services have endeared him to the American people. They are sensitive as to everything which can affect his reputation as a man or as an officer.

"My opinion has been expressed, and was well known; I believe it conforms to the opinion of my State and its legislature; and I hold myself especially bound to endeavor to have it effected by the adoption of the resolution which I have submitted. Those who believe that either I or the people of my State are opponents of the Administration, mistake our character. Our politics are as they have been; we now stand on the same ground, advocate the same principles we did in 1828, when sustaining General Jackson to bring him into power. But we are the slave of no man; and when it is attempted to ingraft on our principles a system which does not belong to them, I will not yield my assent, be the consequences what they may. My wish is to rescind, reverse, and repeal the resolution of 1834, because, in my judgment, it is erroneous, and because I believe such is the judgment of my State. To vote to expunge it, I cannot; because, in my opinion the Constitution forbids it; and, anxious as my constituents are to vindicate the character of the Chief Magistrate, they will never require me to do so at the expense of that sacred instrument which we are all under the most high and solemn obligations to maintain inviolate."

#### BENTON'S FINAL VICTORY.

Mr. Benton's final victory came on January 14, 1837, and not in all of the fifteen hundred pages of his "Thirty Years' View" does he show more perfect satisfaction than over the passage of his so-called "Expunging Resolution." We quote his words in order that the reader may see how a really great and powerful character got worked up over a proposition that was, on both the Whig and the Democratic sides, a play of politics. This is the way Mr. Benton tells the story:

"Saturday, the 14th of January, the Democratic Senators agreed to have a meeting, and to take their final measures for passing the expunging resolution. They knew they had the numbers; but they also knew that they had adversaries to grapple with to whom might be applied the proud motto of Louis the Fourteenth: 'Not an unequal match for numbers.' They also knew that members of the party were in the process of separating from it, and would require conciliating. They met in the night at the then famous restaurant of Boulanger, giving to the assemblage the air of a convivial entertainment. It continued till midnight, and required all the moderation, tact, and skill of the prime movers to obtain and maintain the union upon details, on the success of which the fate of the measure depended. The men of conciliation were to be the efficient men of that night; and all the winning resources of Wright, Allen of Ohio and Linn of Missouri, were put into requisition. There were serious differences upon the mode of expurgation, while agreed upon the thing; and finally obliteration, the favorite of the mover, was given up; and the mode of expurgation adopted which had been proposed in the resolutions of the General Assembly of Virginia; namely, to inclose the obnoxious sentences in a square of black lines, an oblong square: A compromise of opinion to which the mover agreed upon condition of being allowed to compose the epitaph—'Expunged by the order of the Senate.' The agreement which was to lead to victory was then adopted, each one severally pledging himself to it, that there should be no adjournment of the Senate after the resolution was called, until it was passed; and that it should be called immediately after the morning business on the Monday ensuing. Expecting a protracted session extending through the day and night, and knowing the difficulty of keeping men steady to their work and in good humor, when tired and hungry, the mover of the proceeding took care to provide, as far as possible, against such a state of things; and gave orders that night to have an ample supply of cold hams, turkeys, round of beef, pickles, wines and cups of hot coffee, ready in a certain committee room near the Senate Chamber by four o'clock on the afternoon of Monday.

#### WHITE A CANDIDATE FOR PRESIDENT.

On December 20, 1834, White let it be known that he was willing to be nominated for President of the United States, and the Tennessee Congressional delegation addressed him the following letter, to which he made reply.

"Washington, December 29, 1834.

"Dear Sir: You cannot be unapprised that for some time past your name has been frequently mentioned as a desirable



person to succeed the present Chief Magistrate of the United States.

"Being your colleagues in Congress since the commencement of the present session, we have been repeatedly asked what were the sentiments of our own State upon that subject, and more frequently, what were your own wishes, and what would likely be your course, should public opinion seem to require the use of your name as a candidate, and fears are often expressed that you would not give your consent.

"Upon this latter point we are at some loss what answer to give.

"It is our wish not to deceive ourselves, or to be the means of deceiving others. We will therefore esteem it a favor if you will put us in possession of your wishes and determinations.

"Very respectfully, sir,

"We are your obedient servants,

"Wm. M. Inge,  
Balie Peyton,  
James Standifer,  
John Blair,  
W. C. Dunlap,  
Saml. Bunch,  
Jno. Bell,  
David Crockett,  
John B. Forrester,  
Luke Lea,  
David W. Dickenson."

#### JUDGE WHITE'S ANSWER.

"Gentlemen: Your note dated yesterday was handed me a few minutes since.

"I am aware that for some time past my name has been occasionally mentioned in our own State and elsewhere for the office you mention. I had never supposed it would be so far acceptable to the public as to render an application to me necessary to ascertain my wishes or determination.

"Not having taken any pains to ascertain public opinion upon that subject, I am, perhaps, less acquainted with the sentiments even of our own State than any of my colleagues. As to my own wishes and determination, I can have no difficulty in giving you an answer.

"I am not conscious that at any moment of my life I have ever wished to be President of the United States. I have never knowingly uttered a sentence, or done an act, for the purpose of inducing any person to think of me for that distinguished station. When the duties and responsibilities of the office are considered, in my opinion it is an object more to be avoided than desired. I shall certainly never seek it while I have so little confidence in my own capacity to discharge the duties as I now have.

"Those for whose benefit it was created, have a right to fill it with any citizen they may prefer, provided he is eligible by the Constitution and the person who would refuse to accept such an office, if offered by the people of the United States, ought to have a much stronger hold upon public opinion than I can ever hope to possess.

"My most anxious wish is, that in any use you may think proper to make of my name, you may lose sight of every consideration except the public interest. I have not had any agency in causing it to be used, and I do not feel that I would be justified in directing the use of it to be discontinued. I can, however, with truth say, that if those political friends who have used it thus far, shall have reason to believe that a further use of it will be an injury, instead of a benefit to the country, and may choose to withdraw it, they will have my hearty concurrence.

"I am, most respectfully,

"Your obedient servant,

"Hugh L. White."

The Legislature of Tennessee on October 16th and 17th, 1835, placed White before the people of the United States as a candidate for President by preamble and resolution, which were communicated by letter to Judge White by a committee of the Senate and House to which White made reply.

#### ACTION OF TENNESSEE LEGISLATURE

"WHEREAS, the people of the State of Tennessee in 1822, in 1825, and again in 1827, animated by a sincere determination to support those cardinal doctrines and principles which had distinguished the true republican party from the commencement of the Federal Government, up to that period, and also to correct and reform those practices which appeared to be erroneous, and to constitute abuses in the policy and administration of the government, brought forward General Andrew Jackson, our present distinguished Chief Magistrate, as a person qualified by his principles, energy, and great popularity, to effect these objects. And whereas, among the most important of these objects were: 1st. To secure to the people the exercise of the right of suffrage in the election of the President of the United States, independent of the influence and dictation of caucus nominations. 2d. To resist the establishment of the practice of electing the President of the United States according to any plan of regular succession among the great functionaries of the government. 3rd. The limitation and control of executive patronage within such safe and expedient bounds as to secure the freedom and purity of the elective franchise against all undue official influences. And whereas, we are firmly persuaded that the principles upon which General Jackson was originally nominated and supported for the Presidency, by

the people of the State of Tennessee, have lost nothing of their truth or importance by the lapse of time, and change of circumstances, we feel impelled by a proper regard for consistency, now, when again called upon, to reconsider them in reference to the choice of a successor or to reaffirm them by a renewed and solemn declaration.

"In the organization and proceedings of the late Baltimore Convention we perceive the same violation of the spirit of the Constitution, the same tendency to a usurpation of the rights and powers of the people in the election of President, the same spirit of intrigue, the same liability in the members to be corrupted and influenced in their course by the promise and expectation of office, which we saw in the organization and proceedings of the Congressional caucus in 1823, and then condemned in the most public and solemn manner.

"And whereas, no individual has been presented to the consideration of the American people as a candidate for the next Presidency, whose character and political opinions afford the same guarantee for the maintenance of those principles which brought General Jackson into office, and for carrying out the principal measures of his administration, and which so well accord with the political sentiments of the people of Tennessee, as set forth in this preamble, as our fellow citizen, Hugh Lawson White—therefore,

"Resolved, That Hugh Lawson White be recommended to the people of the United States as a man eminently qualified to fill the office of President.

"Resolved, That we approve generally of the principles and policy, both foreign and domestic, of the administration of the Federal government during the term of service of our present distinguished Chief Magistrate, General Andrew Jackson.

"EPHRIAM H. FOSTER,

"Speaker of the House of Representatives.

"JONATHAN WEBSTER,

"Speaker of the Senate.

"Adopted in the House on the 16th, and concurred in by the Senate on the 17th of October, 1835."

COMMUNICATED TO JUDGE WHITE.

"Nashville, October 22, 1835.

"To the Hon. Hugh L. White:

Sir: The undersigned have been appointed a joint committee of both Houses of the General Assembly to inform you that the people of the State of Tennessee have by their representatives, nominated you to their fellow-citizens of the United States, for the office of Chief Magistrate.

"This duty, we conceive, will be best discharged by communicating to you the preamble and resolutions adopted by both Houses of the General Assembly. From them you will learn the principles on which the nomination was made. These, as also the attending circumstances, we take leave to say, appear to us no less honorable to the people of the State than to yourself. By this act they have shown a discrimination and devotion to principle worthy the imitation of posterity.

"We avail ourselves of this occasion to tender to you the assurances of our esteem and veneration for your character, and our ardent wishes for your personal happiness.

Wm. Ledbetter, Robt. H. Hynds, Terry H. Cahal,	}	Committee on the part of the Senate.
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Addison A. Anderson, Wm. McClain, Granville D. Searcy, Lion Rogers, G. W. Churchwell, Harvey M. Watterson, Wm. B. Campbell, J. A. Mabry, Charles Ready, Robertson Topp,	}	Committee on the part of the House."
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#### JUDGE WHITE'S REPLY.

"Nashville, October 23, 1835.

"Gentlemen: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your communication under date of yesterday, inclosing a copy of a preamble and resolutions of the General Assembly of the State of Tennessee, recommending me as a suitable person to succeed the present Chief Magistrate of the United States.

"To receive evidence at any time that the Representatives of the people of my own State continue to repose confidence in me would be highly gratifying; but at this particular time, and after such multiplied efforts have been unceasingly made from various quarters, to destroy my reputation, to receive such testimony of increased confidence is matter calculated to call forth my most profound acknowledgments.

"Some of those who are members of the present General Assembly, and who were members of the same body two years ago, can bear testimony to the fact that I earnestly endeavored to prevent my name from being submitted to the American people for the highest office within their gift, but my efforts have been unavailing. A state of things has been produced which induces a portion of my political friends to believe the interest of the country would be promoted by the use of my name as a candidate, and when



applied to on various occasions, I have given my consent, and I now take this opportunity to state that this consent will not be withdrawn. .

"In common with a large majority of the citizens of Tennessee, I was an humble advocate of the principles set forth in the preamble to your resolutions. Time and increased experience have tended to confirm me in the opinion that on the maintenance of these principles the liberties of the people of the United States essentially depend.

"From the formation of the Federal Constitution, up to this time, there have been parties in the United States. Where they are separated upon principle the members of each may honestly believe the permanent welfare of the country depends upon having the government administered upon the principles which they advocate, and may honorably use every fair effort to elevate their own party, and put down their opponents. But when an attempt is made to create a party not founded upon any settled political principles, composed of men belonging to every political sect, having no common bond of unity save that of a wish to place one of themselves in the highest office known to the Constitution, for the purpose of having all the honors, offices and emoluments of the government distributed by him among his followers, I consider such an association, whether composed of many of or few, a mere faction, which ought to be resisted by every man who loves his country, and wishes to perpetuate its liberty.

"To conciliate the favor, or procure the support of any man or set of men, belonging to any party, I have not changed, nor agreed to change, any one political principle I ever avowed. Those upon which I have heretofore practised shall continue be my guide in whatever situation I may be placed, so long as I believe them to be correct; disdaining, as I hope I ever shall, an attempt to win my way to power upon one set of principles, and then to practise upon another.

"Through you I beg leave to tender to the General Assembly my unfeigned and heartfelt thanks for this additional evidence of their continued and unbroken confidence, and for yourselves, be pleased to accept the assurance that I am with sentiments of the highest respect,

"Your most obedt. servt.,

"HU. L. WHITE."

White wrote another letter to E. Alexander of Tennessee, throwing light on the development of political events in that state at that time.

WHITE TO E. ALEXANDER.

"Washington, January 12, 1835.

"My dear Sir: I have avoided, during the present session, writing to any person whom I have not been compelled to answer letters, for reasons obvious to you.

"While society is employed in scrutinizing my character with a view to know whether they will wish to employ me in a public station different from that which I now occupy, I hold that I ought so to conduct myself as to give no reason to suspect that I am saying or doing anything with a view to influence the public judgment.

"Three of my colleagues, Grundy, Polk, and Johnson, think the use of my name as a candidate for the highest office known to our government, may be the means of breaking up the democratic party, that it will be disapproved by my own State, and that by not stopping the use of it, I am placing myself in a situation that must destroy me at home, as well as abroad. In this view of things they are zealously and cordially supported by Judge Catron, who has been here some time. Mr. Laughlin from Nashville, arrived here on the 8th inst., and it is said comes here to aid these gentlemen by his services as a letter writer.

"All the other representatives from Tennessee think differently and urge, in conversation, my pretensions, and represent the wishes of my State as being different from what is urged by Mr. Grundy and those who act with him. Which of them is right, I do not profess to know. All I have said, and all I will say is that I have had no agency in causing my name to be used and I will not prohibit the use of it. My political friends at home and abroad I hope and believe have not used it, and will not use it for any purpose other than the interest of the country and whenever they are satisfied the country will be injured, not benefited, by its use, they will give me sincere pleasure by withdrawing it.

"Neither Mr. Grundy, Colonel Polk, Colonel Johnson, nor Judge Catron has ever alluded to the subject in conversation with me, and I cannot but feel it personally unkind, that any of them should be injuring me in the judgment of strangers without knowing from myself whether I deserve their condemnation or not.

"The honorable Judge is, I think, treating me with great unkindness to give everybody else the benefit of the information he has acquired in his extensive travels, and withhold it all from me.

"He is viewed by some of my friends as a political commissary, sent out to receive just such news as he has brought, and in consideration of his endeavors to detract from my standing here, and destroy me at home, he hopes to fill the first vacancy on the bench of the Supreme Court of the United States, which can with propriety be given to him. In all this matter I feel no personal interest; a greater personal favor could not well be bestowed on me than by leaving me at home after the 4th of March next.

"These people are preparing for a great effort in Tennessee next summer. They think they can send to the legislature such materials as will supersede me in the Senate. Thus dropped, my pretensions to anything else are at an end.

"I put up no pretensions to anything and therefore can never be disappointed."

General Jackson being bitterly opposed to White's running for President, tried through friends to influence him to become a candidate for Vice-President on a ticket with Van Buren for President, or to accept a seat on the Supreme Bench of the United States, both of which White declined.

LETTERS TO GEORGE W. CHURCHWELL.

The progress of the campaign for President is illustrated in two of White's letters to Honorable George W. Churchwell of Knoxville.

"Senate Chamber, February 23, 1836.

"My dear Sir: Your favor under date of the 8th instant was received, apparently safe, on yesterday. We have had, almost constantly, a state of very high excitement in Congress, and have as yet done but little, except talk.

"The Globe has become more and more abusive. It is now plainly seen that I will neither be coaxed, nor driven from the position in which I have been placed by my political friends. The only alternative, therefore, is to destroy me if possible. I am charged with insincerity, duplicity, falsehood, suppressing the truth, etc., without stint. In addition, it is obvious the whole power and patronage of the executive is brought to bear. For all this, I care not. My leading friends here stand firm, and fearlessly do their duty. How many of them may do so elsewhere, time alone will show.

"I shall calmly, coolly, and without faltering, as well as I am able, discharge what I think the duty assigned me, without stopping to consider whether it will elevate or depress me in public opinion.

"The policy is to whistle off as many of my friends as possible, and to sacrifice the rest.

"When the contest is over, even if left a private citizen, I would not exchange either feelings or character with the venerable Chief Magistrate. I intend to act, as far as God may enable me, upon the principles which I have ever avowed, which I believe are sound and correct. I will, therefore, have my own approbation: whereas, my old friend is in open disregard of the leading measures he professed to entertain when he sought power, and is saying, and countenancing others in saying, things against me, which he has the strongest reasons to believe are unjust and unfounded.

"Our French War is happily ended. Should the instructing, expunging resolutions have passed, I shall leave for home as soon as I can take the necessary preparations.

"If permitted to remain here, I have no doubt we shall have the names of some of Our Flying Squad in Tennessee before the the Senate for their pay. My health continues very good.

"Most sincerely and truly,

"Hu. L. White.

"Hon. G. W. Churchwell."

"Washington, June 18th, 1836.

"My dear Sir: I thank you most sincerely for your letter enclosed to Mr. Lea, and which he handed me on yesterday.

"I see no reason to conclude that anything which has occurred here during the session can have the effect of doing us harm; on the contrary, I think we may well flatter ourselves that progress has been made in giving to the people some useful information.

"Everything in the power of the executive to do for the purpose of injuring me has been done, and I doubt not the same course will be continued.

"In conformity with my own judgment, as well as what I believe the wishes of my constituents, I have in every instance sustained the executive, excepting only in such measures as I believe inconsistent with the great principles for which we all struggled when the present President came into power.

"Strange as it may seem, I have no doubt the truth is, the President is exceedingly anxious that it should be known that his successor will have been elected by his means and influence; and I am perfectly convinced he intends to put down every man who dares to throw any obstacles in his way.

"That the timid and calculating will yield to his wishes is according to the common course of things; as to myself I am content to await the result without anxiety. I will never yield to the dictation of any one man living, but will willingly abide the expressed will of a majority, be that what it may. That the patronage of the government has been used, is now being used, and will continue to be used to influence public opinion, I firmly believe. After the 4th March, 1837, the opinion and influence of General Jackson will be regulated entirely by the manner in which his whole public conduct shall be estimated by the community at large.

"I venture one prediction, and that is that if he ever after that period should need friends, he will find very few among those he is now serving most zealously.

"Why should we try to prove our letters were broken? Who cares? Those who are profited by such villainy will only be the better pleased. All we can do in such cases is to state the truth as it is, whenever and wherever we please, and let others believe or disbelieve us as best suits them.

"You must expect and so you will find the truth to be, that you will have the opposition and enmity of all those who believe you are, or will be, in their way; and you will have better luck than I if you do not find those most bitter whom you have treated best.



"Patience and good temper under injustice is always the best policy. When people lie, live them down by exemplary conduct.

"Your letter at the close of the session was received and answered. As you did not receive the answer, some one else received the benefit of it.

"If ill usage could disgust any one with the world I ought to be disgusted; but I am not. When those who ought to treat me well, ill use me, I am more than compensated by the friendship and support of those who are under no obligation to me.

"Most sincerely and truly yours,

"Hu. L. White.

"George W. Churchwell, Esq."

## CHAPTER 3.

Hugh Lawson White—The State of Franklin—Resignation from the Senate—Death—Opinions of Judge White from Thomas H. Benton, Henry A. Wise and Henry S. Foote.

## WHITE ON THE STATE OF FRANKLIN.

On March 24, 1838, the Sub-Treasury Bill was before the Senate, and Daniel Webster in his speech referred to the currency of the State of Franklin, to which Senator White replied:

"The senator from Massachusetts (Mr. Webster), at the close of his reply to the senator from South Carolina, 'for his special benefit,' in very good temper, and in a most happy manner, referred to the early history of that portion of my State, now called East Tennessee, once known as the State of Franklin. He read us a part of one of her acts of assembly, which fixed the salaries of some of her officers, and directed the species of currency in which they were to be paid.

"I always feel gratified when I know or hear that my State has done anything which benefits any portion of my fellow-men.

"'Blessed are the peace-makers,' is the language of Holy Writ. On this occasion the two honorable and distinguished senators had assumed an attitude so belligerent, that I really feared it might end in something worse than words. But no sooner were the labors of my State fifty years ago brought to the notice of this grave body, than we all forgot that any of us had ever been out of temper, and so soon as we could recover composure enough to adjourn, we separated like a band of brothers—no two leaving the chamber in better temper with each other than the two honorable senators.

"But, sir, the senator knew nothing of the practice under the State law, therefore, we have not the full benefit which we ought to derive from his reminiscence. He could have related the whole incidents so much better than I can, that I regret he did not mention this subject to me before he addressed the Senate; if he had I would have given him the additional facts, that the whole might have been detailed in the Senate in his good tempered and felicitous manner.

"It will be remembered that the Governor, Chief Justice, and some other officers were to be paid in deer-skins, other inferior

officers were to be paid in raccoon-skins. Now, at that day, we were all good whigs, although we had some of the notions of the democracts of present days.

"We thought these taxes might safely remain in the hands of the collectors as sub-treasuries until wanted for disbursement. The taxes were, therefore, fairly collected in the skins and peltry pointed out in the law. But the collectors, as report says, knew that although raccoon-skins were plenty, opossum-skins were more so, and that they could be procured for little or nothing. They, therefore, procured the requisite numbers of opossum-skins, cut off the tails of the raccoon-skins, sewed them to the opossum-skins, paid them into the general or principal treasury, and sold the raccoon-skins to the hatters.

"The treasurer had been an unlucky appointment, although a worthy man; he was a foreigner, knew nothing of skins or peltry, and was therefore, easily deceived by his sub-treasurers. When this imposition was discovered the whole system went down, and we never have had a great fancy for leaving the taxes in the hands of the sub-treasurers or collectors from that day to this.

"But sir, these old proceedings more clearly developed the true character of my State than almost anything of the present day.

"The territory or tract of country called Franklin, was composed of four counties of North Carolina, and separated from the body of the State by the great ledge of mountains, called at different places by different names, and from what is now West Tennessee by the Cumberland Mountains, and a wilderness of two hundred miles.

"The Revolutionary War had terminated with Great Britain in 1783, but it continued with the powerful tribes of Indians who had been in alliance with her. The depredations of these Indians were so serious that aid to arrest their ravages was desired from North Carolina; that State was not in a situation to furnish protection, and instead thereof, from good motives, no doubt, but without due consideration, passed an act ceding us to the United States. When the news was received, the leading men, who were King's mountain men, Sevier, the companion of the gallant Campbell and Shelby, at their head, took fire; the discontent ended in a declaration of independence, and the formation of the State called, to perpetuate our whig principles, 'Franklin.'

"North Carolina discovered her error, and, before Congress could act on the subject, repealed her act of cession. But it was too late. We had been disposed of without our consent. Though but a handful, with a powerful savage enemy infesting our whole frontier, and without a dollar to begin with, we set up for ourselves. We would not brook the indignity; we had begun the fight for liberty, and liberty or death we would have. We continued the controversy till 1789, when an accommodation with our parent State took place; and with our own consent and upon

terms thought just, we, with other portions of territory, were ceded, in 1789, to the United States.

"In 1796, we became the State of Tennessee, and how we have since conducted, I willingly leave to the judgment of our sister States.

"I confess, instead of feeling humbled by, I am proud of, this ancient reminiscence. I feel proud that my ancestor was one of that unyielding band; that I now find myself associated here with a Sevier and a Tipton; and although I sometimes think two generations back those of their name would not have worked so tamely in party gear, yet every once in awhile the blood shows itself, and you can see, that if their home concerns are not attended to here, according to what is just, they break party bandages, and walk abroad in that freedom for which their fathers periled everything.

"It is true we are neither whigs, tories, nor democrats by inheritance, but there is much in blood, much in education. Early lessons from mothers are apt to have an influence upon us through life. What the father says when he first sends his boy to school is hardly ever forgotten.

"When that law was passed, and for years afterwards, the the first morning the son was to start for school, he was sure to receive the father's advice, in emphatic terms, calculated to make a lasting impression, in language like the following: 'My son, you are now going to school, you must render a willing obedience to your master; he is in my place, obey him, if you love me. Be kind to all your school fellows, do nothing offensive or unjust to them. Be careful in all you say, and do not give any of them cause of offence, and, if they will quarrel with and abuse you, take care you never come home whipped by any one of them, if you have the power to prevent it.'

"Children were taught from infancy the doctrine of equality, that no distinction ought to exist except that which was produced by vice or virtue.

"And as to circulating medium, this old act contains a volume of instruction for me. At that day, the medium of our exchanges was skin and peltry, or furs. They were the currency in which the people were obliged to transact their business, and my father, when voting for that law, thought it just that our officers, from the governor to the constable, should be paid in the same kind of currency which the people were compelled to use in their dealings with each other, and so think I now as to our federal officers. Such, I think, have been the opinions of a majority of my constituents from my youth to this day.

"My wish is to carry into effect their will. If I had fortitude enough to venture into an unknown world, I would rather do so now, and upon this spot, than knowingly to give a vote upon a subject so important, which would disappoint the wishes of the companions of my youth, the associates of my maturer years, and



those who have ever sustained me against all attacks, at every stage of life.

"What I believe to be their will, corresponds with my own judgment on this subject; and, however much I may and do regret a difference of opinion with enlightened men from other States, yet I acknowledge no responsibility to any human power except to the citizens of my own State, who have so long honored me with their confidence."

#### RETIREMENT FROM THE SENATE.

In 1838, in consequence of ill health, Judge White tendered his resignation from the United States Senate to Governor Cannon of Tennessee, who refused to accept it, and the legislature at that time being adverse to White, called on the Governor for the correspondence between him and White, and Governor Cannon made this reply:

"GENTLEMEN OF THE SENATE: In compliance with your resolution of the 11th instant, I have the honor to state that there is not in my possession, or in the executive department, or ever has been, a copy of the correspondence between the Hon. Hugh L. White and myself, touching his resignation as senator. No copy of the same has ever been taken, nor is his letter to me on that subject in my possession, or in the executive department, it having been returned to him, by his request, a short time after it was received. I have kept no memorandum of this communication, nor do I now remember its precise date. I am under the impression, however, that it was in the early part of November last, that I received a communication from this honorable senator informing me of the severe affliction he had suffered, and the very feeble state of his health at that time; also expressing his belief that he would not be able to reach Congress by the ensuing session. And in consequence of his inability, he proposed resigning his seat in the Senate of the United States in order that a pro tem appointment might be made by me in due time. On the reception of this letter, I determined to suspend my official action on the resignation thus tendered for a reasonable length of time, for the restoration of the health of our senator, sufficiently to enable him to proceed to the discharge of his duties; which determination was communicated to him with such reasons and suggestions as at that time were deemed appropriate, and resulted in an acquiescence of the withdrawal of his letter containing the proposition to resign, which was returned to him by his request, without my acceptance of his resignation, or my official action on it in any way whatever.

"This is according to the best of my recollection the substance of the correspondence which took place between the honorable senator and myself during the time and on the subject

referred to in your resolution. His praiseworthy course on this occasion afforded to my mind strong additional evidence (to a long course of the most faithful public services) of the most exalted and refined sense of honor and honesty by which he has been influenced, and few examples of which have been set before

us by the public men of our times. It has seldom happened that those occupying similar situation, whether in reference to the general or State Governments, have shown, under such circumstances, equal patriotism and devotion to the public interests, and in the assumption of authority on my part, which has been exercised in this case by me as executive of the State, I am conscious of having been influenced by honest views of the interest of the people for whom I have acted, together with what was due under the circumstances, to a well tried and faithful public servant; and in assuming the responsibility which belongs to the station I have occupied, in the discharge of this part of my duty I cannot for a moment believe that I have misconstrued the just and generous character of the people of our State, or that of their senators in the legislature, with regard to the kind and indulgent feelings which animate them towards those faithful public servants who have rendered faithful and important services to our country, to every citizen of which, as well as to your honorable body, I feel equally responsible for every official act.

"Very respectfully,

"Newton Cannon.

"Executive office, Nashville, October 12th."

Judge White held to the doctrine that a State legislature had the right to instruct United States Senators on any question except constitutional questions, and the legislature of Tennessee knew that the Judge was opposed to the Sub-Treasury bill and had announced that he would not vote for it. On January 13, 1840, Senator Wright called up the Sub-Treasury bill in the United States Senate for consideration, and, prior thereto, Judge White had been instructed by the Legislature of Tennessee to vote for the bill.

Whereupon Judge White by permission of the Senate, read his answer to the Legislature, in which he declined to vote for the bill. This answer is too long to be reproduced here, but we insert the concluding paragraphs of it.

" 'Names are nothing with me.' My motto is, 'Principles in preference to men;' while I sometimes think that of some of my opponents ought to be, 'Men without principles;' though I would be sorry to intimate that such a motto would suit your honorable body.

"I shall trouble you with no further observations on these important topics. It has been my aim to state my opinions with candor, and to maintain them with firmness; but, at the same time, to treat your honorable body with the most perfect respect.

"I was called to the service of my State fifteen years ago, without any solicitation on my part. With reluctance I accepted the high station I now occupy. I have been continued in it, perhaps, too long for the interest of the country. I have been thrice elected, by the unanimous vote of your predecessors. My services have been rendered in times of high party excitement, sometimes threatening to burst asunder the bonds of this Union, and your resolutions contain the high compliment that bitter political opponents can find only a solitary vote worthy, in their judgment, of 'unqualified condemnation.'

"I hope it will be in your power to select a successor who can bring into the service of the State more talents. I feel a proud consciousness that more purity of intention, or more unremitting industry, he never can.

"For the sake of place, I will never cringe to power. You have instructed me to do those things which, entertaining the opinions I do, I fear I would not be forgiven for, either in this world or in the next; and practising upon the creed I have long professed, I hereby tender to you my resignation of the trust confided to me, as one of the senators from the State of Tennessee to the Congress of the United States.

"Allow me to add my sincere prayer that the Governor of the Universe may so over-rule our discussions as to secure the liberty and promote the prosperity of our common constituents.

"I have the honor to be, gentlemen,

"Your obedient servant,

"Hugh L. White.

"Senate Chamber, January 11, 1840."

He then made his final adieu to the Senate.

"Mr. President. I have now finished my task; henceforth, I am to cease being a member of this body. I cannot share with former associates the honors, the privileges, or the emoluments of a senator in the Congress of the United States. At the same time, I will be relieved from my portion of the labors, and from sharing with you the high responsibilities which necessarily pertain to the station.

"In taking my leave of you, in the utmost sincerity my prayers are, that collectively and individually you may be enabled to pursue a course which will afford you the highest comforts in this life; and that your labors may be so blessed as to secure you the grateful remembrances of the present and all succeeding generations."

He was now a private citizen and on January 17, 1840, a dinner was given him by friends in Washington, which the leading men of the country attended, and made speeches, and soon after he started on his journey to Knoxville.

#### HIS DEATH.

His death occurred April 10, 1840, and the Bar of Knoxville, citizens of Nashville, and the Bar of West Tennessee at Jackson, all took action.

#### ACTION OF KNOXVILLE, TENNESSEE, BAR.

The following preamble and resolutions were unanimously adopted.

#### "A GREAT MAN HAS FALLEN IN ISRAEL!"

"This day, about the hour of nine o'clock, at his residence near this place, the Hon. Hugh L. White ceased to exist. Henceforth he will live only in the memory of his friends and his countrymen. He was certainly a great and worthy man; a friend to truth, virtue, liberty, and the Constitution. His was a life of labor and activity, a life of usefulness, moderation, regular conduct, and inflexible integrity. The law was his profession. By his fair, open, and manly conduct he won the sincere affection and approbation of all his contemporaries. He was an agreeable and eloquent speaker. In him were happily blended a profound judgment, and accomplished address. In him the unfortunate and the honest ever found a protector, while the guilty were marked for punishment. Raised to the highest office in his profession, he did honor to the station, and was among the greatest and ablest magistrates that ever lived among us. Elevated to a seat in the United States Senate, he maintained that purity of character which marked his private life. He loved the Constitution, not would he consent to forced construction of that instrument for the oppression of the people. The future historian will not fail to record his virtues. We all know that his private character was without blemish; he was an affectionate husband, a kind parent and a steadfast friend. In short, he died as he lived, a true republican, an ardent advocate of the rights of man, and an enemy to arbitrary power.

"Resolved, That in token of our high respect and esteem for the private virtues, and public character of the deceased, we will wear the usual badge of mourning for thirty days.

"Resolved, That the foregoing preamble and resolutions be presented by the Hon. Edward Scott, on tomorrow morning, to the Chancery Court now in session in this place, with the request that the same be entered on the record of the Court.

"Resolved, That we tender to the family and relatives of the deceased our sincere condolence on their late distressing bereave-



ment, and that the Secretary furnish them with a copy of these proceedings."

ACTION OF CITIZENS OF NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE.

The following preamble and resolutions were adopted:

"THE BEAUTY OF ISRAEL IS SLAIN UPON THY HIGH PLACES.

"Hugh Lawson White has passed off the stage of the great theatre of life! Well and nobly has he sustained the high character for which he was cast. Would that the curtain of mortality had not fallen, till the epilogue to his eventful life had all been acted out and spoken, in the surely vindicating future. *Quod scriptum scriptum est!* 'What is written, is written.' Yes! in the court above, the decree, how truly irreversible! has been entered up: and the name and virtues and services of Judge White are become the priceless inheritance of his country. Conspicuous among those of his day, to whom it has happened to have lived, acted and spoken under the scrutinizing eye of history, he has labored for the benefit of his country, as truly as ever a man toiled for his family.

"Illustrious by the eminence of his virtues, the usefulness of his talents, the importance of his functions, his character needs no indeterminate communications, no accumulated epithets, no didactic reflections. His merits require no exaggeration. He had nothing to dissemble. His history, written with faithfulness, will be his best eulogium. 'He hath so planted his honors in our eyes, and his actions in our hearts, that for our tongues to be silent, and not confess so much, were an ungrateful injury; to report otherwise, were a malice, that giving itself the lie, would pluck reproof and rebuke from every ear that heard it.'

"The spontaneous feeling of unaffected sorrow, which has here convened the friends of the deceased, can find but imperfect expression in these extemporaneous and preliminary proceedings. We pause at the threshold till, some orator, worthy of his subject, shall bid us enter, with becoming awe, the temple of his fame.

"From the age of thirteen, roughly disciplined in the border life of Tennessee; at nineteen, acting a manly part in savage warfare; a judge at the early age of twenty-eight, and for twelve years giving universal satisfaction by able, and in many instances important decisions; twelve years president of the Bank of Tennessee, it was always prosperous by his prudent and wise counsel; a Senator in the State legislature; district attorney of the United States; Commissioner between Virginia and Kentucky in the settlement of important land claims, and again, under the Spanish treaty. In all these varied trusts, equally honest and capable, he was the exact, efficient man of business; twice was he elected without opposition to the Senate of the United States, and on a memorable occasion, when in the conflict of great principles, an arbiter was needed to control giant minds, he was chosen

to preside over that body. As self-poised and magnanimous in declining honors, as in accepting office, he refused a seat on the bench of the Supreme Court of the United States, and more than once a place in the cabinet of the federal executive. In a public career of forty years, of spotless integrity, with a rare disinterestedness, he twice refused compensation, to a large amount, for most valuable public services.

"Nor is the reverse of the medal less beautifully defined. His private life exhibited the perfect harmony of his whole character; and so attractive has it ever been, that his numerous friends have regarded him more with the sentiments of paternal affection, and the tenderness of a near relationship, than with the ordinary feelings which attach a public man to his constituents. Accordingly they have rejoiced at his well deserved success, or have been indignant at the ungrateful returns which the best benefactors often receive, and in all vicissitudes they have felt his reputation dear to them as their own personal concern, and they still "Wear him in their heart's core; ay, in their heart of hearts."

"Ungrateful returns! They were the vouchers of his uncompromising integrity and consistency; they were the evidences of his greatness!

"When attacked, he defended himself beyond all ordinary powers of endurance, with the weapons of truth, and the bravery of conscientious uprightness. That reputation which grows, as the oak, through all changing seasons amidst alternate storms and sunshine, shall still be firmly rooted and majestic, when the rude tempests of party strife are all blown over. The subject of our eulogy has been in this triumphant, that his last days were the best witnesses of his worth. Death only could subdue him. 'Without fear and without reproach,' he had a right to demand an honorable discharge; but his self sacrificing, generous love of country, brought him to the foremost place in that hot fire in which we are now engaged. He has died in his armor, covered with glory. 'His end lamented by the good, by none more than by us.'

"Dear let his memory be, and proud his grave!

And this his epitaph: 'He lived, he fought  
For truth and wisdom, foremost of the brave,

Him glory's idle fancies dazzled not,

'Twas his ambition, generous and great,

A life to life's great end to consecrate!"

"'He came to his grave in full age, like a shock of corn cometh in, in his season!' Full of years, and of just honors full, the venerable White 'rests from his labors and his works do follow him.'

"Resolved, That we lament the death of the Hon. Hugh L. White, as a great calamity; in which our sense of loss to that cause to which he was more especially pledged in the present posture of public affairs, is merged in condolence with the good, the enlightened, and the liberal of all parties.

"Resolved, That it be suggested to the whig electors to wear the usual badge of mourning ninety days.

"Resolved, That we deeply sympathize with the immediate family of the deceased, and that a copy of these proceedings be transmitted to them, as an expression of our condolence.

"Resolved, That the record of these proceedings, signed by the Chairman and Secretary, be published in the newspapers at Nashville."

#### ACTION OF THE BAR AT JACKSON, TENNESSEE.

The following resolutions were adopted:

"Resolved, That in his death the Bar of this State has sustained the loss of a most distinguished ornament; the people of Tennessee, of a long tried and faithful servant; society, of a good and useful citizen; his family, of a kind father and affectionate husband; mankind, of one of the noblest of the race.

"And, therefore, that we are penetrated with feelings of an unfeigned sorrow and regret upon the occasion of his death; and that the members of the Bar of West Tennessee, assembled at this meeting, respectfully and affectionately tender their condolence and sympathy to his bereaved family.

"Resolved, That a copy of the proceedings of this meeting be presented to the Supreme Court at this place, with the request that the same may be entered on the minutes of the Court; and that a copy be addressed to the family of the deceased;

"And that a copy be furnished for the press, with a request that the proceedings may be published.

"And that the same be signed by the chairman and Secretaries."

On Monday, April 20, 1840, the resolutions were presented to the Supreme Court of Tennessee, then in session at Jackson, with the request that they be spread on the minutes of the court, to which request Judge W. B. Reese replied on behalf of the Court:

"We have been requested to cause to be spread upon the records of this court, a copy of the proceedings of a meeting of the members of the bar of West Tennessee, in attendance at the present term, intended by them as a testimonial of their regret for the death, and their respect for the memory of the Hon. Hugh L. White. We promptly and cordially assent to this request.

"We received with the liveliest sensibility and profoundest regret, the melancholy intelligence that one so long and so eminently distinguished as a member of our profession, and as a judge of this court, is no more to be numbered among the living. The individual upon whom has devolved the duty of responding to the request of the gentlemen of the bar, has known the deceased intimately for the last twenty years. The traits of his character were strongly marked. His intellect was unusually active, acute, clear and vigorous. He had great firmness of purpose and energy

of will, and if his temper was ardent, and his emotions sometimes intense, he had a prudence, discretion and fairness which directed his efforts to right ends by the use of proper means. His professional career commenced about the time when this State became a member of the Union, and he rose at once to honorable distinction. Although his preparation, scholastic and professional, as might be expected from the character of the country and the times, was rather accurate and useful than extensive, still, such were the endowments of his mind, and the strength of his character, that for forty-five years, and to the last, he kept up with the improvements of society and the development of our institutions, and never lost that position in the very first rank of his profession with which he set out. As a lawyer, he was ever at his post and always prepared. As a speaker at the bar, he was animated, argumentative and eminently impressive; force and perspicuity were his striking attributes. As a judge, he was courteous, dignified, impartial and able. This elevated station he reached at an early age, and he largely contributed by the purity of his personal character and the energy, wisdom and justice of his official actions, to impress upon a new community that respect for, and submission to, an enlightened administration of the law, which has in all times and under all circumstances since, so honorably distinguished them.

"The moral qualities of Hugh L. White were of the first order. Truth, that basis upon which must rest all the virtues, he strongly loved, and scrupulously practiced. His integrity was inflexible; no example of others, no fashion of the the times could tempt him, for a moment, into any transaction, questionable in the motive or equivocal in the tendency. He was an honest man, and ever kept his escutcheon stainless; and this he himself regarded as the highest and most honorable point in personal character. As a husband, a father and neighbor, he was all that a man, such as we have described him, could be expected to be. His long and active life brought him in contact with society at points which we mean not here to discuss. He was much in the political service of his country; even here we may be permitted to express the individual conviction that the period is not distant, when the turmoils of the present moment having passed by, few, if any, of his countrymen will be found to question the motives of his public conduct, or to deny that, in all the solid and essential qualities of a virtuous patriot and an enlightened statesman, he was eminently distinguished among the men of his time."

Three as valuable opinions of Judge White as ever appeared, come from three men, each of whom was a lawyer and a politician as White was, and all of whom knew him well. They are Thomas H. Benton, who served with him in the United States Senate, and recorded his opinion in his "Thirty Years' View," Henry



A. Wise, who was a Representative in Congress when White was in the Senate, and whose opinion is found in his "Seven Decades of the Union," and Henry S. Forte, who left his estimate of him in his "Bench and Bar of the South and Southwest." We present these in the order named.

FROM THOMAS H. BENTON.

"This resignation took place under circumstances, not frequent, but sometimes occurring in the Senate, that of receiving instructions from the General Assembly of his State, which either operate as a censure upon a senator, or require him to do something which either his conscience, or his honor forbids. Mr. White at this time, the session of 1839-'40, received instructions from the General Assembly of his State which affected him in both ways; condemning past conduct, and prescribing a future course which he could not follow. He had been democratic from his youth, came into the Senate, had grown aged as such; but of late years had voted generally with the whigs on their leading measures, and classed politically with them in opposition to Mr. Van Buren. In these circumstances he received instructions to reverse his course of voting on these leading measures, naming them; and requiring him to support the administration of Mr. Van Buren. He consulted his self respect, as well as obeyed a democratic principle; and sent in his resignation. It was the conclusion of a public life which disappointed its whole previous course. From his youth he had been a popular man, and that as the fair reward of conduct, without practising an art to obtain it, or even seeming to know that he was winning it. Bred a lawyer, and coming early to the bar, he was noted for a probity, modesty and gravity, with a learning, ability, assiduity and patience, which marked him for the judicial bench; and he was soon placed upon it, that of the Superior Court. Afterwards, when the judiciary of the State was remodelled, he was placed upon the bench of the Supreme Court. It was considered a favor to the public to get him to take the place. That is well known to the writer of this view, then a member of the General Assembly of Tennessee, and the author of the new modeled judiciary. He applied to Judge White, who had at that time returned to the bar, to know if he would take the place; and considered the new system accredited with the public, on receiving his answer that he would. That was all he had to do with getting the appointment; he was elected unanimously by the General Assembly, with whom the appointment rested. That is about the way in which he received all his appointments, either from his State or from the federal government, merely agreeing to take the office if it was offered to him; but not always agreeing to accept; often refusing as in the case of a cabinet appointment offered him by President Jackson, his political and personal

friend of forty years' standing. It was long before he would enter a political career, but finally consented to become Senator in the Congress of the United States; always discharging the duties of an office, when accepted, with the assiduity of a man who felt himself to be a machine in the hands of his duty; and with an integrity of purpose which left his name without spot or stain. It is beautiful to contemplate such a career, sad to see it set under a cloud in his advanced years. He became alienated from his old friends, both personally and politically, even from General Jackson; and eventually fell under the censure of his State, as above related, that State, which for more than forty years, had considered it a favor to itself that he should accept the highest office in her gift. He resigned in January and died in May, his death accelerated by the chagrin of his spirit; for he was a man of strong feelings, though of such measured and quiet deportment. His death was announced in the Senate by the Senator who was his colleague at the time of his resignation, Mr. Alexander Anderson; and the motion for the usual honors to his memory was seconded by Senator Preston, who pronounced on the occasion a eulogium on the deceased as just as it was beautiful."

FROM HENRY A. WISE.

"We were at the time living at the same house with Judge White, and proud of his intimacy and confidence. He was one of the best judges of men and things we have ever known, and one of the purest and most exalted patriots who ever served his country, always unselfishly, with a stern virtue and the strongest sense of duty, but ever touched by the tenderest devotion and affection. He was grave, taciturn, and laborious, always conscientiously exact, strict, and precise, and abhorred every form of deceit, injustice, or want of ingenuosness. He committed himself rarely and slowly, but once committed he was immovable as a rock unless convinced of a wrong, and was wholly inapproachable by any indirection or circumvention. His knowledge of the intrigues going on around him was inexplicable and the thoughtfulness by which he discerned and resolved them almost awed one as by the presence of a seer whose prophecies were certain to be realized. He was very thin, tall, and ghostly in appearance, but was physically very sinewy and strong; and had immense capacity for labor. His eyes were a clear blue, but small, and so deepset that when he drew his brows over them in thought or conversation they looked like black diamonds, scintillating various sparkling lights; and his lips were so compressed that he wore an appearance not only of firmness but also of constant restraint and self-command. He was always terribly in earnest, yet at times enjoyed humor, such as that of the inimitable Bailie Peyton, and when he did smile, which was seldom, it was the sweetest smile we ever caught from lip or cheek of man. He was a great and good man, without fear and without reproach.

"One evening in the session of 1838-39, Mr. Clay and Mr. Bell called upon us at our room and at once opened up on their desire and purpose to ascertain whether Judge White expected to be nominated again for the Presidency, and if not, whether he would support Mr. Clay, or whom he would support. They said they came to us because we had better access to him on that subject than any of our colleagues, who desired not to seem as presuming even that he would not permit his name again to be used. They all loved him, preferred him to any other living man, but knew he could not be nominated, and therefore they felt great delicacy in approaching him on the subject. Mr. Clay desired to know his views, and above all, desired to have his influence. We told him that there was but one way proper in which to approach Judge White. It was useless to attempt it by indirection, or by circumlocution or circumvention. He had to be approached with the naivete of a little child; one would have to go, as it were, to his knee, look up in his venerable face, with truth and innocence on one's brow, and say, 'Judge White, Mr. Clay and Mr. Bell requested me to ask, 'Will you please stand out of Mr. Clay's way and give him your influence for the Presidency?'

"Mr. Clay laughed heartily, and said that he believed honesty was the best policy with Judge White, and he left it to us to take our own way; he was certain it would not be like that of any one else. He was reminded that Judge White was not to be treated like any other man; that if diplomacy was attempted with him, he was so godlike in wisdom and so instinct with virtue that he would divine one's thought before fully fit for his inspection; and that if any arts of address were used with him, he would give a look which no one would wish to meet, but not a word would be got from him. We would see him at their instance, and report in due time.

"After tea one evening succeeding this interview, Judge White had retired to his room, we tapped at his door, and were at once admitted. He was at his table, as usual, arranging his papers for the night's labors, but laid everything aside upon our entrance, and, without equivocate or reserve, we told him at once the object of our visit.

"His face had at times very singular expressions. Whenever his attention was suddenly arrested by some important matter new to him, presenting new aspects, or revealing fully some suspected facts or truths, there would be, involuntarily as it were, a slow contraction of his brow, a close compression of his lips, and a rapid working of his nasal muscles and nostrils, with a hard and audible rapid breathing. He heard us through, as he always did everybody, and quickly this singular expression come over his countenance, and he sat breathing and musing in silence. We rose after a few moments, saying that, having discharged our mission, we would retire. He immediately arose,

took us by the hand, and said, warmly, that we could not have done him a greater political favor; and Mrs. White, his good, kind wife, remarkable for her discernment, dignity, and good sense, stepped to the door and added her especial thanks.

"We left him to his own reflections, confident that they would be wise and prudent; and in a few days our confidence in him was confirmed. He came, after taking his own time, to our room, and there and then explained his past course and motives, reviewed the then current political events, disclosed his own purposes and resolutions, discussed the politics and prospects of every probable candidate for the Presidency, and opened a vista of prophecy for twenty-five years of the future of the United States, which has since been so surprisingly fulfilled that we never think of him and of that conference without wonder. He reminded us how he had been compelled, by the dictation of General Jackson as to his successor, to allow his name to be used for the presidential nomination in the year 1836. He never desired the nomination, but had been obliged to accept it, in order to resist dictation and to meet the charge that he was misrepresenting his State and her people in opposing Mr. Van Buren.

"He had run, in fact, for Tennessee alone, and Tennessee had amply vindicated his course against every appeal and appliance of Andrew Jackson himself. That was sufficient for him, and he claimed no more. He said that he knew too well the aspirations and machinations of men and parties and factions at Washington, and the probability of events, not to know that he had no chance for another nomination, but that even if the chances for it were good, or the best, he had no desire for the Presidency; that he was then an aged man, had lost many of the most precious objects of life, was trying to make his latter days like those of a Christian about to depart to a better world, had no longer any aspirations in this world but to see his country remain free and prosperous, preferred retirement, and was preparing to die in peace, and he must not be deemed or suspected as in the way of any aspirant. That was the solution of the first problem; he would not again accept a nomination for the Presidency."

FROM HENRY S. FOOTE.

"Thus closed the public career of one of the most meritorious personages that the State of Tennessee has ever held within her confines; a man who, alike in domestic and social life, was an exemplar of moral purity and disinterested patriotism; honest, sincere, scrupulously truthful, pure-minded and resolute in the performance of duty; of a lofty and independent spirit; an inflexible devotee to the principles which he had in early life espoused and to which he ever adhered, regardless of the fascinations of place, the insidious persuasives of professing friends, or the menaces of party proscription; unjust to no man; affable and courteous towards all with whom he had intercourse; not easy to take



offence, but, if wronged or insulted, quick to resent, and persevering in his efforts to bring the aggressor to a proper sense of his own injustice; yet placable and forgiving upon a proper show of atonement, and ever ready to make a charitable allowance for the weaknesses, petty aberrations, or honest mistakes of others. Few men have ever lived who possessed a mind more acute and vigorous; a judgment more unerring, both as to men and the affairs in which they have to deal; a quicker and more profound prescience of the future, or a more unerring divination of the motives which ordinarily influence men in public station. His style of composition was not unlike that of Chief Justice Marshall—plain, direct, forcible; free from everything like tawdry rhetorical ornaments, and fastening his own convictions upon the minds of other men with a logic which nothing could resist, and with a mild but earnest persuasiveness which rendered it delightful to agree with him, and painful to dissent from one so unassuming, so gifted, and so wise. His industry when engaged in the performance of judicial functions was most unrelenting; though there was nothing in him of that blustering and ostentatious activity and self importance sometimes displaying itself so disgustingly upon the bench; his demeanor in the sanctuary of justice was always marked with serenity, with patience, and with a vigilance which knew no relaxation; and the decisions which he from time to time rendered in cases of the most difficult and exciting character were uniformly such as gave the most complete satisfaction both to the bar and the country. Law, as a science, he had fully explored; his mind was a storehouse of well-digested juridical principles; and he had conceived in his early life, and cherished to the day of his death, a high and elevated sense of the dignity of the legal profession. As a constitutional lawyer it is doubtful whether the Republic has ever produced Judge White's superior, and some of his most elaborate speeches in the National Senate upon important questions of finance, are perhaps as valuable specimens of politico-economical discussion as can anywhere be found. It cannot be said that Judge White was endowed with a brilliant and fervid imagination; he had no claim to be recognized as a man of sparkling wit; and he very rarely indulged in mere humorous allusion; but, on several well known occasions, whilst he was a member of the Senate of the United States, he displayed not a little power in the department of satire, and, on the spur of the occasion, when under the influence of special irritation, spoke in a tone of caustic and withering severity, which was not the less effective perhaps by reason of its being so little in unison with his accustomed manner of speaking in this dignified and illustrious body. Could Judge White's proud and independent nature have permitted him to submit, with a tameness and servility now so common, to the exacting and heartless rules of party discipline, it is not to be doubted that it was in his power to have reached the Presidential

station; and no unprejudiced man will be now inclined to deny, in view of much that has been occurring during the last forty years, that his advent to power in the year 1837 might have been attended with many beneficial results, and have saved the men of this generation from the experience of evils the magnitude and detrimental influence of which could scarcely be overestimated.

"As a forensic advocate Judge White was distinguished as much as any lawyer of his time, by his modest and unassuming manner, his freedom from all affectation and parade, the simplicity and aptness of his illustrations, and his marvelous powers of condensation. Cicero has told us, in his 'Orator,' that the 'eloquent speaker is a man who speaks in the forum and in civil causes in such manner as to prove, to delight, and to persuade.' This seems to me as precise and accurate a description of Judge White as could well be drawn."

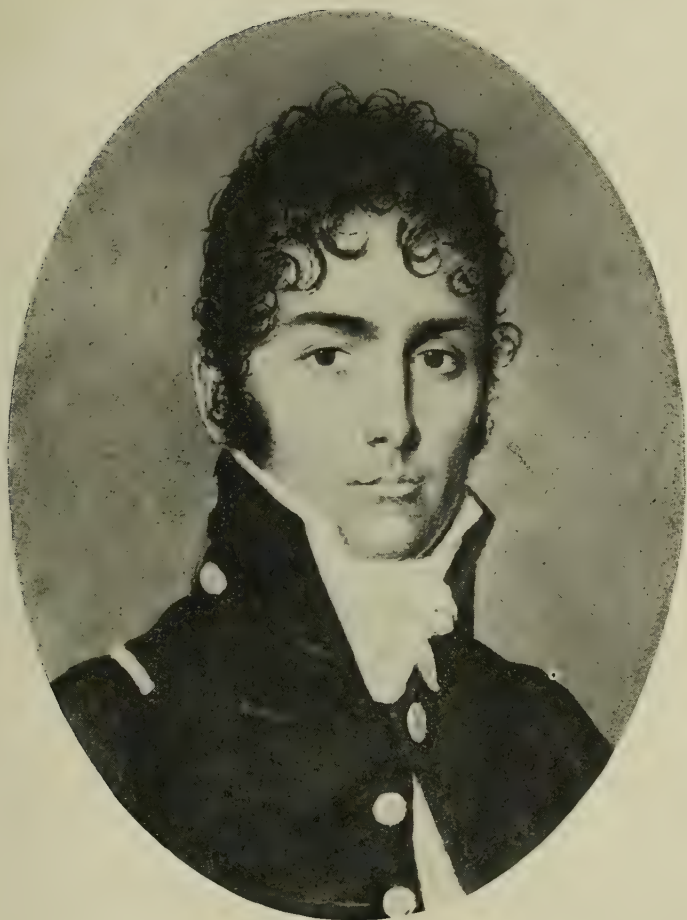
## CHAPTER 4.

### John Reid, Aide and Military Secretary to Jackson —His Letters from the Indian War and Battle of New Orleans.

Major John Reid who was aide and military secretary to General Jackson through the Indian wars and at the battle of New Orleans and until his death January 18, 1816, was born in Bedford County, Virginia, in 1784, and received a classical education. He read law, and moved to Tennessee, then a sparsely settled wilderness, in 1807, and located in Rutherford County. Two years later, in 1809, he married and moved to Franklin, in Williamson County, and entered the practice of law. The war began and steps were taken to prepare for General Jackson's expedition to Natchez, Mississippi; upon the recommendation of Colonel Thomas H. Benton, who lived in Franklin, and who was serving on General Jackson's staff, young Reid was appointed aide and military secretary, and his appointment signed by General Jackson, was in the handwriting of Colonel Benton. He was ensign of 1st Infantry April 21, 1806; 2nd Lieutenant December 9, 1807; resigned January 31, 1809; Captain of 44th Infantry July 15, 1814; transferred to 1st Infantry May 17, 1815; 1st Major December 23, 1814, for gallant conduct at New Orleans; died January 18, 1816. On December 14, 1813, he wrote to his mother in Virginia in reference to his proposed military duties.

#### MAJOR REID TO HIS MOTHER.

"Well, what do you think of my going to the wars. General Jackson has lately been ordered from here with fifteen hundred men to New Orleans, and has appointed me an aide. He will join the army under General Wilkinson which I think will move against West Florida. The men are all ready and we expect to leave Nashville on Christmas Day. I beg you will not suffer yourself to be made uneasy on account of my going. The detachment will hardly be kept South during the summer season and I will probably return in the spring; that is, if I go, which depends upon my ability to arrange my affairs in time, and the state



MAJOR JOHN REID





of my health, not yet fully restored. The appointment is the only one I would have accepted as it is the only one (as my duties will principally be those of military secretary to the General) that I feel competent to discharge creditably. Betsy (his wife) is as busy as a bee and is not crying."

On January 15, 1814, Major Reid again writes to his mother from Franklin:

"You will doubtless be surprised to find this letter dated as above, as you had probably begun to look for one from New Orleans or Pensacola. General Jackson embarked at Nashville on the 10th inst. with fourteen or fifteen hundred infantry. The cavalry which goes by land amounts to six or seven hundred, left this place a few days ago, the whole force making about two thousand men, or five hundred more than the President called for. I had expected to join the General near the mouth of the Cumberland where he would remain a while to take in supplies; but having experienced a slight relapse of my late illness, I was advised that it would be entirely too hazardous for me to venture upon the river in so severe a season. When I see such a number of the 'choice spirits of the country' (as Burr calls them), going, I am ashamed to stay behind; perhaps Providence designs better for me than I can now see or understand."

He notified General Jackson of his inability to go, to which Jackson replied:

#### GENERAL JACKSON TO MAJOR REID.

"I regret exceedingly the indisposition that prevents you from accompanying me. I anticipated much benefit from your aid. This has been severe weather upon the health of us all, and an exposure before yours is reinstated might be fatal, and your talents not only now lost to me, but forever to your country. The risk of this to gratify my wishes would be more than I could ask. I was fearful from your appearance when you left me that you would not be able to proceed with me on the present campaign. Be careful of your health. We have just commenced a war that will call into requisition our best talents. Save your constitution and health; you may yet be a valuable shield to your country's defense. I will, with the assistance of Major Hayne, endeavor to get along until I can find some one for your place; if I cannot find one whose abilities and disposition satisfy me, I shall make no appointment."

The expedition left Nashville January 7, 1813, and proceeded to Natchez, and was there ordered by the War Department to be disbanded, which General Jackson refused to do, as shown in

the chapter on the Natchez expedition, and marched his soldiers in a body back to Nashville, where he disbanded them.

On August 2, 1814, Major Reid wrote his mother another letter.

MAJOR REID TO HIS MOTHER.

"It is believed that we shall soon have war with the Creeks. The Governor has been directed to have a large force in readiness to march at a moment's notice, and General Jackson has issued his orders accordingly. He will in case of hostilities be united with a similar force from Georgia and from the Mississippi Territory, in the aggregate about seven thousand men, and will be able to strike a blow that will not soon be forgotten or recovered from."

Under date of September 12, 1814, he writes:

"The expedition against the Creek Nation so much talked of has not yet been ordered out. General Jackson the other day got his arm shot to pieces in an affray with Colonel Benton. It was a desperate affair, half a dozen persons being engaged in it, but fortunately no one was killed. I left the General yesterday. He appeared in good spirits and thinks he will soon recover. He is resolved at all hazards to lead the troops against the Creeks if ordered out. I fear his condition is more critical than he supposes it to be."

The massacre at Fort Mims occurred on August 30, 1814, it was not known in Nashville until September 18, and that information, of course, started a frenzied activity to raise an army and send to the Creek Nation. Under date of October 4, 1814, Major Reid writes his father:

MAJOR REID TO HIS FATHER.

"The whole State is under arms. Nothing is now seen but the movement of troops, nor heard but the beating of drums. The infatuated Creeks who have committed so many unpunished depredations upon the defenseless frontiers have, by an unparralleled atrocity, at length thoroughly aroused the government. They recently attacked the Fort in the Mobile River containing four or five hundred persons, men, women and children, and put them to indiscriminate slaughter, scarcely one escaping. Five thousand troops are marching from the State under General Jackson. They will unite somewhere in the Creek Nation with three thousand from Georgia. I have been at the General's headquarters in Nashville until a few days ago, when I came home to complete my preparations to join him on the march. I start tomorrow. I go with him in the capacity of an aide."

The Major's letters from this date on through the battle of New Orleans afford valuable light upon the conduct of the war. He wrote various letters to his wife, the first of which was dated October 24, 1814, at Camp Deposit.

#### MAJOR REID TO HIS WIFE.

"We shall leave the encampment to-day for Ten Islands on the Coosa, distant about sixty miles. From thence if we are not stopped by the enemy or starvation (I dread the latter much more than the former), we shall move with all practicable dispatch to the confluence of the Coosa and the Tallapoosa. The hostile Creeks are fully apprised of our coming, and yet show no signs of falling back. We expect a battle with them in a few days. The General declares that he will not retreat nor survive a defeat. Therefore, look soon either for very good or very bad news. All I fear is famine. Our expected supplies have not arrived and we have only two days' rations. The country cannot support us. . . . We are cutting our way over mountains almost as difficult as the Alps, but difficulties only seem to stimulate the General."

On November 4, 1814, from Ten Islands, he wrote his wife:

"At last we have had a battle with the Creeks. A detachment under the command of General Coffee attacked them at Talluschatchie where they were concentrated in force, yesterday morning. They made a desperate resistance, but were utterly routed. One hundred and eighty-six were found dead on the ground; two hundred were doubtless slain. We lost five killed and forty wounded. I rode over the field of battle, the first I ever beheld; it is impossible to conceive so horrid a spectacle."

On November 11, 1814, from Fort Strother, he again wrote his wife:

"We have had a general engagement and obtained a decisive victory. It took place on the morning of the 9th. The enemy attacked us about daylight with great fury. By nine o'clock all was over. Had it not have been for a blunder of the militia, in retreating, when they were ordered to advance, the Creeks might have been destroyed to a man. Two hundred and ninety of them were left dead that we counted, and many others were no doubt killed and were not found. As far as we followed their retreat, the route was traced with their blood. We lost fifteen killed, eighty-four wounded, two of whom have since died. I will write your father more particularly when I get an opportunity; but it is now within an hour of day, and I have not slept a wink in the course of the night, having been kept up writing for the General. . . . We have been a week without corn



for our horses, and two days without food for ourselves, except a little that some of us were prudent enough to reserve."

The battle of Talladega is the one referred to in this letter.

On November 21, 1814, Major Reid wrote from Huntsville, Alabama, to Major Abram Maury, his father-in-law, at Franklin:

MAJOR REID TO MAJOR MAURY.

"I arrived here this morning to see the contractors, and shall set out on my return before day. The General came with me as far as the river; tomorrow we shall leave there together on our return to Fort Strother.

"For ten days we have been tarnishing our laurels; scarcity and starvation produced mutiny and rebellion. General Jackson never effected anything so great as when he counteracted it. It became necessary, however, to send back the greater part of the troops to Camp Deposit, and that he, himself, should hasten here to see that effectual measures are taken for future supplies. You have no conception of our privations, and of the ungovernable spirit of the men made desperate by want. Every one despaired but the General, and I believe he experienced, without expressing it, for the first time in his life, the humiliating sense of despondency. But if the spirit with which a man meets and overcomes difficulties is the true test of greatness, he is the greatest man living. I had intended to have written you circumstantially of the late battle and of all of our affairs, but whatever time I apply to my own purposes I must filch. Last night I slept not one hour, having to write to the Governor, the Secretary at War, the contractors, and about forty others."

It was under the distressing conditions brought about by want of supplies that caused a part of the troops to break away from control, and to start to march on their way home, when General Jackson placed himself with a gun in the road, and declared that he would kill the first man who advanced another step. Parton, in the first volume of his *Life of Jackson*, tells this incident as follows:

"He (Jackson) seized a musket and rode a few paces in advance of the troops; his left arm was still in a sling. Leaning his musket on his horse's neck, he swore that he would shoot the first man that attempted to proceed. Meanwhile, General Coffee and Major Reid, suspecting that something extraordinary was occurring, ran up and found their General in this attitude, with the column of mutineers standing in sullen silence before him; not a man dared stir a foot forward. Placing themselves by his side they awaited the result with intense anxiety. Gradually a few of the troops who were still faithful were collected behind

the General, armed and resolved to use their arms in his support. For some minutes the column of mutineers stood firm to their purpose, and it only needed one man bold enough to advance to bring on a bloody scene. They wavered, however, at length abandoned their purpose and agreed to return to their duty. It afterwards appeared that the musket which figured so effectually in this scene was too much out of order to be discharged."

General Jackson entered upon what he called an "excursion" into the Creek county, and it brought on two battles, one at Emuckfau, January 22, 1814, and the other at Enotocopco, January 24, 1814. Major Reid gives an account of the latter battle in a letter to his father:

MAJOR REID TO HIS FATHER.

"We were marching in regular order in three columns as usual, prepared to form to battle on a moment, should we be attacked either in front, flanks, or rear. We had reached the creek Enotocopco, and the advance guard had passed over, together with the three columns of men armed, and the wounded. The General and myself rode leisurely down to the water's edge. He remarked to me, 'Now, if they attack us they can have no advantage.' We rode slowly into the creek and had just reached the opposite side when firing began. The General heard it with the utmost composure. He turned to me with a look as though what he wished most was about to happen, and directed me to hurry to the wounded who were a short distance in advance, and have a line formed to protect them; and to turn the left column back upon the enemy, whilst he proceeded to the right wing for a similar purpose. Thus engaged, what was the General's astonishment to behold the rear guard on the other side of the creek precipitately give way, occupying all of its passes, and bringing consternation with them. It was a dreadful moment, the enemy rapidly approaching, following us with their cries and pouring forth a destructive fire, and increased the confusion. But upon this bank and just across, was a small and select band of young men, whom nothing but dishonor should terrify; I mean the artillery company known as the General's life-guard. Their piece was at the water's edge when the firing commenced. They immediately hauled it to a slight eminence and formed about it with their muskets. There for a few moments they stood the whole brunt of the battle. The General, in the meantime, was everywhere, and by his example and words of encouragement, finally restored something like order. A large force was sent across the creek, and such fighting as then ensued has rarely been seen. Our men would not take trees or attempt to conceal themselves. They ran right on, and wanted only the sight of the enemy, then fired upon him, or charged him with the bayonet; in less than half an hour the Indians gave way and fled in every

direction. Our loss in the two actions was twenty-four killed and seventy-six wounded. The enemy left one hundred eighty-nine on the field."

The battle of Enotocopco was followed by the battle of the Horseshoe where the power of the Creek nation was crushed beyond reviving, and Major Reid, at the invitation of General Jackson, accompanied the General to Nashville, and in a letter to his mother says he had never seen anything so splendid as the General's reception at Nashville; that the citizens seemed anxious to compensate him by the profusion of one day for all he had done and suffered for eight long months; that it gave him great pleasure to see the wrinkles in the General's face, so deeply furrowed by exposure and affliction, at length curl into an expression of complacency and self-enjoyment; that everybody was anxious to see him at the head of the Northern Army.

Major Reid's next movement was to become a candidate for Congress to fill a vacancy caused by the resignation of the Honorable Felix Grundy, and he asked General Jackson for permission to await the result of the Congressional election, to which the General replied granting the permission, and giving some valuable history connected with his command at Fort Bowyer.

#### GENERAL JACKSON TO MAJOR REID.

"I with pleasure indulge your request. That you may be elected is my prayer, although it will be with regret that I part with you, for it is thought that we are to have a pretty hot time here. We have lately measured our strength with the British and gave them a severe mauling. On the 12th inst. (September) their vessels hove in sight for Mobile Point where Fort Bowyer stands. On the 13th they landed troops on the Point in the rear of the Fort; on the 14th sounded the channels, when the land force attempted with the artillery to batter down the Fort from the rear, but a few shots silenced them. At four p. m. on the 15th they approached with two ships and two brigs, anchored abreast of the fort and opened all of their guns upon it. Ours replied and at seven o'clock the foremost ship was silenced, and the second so much crippled that, with the two brigs, she drew off. All the guns of the fort then played upon the abandoned ship. She was set on fire and blown up. It was the *Hermes*, 24 to 28, 32 pound carronades. She lost all of her crew but twenty. She was commanded by Sir. William H. Percy, son of the Duke of Northumberland. You see how we treat the sons of Lords here. The other ship was the *Charon*, which lost eighty-five men. The brig *Sophia* was much shattered, but her loss is not known. The

name of the other brig is not recollected by the deserters. Lieutenant-Colonel Nichols commanded the land forces, but was taken back and went on board the Charon, where he lost an eye by a splinter. We shall have no more proclamations for a while from him or the Right Honorable Sir William Henry Percy, son of the Duke of Northumberland. Had I only one thousand men here now I would put an end to that hotbed of war, Pensacola."

Major Reid was defeated for Congress. He entered the race only upon the strong importunities of friends, and not through any voluntary wish of his own to become a member of Congress.

On August 24, 1814, General Jackson wrote Major Reid from Mobile, dating his letter "eleven o'clock at night."

#### GENERAL JACKSON TO MAJOR REID.

"At five o'clock this evening through a confidential channel, I received information of the arrival and disembarkation of two or three hundred British troops at Pensacola, with large quantities of arms and ammunition and ordnance stores; that the Orpheus with fourteen sail of the line, large transports and ten thousand men were to reach there this day; that large transports with twenty-five thousand of Lord Wellington's troops had arrived at Bermuda, and that the Emperor of Russia had offered England fifty thousand troops to aid her in Spain and conquer and subdue America; and that in one month Mobile and all the Southern country was to be in possession of the British. They do not think of the number of bloody noses there will be before this happens. But without immediate aid our feeble forces must bend before one so overwhelming; I have called into service the full quota authorized by the Secretary of War. I hope the Tennesseans will do honor to themselves. I have ordered that every Indian in my district be enrolled as a soldier and put under pay; this will alone deter them from joining the enemy. I had intended to forward short patriotic addresses but have not time and must request you to have it done in my name; we must act with energy and effect or rest assured that our liberties will go down as suddenly as the Empire of Napoleon. I am very anxious about your coming."

Major Reid started November 22d on the journey to join General Jackson, and learning that the General had gone to New Orleans, he turned his course towards that city as fast as he could travel, and after reaching there wrote to his wife under date of December 20, 1814:

#### MAJOR REID TO HIS WIFE.

"I arrived here yesterday worn completely down by exposures and privations. I will not attempt to describe my experiences on the way. It rained incessantly almost from the moment of



leaving home, swelling the smallest watercourses into rivers, and rendering the roads a perfect quagmire. One of my horses was founded in the Choctaw Nation and I was compelled to leave him behind. Another, the black, was one morning found dead in the stable. I was then one hundred and fifty miles from Natchez without any means of procuring another; I was forced to use the pack animal and contrived by slow marches to reach Lake Pontchartrain, taking the road, or rather, the path down Pearl River, to save distance.

"On my arrival at the Lake, I heard that the British who were near the Rigolets which opens into it, had, after a desperate fight, destroyed or taken our gunboats stationed near Cat and Ships Islands. No time was to be lost, and leaving everything behind except my portmanteau, I jumped into an open boat with Captain Morrell of the Navy who was also hastening to Orleans. It was near night when we set out and we expected to reach port in six hours, but, unfortunately, the compass which we counted upon obtaining from the brig then stationed upon the Lake, we failed to procure, and we were compelled to continue our trip by the aid of a few stars which faintly glimmered through the clouds. The wind now suddenly arose, the sky became wholly overcast, and we were left helpless in the dark. After tossing about until midnight, we cast anchor and waited for morning. Day came and with it an increase in the wind which blew with great violence in our faces, and drove us twenty miles westward of our destination. In a word, our situation became so perilous that even Captain Morrell was alarmed. For two whole days and nights we were at the mercy of a terrible gale in an open boat, exposed to intense cold and freezing rain, without a single blanket to cover us, or anything to eat or drink. On the third day, the Captain, finding no prospect of a change of wind, decided to run in upon the shore in the hope that when we struck we might possibly effect our escape. While attempting this, the wind unexpectedly changed; sails were set, and we finally reached port, half frozen and nearly starved, but thankful to Providence for bringing us through such extreme dangers. I had rather encounter the risks of a battle than repeat such a voyage. Poor Jack! (his servant). There was never so complete a picture of horror and despair as his countenance furnished. I write in a hurry not yet having properly settled in quarters. It is the coldest weather almost ever known here. I have no fire and my fingers are benumbed.

"P. S. There never was such a state of enthusiasm as the ardour of the General has inspired in this city. It is under martial law and every man capable of bearing arms is in the ranks."

On December 23d, 1814, he wrote again to his wife:

"As mentioned in the conclusion of my last letter, the city is transformed into a camp, martial law having been established by

the General's order. Everybody is under arms. This state of things is justified by the urgency of the moment. The capture of the gunboats on Lake Borgne was looked upon as a certain prelude to an attack upon the city. I am astonished at the resistance made when I consider the disparity of forces. There were one hundred and six of the enemy's boats, lashed two and two together, with a platform for their cannon above, attacking one little flotilla from every quarter; it was an exciting scene as described by gentlemen of respectability who were in tree tops on the shore. They reported our ships, and particularly that in which Captain Jones was, as frequently for several minutes involved in a blaze of fire.

"Notwithstanding the proximity of the enemy and the exertions made to obtain correct information, we remain wonderfully ignorant of his strength, movements, and probable intentions. An hundred rumors are afloat. At one time, the approach is by the Lake, at another, by the River, and again by land. The General seeks to be prepared for it at every point. Lord Hill is said to be on command of the enemy's forces.

"The notorious Lafitte came in yesterday. He talks with great apparent frankness and, I believe, with truth of the enemy's projects. He tells the General to keep an eye fixed on the lower plantations.

"The ardour with which all orders of men here are now animated, offers a striking contrast with the apathy which prevailed before the General's arrival, and is a splendid illustration of what one man is capable of effecting. The spirit which he has been enabled to impart is looked upon by all as a certain pledge of that resistance which will be made when the city is attacked."

On the 30th of December, 1814, he wrote again:

"I am glad that I am alive. On the 23d, a little while after I closed my last letter, news arrived that the enemy in considerable force had landed from the Lakes seven miles below the city. The moment the General heard of it he began to make preparations for attacking him in his first position. About five o'clock p. m. he got off with about fifteen hundred troops, reaching the vicinity of the enemy at seven o'clock p. m. He immediately made his dispositions for battle. Commodore Patterson, who had fallen down the river in the Schooner Caroline, afforded such co-operation as the situation might admit, opened fire on their camp. At the same time General Coffee attacked them on their right, while General Jackson who had advanced up the levee, assailed them in their strongest position near the river. The contest was maintained for nearly two hours and with the utmost fury on both sides. It was difficult to see anything but the flashing of the guns, while the din was dreadful. At length a deep fog arose, made denser by the smoke from the field, and it

became nearly impossible to distinguish friend from foe. The General thought it prudent to withdraw the troops. We lay for the night near the battle ground, and the next morning fell back to a strong position two miles nearer the city, and proceeded immediately to entrench. We have been in full sight of each other ever since. An attack was made day before yesterday to drive us from our position, which is an old ditch running for nearly a mile between the river and a cypress swamp, behind which we have thrown up an earthen embankment; but it signally failed. They are now making preparations for another attack. They can easily be seen erecting platforms for their heavy guns. We are under arms day and night while skirmishing goes on continually."

Major Reid's description as an eye-witness of the battle of January 8, 1815, will prove interesting, and a letter in which he gives the description is dated "Camp, four miles below New Orleans, January 9," and is addressed to his wife:

MAJOR REID TO HIS WIFE.

"I snatch a few moments from the little time which is allowed me for sleep to inform you that the long looked for attack by the enemy has at length been made, and repelled in a manner glorious to the American name. At reveille yesterday, I say yesterday because it is now past midnight, the enemy having completed his preparations, advanced upon us in two heavy columns on our right and left, under cover of bombs and Congreve rockets, to carry our works by storm. In a moment our men were at their posts, and displayed there all the firmness and deliberation to have been expected from veterans inured to war. For an hour the most tremendous fire of small arms was kept up, I am sure, that was ever witnessed on the American continent; twice the enemy were repulsed from our first entrenchments, and twice returned to the assault. At length, cut to pieces, they were forced to retire from the field, leaving it covered with the dead and the dying. Their loss cannot be estimated at less than 1,200 or 1,500, including prisoners, of whom we have about 300. Ours was inconsiderable, being less than ten killed and about the same number wounded.

"But while I mention the glorious result I must also inform you of an unfortunate occurrence which at the same time took place on the other side of the river, and has, I fear, defeated all the effects of our success on this side, and injured the safety of New Orleans. The enemy had, with infinite labor, succeeded on the night of the 7th in carrying their boats across the land from the Lake to the river. The General, to provide against the consequences of such a movement, established several batteries on the other side of the river, and stationed General Morgan

there with the Louisiana militia to which he afterwards added four hundred Kentuckians. The enemy simultaneously with their advance upon our lines, threw over in their boats a considerable force to the other side of the river. They immediately advanced upon the works there, and in the very moment in which they might have been repulsed, and the whole expedition defeated, the Kentuckians ingloriously fled, drawing after them the other forces, and leaving that fortunate position in the hands of the enemy. As soon as day dawns, I expect them to open their batteries upon us from that side of the river, against which we have no protection, and drive us from our present lines, or slaughter us within them. The cowardice of a single corps may thus have defeated the wisest plans and the highest display of valor in all the rest. At no moment was our situation ever so critical. God can only foresee the result. . . . I believe that Lieutenant-General Pakenham, who was the commander in chief, is killed, though if it is so, it is endeavored to be kept a secret. There are strong reasons for believing it true."

On January 20, 1815, he again wrote to his wife.

"I have good news to tell you. The enemy after six and twenty days of fighting have at length grown weary and retired to their boats. They decamped very quietly night before last, leaving eighty of their wounded, including two officers, in their field hospitals, fourteen pieces of cannon, and a large quantity of ammunition. Whether they intend to make a dash at some other point or abandon the expedition altogether we do not know."

The battle of New Orleans was finished for all time, the city was saved, the enemy was gone, and Major Reid could start for home, which he did, and from Natchez, Mississippi, on April 20, 1815, he wrote to his mother:

#### MAJOR REID TO HIS MOTHER.

"We are thus far on our way home. We left New Orleans on the 6th amid the lamentations and benedictions of men, women and children. It is impossible for you to imagine the gratitude and kindness which all classes and ages show to the General. He is everywhere held as the savor of the country. All the way up the coast he has been feted and caressed. He is regarded as a prodigy and the women and children and old men line the road and gaze at him as they would at an elephant, or some other strange animal. This sort of attention makes him feel very awkwardly. He pulls off his hat and bows graciously, but as though his spirit was humbled and abashed. He arrived this morning and is now at church, whither I have been prevented accompanying him by a great deal of business which must



be transacted before we leave this place. Of all persons living who are not professed Christians, he certainly feels most like one, if I may judge from the manner in which he often expresses himself to me in his retired and private moments. Nothing seems to shock his feelings more, nothing will he bear with less patience, than the least word uttered in disrespect of the Christian religion.

"We shall probably reach home by the tenth of next month, and perhaps in a short time afterwards, set out for Washington City. If we do, we will pass through Virginia and make you a visit. I am satisfied you will be pleased with the plain and frank manner of this really great man, but you probably like him most on account of his kindness to me. Hasty in his temper, he certainly has the best and most glorious heart in the world.

"Tonight the town will be illuminated, and tomorrow there is a dinner, and in the evening a ball to be given Mr. Jackson. This we may expect in almost every little town through which he passes. They are ceremonies he would gladly dispense with, if it could be done without seeming to slight the kind intentions and grateful feelings of the citizens."

After reaching home General Jackson and his party were unable to start on the trip to Washington until the first week in October, and reached the residence of Major Reid's father near Lynchburg, Virginia, November 8th. Mrs. Jackson and Mrs. Reid and the children were in the party, and remained at Major Reid's father's, while the General and the Major went to Washington, where they arrived on the 17th.

#### REID'S LIFE OF JACKSON.

As early as this date in the career of General Jackson, the writing of his life was under consideration by him and his friends, and it finally came about that Jackson authorized Major Reid to undertake the preparation of his biography, and the Major entered upon the task. Encouragement for the undertaking was received from every quarter, as was to have been expected. General Jackson was now a national hero, and it was in the order of things that the American people should want to know everything there was to learn about the man who had repelled the English at New Orleans. The proposed Life by Major Reid was to be an octavo volume of four hundred pages, illustrated, and sold at five dollars a copy. Before any part of the book was written, thirty thousand dollars was offered for the copyright, and General Jackson gave the enterprise his endorsement in these words:

## JACKSON'S ENDORSEMENT.

"Major Reid having made known to me his intention of publishing a history of the late campaign in the South, I think it very proper that the public should be made acquainted with the opportunities he has had of acquiring full and correct information on the subject which he purposes to write. He accompanied me as Aide-de-Camp during the Creek War and continued with me in that capacity after my appointment in the United States Army. He had and now has charge of my public papers and has ever possessed my unlimited confidence. The opportunities he has enjoyed, improved by the talents he possesses, will, I doubt not, enable him to satisfy the expectations of his friends."

In the matter of having a history of his life written in his life time, General Jackson was to go down to his grave, after repeated efforts, a disappointed man. Reid was the first to enter upon the undertaking with his consent. Years later Amos Kendall, who had been Postmaster General in his administration as President, was given possession of his official papers, documents and personal letters, with which to write the life, and Kendall failed, and these papers were then turned over to General Frank P. Blair, who also failed, although both were warm personal friends and political supporters of General Jackson in the days of his power; and after General Blair's death his sons obtained possession of the papers, and, without right or authority to do so, gave them to the Congressional Library of the United States.

The visit of General Jackson and Major Reid to Washington was an exceedingly pleasant one, and they were both treated, of course, with the most distinguished consideration. They returned to Virginia on December 15, 1815, to the home of Major Reid's father, and after staying there a few days the General and his family started homeward, and reached the Hermitage in early February, 1816. Major Reid remained behind to start his work, and had completed the first four chapters when he suddenly sickened and died on January 18, 1816, in his thirty-second year. General Jackson wrote him twice on his way to the Hermitage, and in the first of his letters, dated January 2d, he used this language: "Although with my family, I have to-day felt lost. I have felt that my bosom friend is absent from me." In the second letter, dated January 15, 1816, he used this language: "You will please recollect that I left the mare, Fanny, for your use and your property. I intend, if an opportunity offers to

send you two draft horses as soon as I reach home. . . . I need not say to you that my anxiety for the success of your book is great. There are many weighty reasons that create this anxiety. . . . Should you find any difficulty in getting it printed on your own account, write me, and I will procure the means."

Major Reid's *Life of Jackson*, left uncompleted, was finished by John H. Eaton, one time United States Senator from Tennessee, Secretary of War, and Minister to Spain. The first edition appeared in 1818. The modern reader and historian does not accredit the book with either great authority or strength by reason of its lack of detail and except for its purporting to be a *Life of Jackson*, written in part by his aide and military secretary and finished by a member of his cabinet, the book is too general to be accepted as a real biography.

Major Reid's father wrote General Jackson of the Major's death, and in a letter written from the Hermitage and dated February 8, 1816, Jackson made this reply:

#### GENERAL JACKSON TO MAJOR REID'S FATHER.

"Your letter of the 24th ultimo containing the unwelcome information of the sudden and unexpected death of my dear and much esteemed friend, Major John Reid, reached me yesterday. I came home on the first day of this month; on the second, received a number of letters that had reached Nashville. The first I opened was from Major Reid, of date the 10th January, among other things advising me of his and his family's good health. The next I opened was one from the postmaster at New London of date the 21st of January, stating that on the day preceding he had accompanied the remains of my friend to his grave. The shock that this produced is more easily judged of than explained, having just before finished the reading of his letter of the 10th. It is wrong to murmur at the decrees of Heaven. The Lord's will be done. But such the frailty of human nature that it will repine at the untimely loss of dear and valuable friends, and it is difficult to prevent exclaiming, Why were they not spared a little longer? I can well figure to myself the distress of his wife, parents and brethren. He was their darling. They, like myself, knew his value as a husband, as a son, as a brother, and as a man. We mourn for the dead, but must endeavor to comfort and cheer the living.

"On receipt of the melancholy intelligence I lost not a moment in writing to Major A. Maury, his father-in-law. I have no doubt, if his health will permit, that he will immediately go to his daughter. The interest of his dear little family must be attended to, and the book must be finished for their benefit.

If none of his friends or acquaintances in Virginia will undertake to complete the work, I will get some persons whose talents and integrity can be relied on.

"It is all-important to me that all papers of a public nature and all others pertaining to my offices, be carefully preserved. Whoever finishes the work must have free access to the originals, or copies must be made out and furnished them. The original papers must be sent to me, well bound up, the expense of which I will pay. In the event of none of his friends or acquaintances in Virginia undertaking to complete the work, please send on all the papers, books and manuscript contained in the trunk, and Major Maury and myself will endeavor to have the book finished by some competent person, and will see that the proceeds are applied to the benefit of his family.

"I will depend upon your care of the papers until a safe opportunity offers for their conveyance to me. If Mrs. Reid returns to this country, let the trunk with the papers be sent on with her. The filly I left was a present from me to Major Reid as a small token of my esteem. If Major Maury goes on, horses, etc., will be forwarded. Please write me at once and give me information whether any of Major Reid's friends will undertake finishing the book. Young Mr. Steptoe, I am told, is a young man of good education, and competent to the task. Give me a statement of the progress of the work. Any labor or information in my power shall be freely bestowed to have the work completed.

"Make a tender of Mrs. Jackson's and my best wishes to your father, mother, and family, and Mrs. J. Reid, and the dear little children. Say to them we sincerely regret and feel the loss they have sustained in Major Reid. Our exertions will not be wanting to render his family any service in our power. Accept assurance of our friendship and esteem.

"Andrew Jackson.

"Mr. Nathan Reid, Jr."

Mrs. Jackson also sent a very kind letter to Mrs. Sophia Reid, whose name she spelled "Reade." The author has corrected the spelling, capitalization and punctuation, but in all other respects the letter is reproduced just as Mrs. Jackson wrote it.

MRS. ANDREW JACKSON TO MRS. SOPHIA REID.

"Tennessee State, April 27, 1816.

"My Dear Madam:—I received your friendly and affectionate letter of March 25. I never wished for anything more sincerely than to hear from you at the time your letter came to hand. You will scarcely believe when I declare to you that I was as much distressed the day I left your house as if you had all been my nearest relations. Oh my! will you pardon me for not writing



you? I fully intended it the next day, and nothing prevented it but my writing so bad a hand. Mrs. E. Reid did not call on me as she passed above some distance, say twenty miles. How sincerely I have sympathized in your sorrows. It has not been in the power of an absent friend to soothe or relieve one sorrowful hour, or rest assured it would have been done. There is none exempt from trouble and the Great Dispenser of all who holds the destiny of nations in His hands, sees and knows what is best for us. Let us, my friend, resign to His will. Your son was an honor to his friends and country, a bright gem plucked from among them, but alas, he is gone the ways of all earth. I cannot describe my feelings on the day I left your house. Dear Maria! Often did I see her in my imagination, so strongly was it impressed on my mind to say something to her in that most solemn hour, but she was in the hands of her God, who is altogether mercy and goodness. I have written to Mrs. Reid at her father's but have received no answer as yet. General Jackson has been from home since sometime in February, through the Mobile, and all that section of the 7th District. He was three weeks in New Orleans. I frequently have letters he will return to Tennessee in May—he says to me his health is something better than usual. Alas, my dear madam, have you heard of this dreadful epidemic that has swept away nearly one-third of our citizens? So many instances of men and their wives going together, six and seven out of some families. Nothing would give me more pleasure on earth than to see you all once more except to see Mr. Jackson. Remember me to Mrs. Harris and all of her family, Captain Reid and your family, and accept for yourself my prayers that happiness may visit your abode once more, a gleam of joy sent on your evening hours is my wish.

“Rachel Jackson.

“To Mrs. Sophia Reid.”

That Major John Reid has never received the historical recognition due him in connection with the career of Andrew Jackson, is the conclusion that every student of Jackson's life must inevitably reach; and this is the conclusion, also, of at least some of his direct descendants. In a letter to the author of December 13, 1917, Mrs. Nina Reid Hunter, of Nashville, a great-grand-daughter of Major Reid, with a pride fully justified by the life, character and career of her great-grandfather, says of him:

“That he was a remarkable man everything that I know of him indicates. Major Langhorne says: ‘It was but recently the writer heard General O. O. Clay refer to having met at Mr. Step-toe's three of the most remarkable men he had ever seen: Mr. Jefferson, General Jackson, and his aide, Major Reid.’ So it is a great happiness to me to send you what I have pertaining to

him; it is very little, but I would it had been more. If my father had never lent Colonel Terrell his papers, I feel confident that he would now have some adequate place in General Jackson's history."

That the publication in permanent form of Major Reid's papers, lent to W. G. Terrell by Judge Frank T. Reid, father of Mrs. Hunter, would have given Major Reid "an adequate place" in General Jackson's history, as Mrs. Hunter suggests, does not admit of controversy; and nothing is more conclusive of this than the permanent place in Jackson's history held by Major W. B. Lewis, through his good fortune in having his letters and writings to and about Jackson, published by Parton in his *Life of Jackson*. Major Lewis will live in history as long as Jackson lives—their lives, for historians, are inseparable—and Major Lewis' descendants owe eternal thanks to James Parton, who in the preparation of his book, came to Nashville where Major Lewis lived, in search of original documents, letters, newspapers, and first-hand information of every kind. Parton was a newspaper man, with a keen and accurate appreciation of historical values, and possessed wonderful skill in making men and women live, move, breathe and talk on the pages of his history. He lost no time in getting in touch with Major Lewis and procuring from him in written form, and thoroughly considered, after exhaustive investigation of the endless stores of historical data in his possession and his personal memory of scenes he had lived through, far-reaching national events he had helped to plan and bring to pass, great men he had met and intimately knew, statements that Parton wanted and incorporated in his *Life of Jackson*. Major Lewis gave to history that which no other man in America could have given, and he knew that in writing for Parton, he was writing for posterity. The great, scrupulous and accurate care he took in depicting the time and events that he had lived through, shows that he appreciated what he was doing, both for Andrew Jackson's ultimate historical standing, as well as his own.

Major Lewis did not move across the pages of Jackson's history with any great consequence until after Jackson became President of the United States. As stated in another part of this book, Lewis did all that any other one man did, and possibly more, to make Jackson President, but his great influence was exerted afterwards, and his fortune has been that as Jackson's

confidential friend, letter-writer and officer, he wrote letters and received letters that posterity delights to read, and he was careful to preserve them; so that when Mr. Parton asked his help, he was amply prepared to give help that was invaluable for Parton's needs.

Major Reid on the other hand, was in contact with Jackson and took part in his life and career only during the Indian wars, the battle of New Orleans and a short time afterwards. He died young, when it is clear that he had not developed to their limit, intellectual and moral powers that were in him. Everything that he wrote indicates great strength and great reserve forces. Jackson never had an abler Secretary. He did not have as wide a field in which to exercise his ability as Major Lewis, but Reid made no mistakes, and the author's purpose in publishing in this chapter his letters, is to give the people of Tennessee an opportunity to estimate the man, and thereby give him "some adequate place in Jackson's history," that his granddaughter, Mrs. Hunter, correctly thinks he is entitled to.

The letters here published are only a part of Major Reid's papers turned over to W. G. Terrell by Judge Frank T. Reid, but they are enough to indicate what the people of Tennessee have heretofore been ignorant of—the calibre and capacity of Major John Reid.

## CHAPTER 5.

### John Haywood and J. G. M. Ramsey, Historians of Tennessee—Haywood's History and Career— Ramsey's Annals and Autobiography.

No State in the Union owes more to its early historians than Tennessee is indebted to Judge John Haywood and Dr. J. G. M. Ramsey. The works of both are out of print and owned by few persons or libraries in Tennessee or elsewhere. Judge Haywood bears the distinction of being the father of Tennessee history and Dr. Ramsey follows close in his footsteps.

Judge Haywood wrote of events he learned about from the lips of men who helped to accomplish them; he had a keen appreciation of what manner of men it took to lay the foundations of a great State in a wilderness.

Dr. Ramsey's father was one of the principal architects of Tennessee and his family and connections did uncounted service in many of the activities of the early days.

Hence a work telling of early Tennessee should concede both a place of honor in its recitals of the daring, suffering and triumphs of the men who first planted the white man's flag in the then wilderness of Tennessee.

The gratitude of Tennessee to Judge Haywood and Dr. Ramsey ought to be manifested by grand monuments of enduring marble, gratefully inscribed and erected by the Legislature of the State upon Capitol Hill in Nashville, for the edification and pleasure of those who will live long after the builders are dead.

#### JUDGE JOHN HAYWOOD.

Judge John Haywood, author of "The Civil and Political History of the State of Tennessee from its Earliest Settlement to the Year 1796", first published in 1823, was born in Halifax County, North Carolina, in 1753 and was the son of Egbert Haywood, a soldier in the Revolutionary War. He studied law and from 1791 to 1794 was Attorney General in North Car-



olina, and then became a judge of the Superior Court of North Carolina, where he served ten or twelve years. In 1801 he published a "Manual of the Laws of North Carolina", and followed this with "Haywood's Justice" and "North Carolina Reports", which cover the decisions of the Supreme Court of North Carolina from 1789 to 1806.

In 1802 or 1803, he came to Tennessee and settled on a farm, which he named "Tusculum," situated on the Nolensville Pike, a few miles from Nashville, where he spent the remainder of his life and where he died and was buried.

In 1812 he became a judge of the Supreme Court of Tennessee, and remained a member of that court until his death in 1826. His associates on the Supreme Bench were John Overton, Hugh Lawson White, Robert Whyte, Archibald Roane, Thomas Emerson, Jacob Peck, William L. Brown, Samuel Powell, Harry W. Humphrey, John Catron and George W. Campbell.

While on the Supreme Bench he compiled three volumes known as "Haywood's Tennessee Reports", and in conjunction with R. L. Cobb, compiled the "Statute Laws of Tennessee". He also wrote "Natural and Aboriginal History of Tennessee" and "The Christian Advocate". The work by which he will always be remembered, and without which a large part of the pioneer history of Tennessee would be irretrievably lost, is his "Civil and Political History of Tennessee". Our debt to him for this work can never be paid, or even estimated. His capacity for investigating obscure subjects and places and lighting up the lives of Tennessee pioneers prior to the adoption of the State constitution in 1796, places him in the class of those historical writers who have illustrated the early ages of various countries.

Col. A. S. Colyar of Nashville, in 1890, wrote a sketch of Judge Haywood for the edition of his "Civil and Political History" published in 1891, and we quote a very life-like description of him given to Col. Colyar by Honorable N. Baxter, Sr., who saw the Judge for the first time on the bench. In this description Mr. Baxter makes a very interesting comparison between Judge Haywood and Felix Grundy as advocates.

#### JUDGE N. BAXTER'S DESCRIPTION.

"He was the first judge I ever saw and held the first court I ever saw in session. This was at Charlotte, Dickson County, about 1822 or 1823. I was much impressed with his personal

appearance, and the picture photographed on my memory, as I now see it through the vista of more than sixty years as he sat on an ordinary split-bottom chair, is that he was a very large man and very corpulent. His arms, his legs and his neck were all thick and short, his abdomen came down on his lap and nearly covered it to his knees. His head, which rested nearly on his shoulders, was unusually large and peculiarly formed. His under jaw and lower face looked large and strong, and his head above his ears ran up high and somewhat conical, and viewed horizontally it was rather square than round. His mouth was large, expressive and rather handsome. You say of him 'that as an advocate true history will place him as the only peer of Felix Grundy.' From all I know of Judge Haywood as a practitioner of the law, gathered from every source, from tradition and inferred from his judicial opinions, I had not supposed that the analogy between the two was very striking. Haywood was, doubtless, a very successful practitioner, but won his success with the court by his astute and superior knowledge of the law and with the jury by his ability to estimate the value of his facts and present them in such array as made his argument intelligible and unanswerable, and thus enforced the accord of the jury *volens volens*. His arguments were addressed rather to the intelligence and judgment of the jury than to their passions or to any mere sentiment or prejudice. On the other hand, Judge Grundy, while no such astute and profound lawyer as Haywood was, and could not argue dry facts to that logical conclusion that Haywood could, yet he greatly surpassed Haywood in his knowledge of men. He may not have known as well as Haywood what he was talking about, but he knew infinitely better who he was talking to. And though his arguments were not logically conclusive, they were overpoweringly persuasive and winning. Haywood forced courts and juries to decide cases for him because they did not see any way out of it. Grundy let them decide cases for him because they wanted to and regarded the privilege as a boon. Grundy knew every man on the jury, not by name, perhaps, but he knew the man and the stuff he was made of; he could penetrate to his heart and to his brain; he knew what would move him and how to apply it, and when he was done with him the juror was ready to decide for him, facts or no facts, law or no law. The one practiced from the *books* and the *testimony*, the other practiced upon the *men* who were to decide the case".

Judge Haywood's volume and variety of knowledge was probably as great as that of any man in America at that time, and in addition to his knowledge he wrote a dignified, graceful and modest preface to his history of Tennessee which it is a pleasure to read, and which entitles him to be classed with those having fine literary style and attainments.

## "PREFACE.

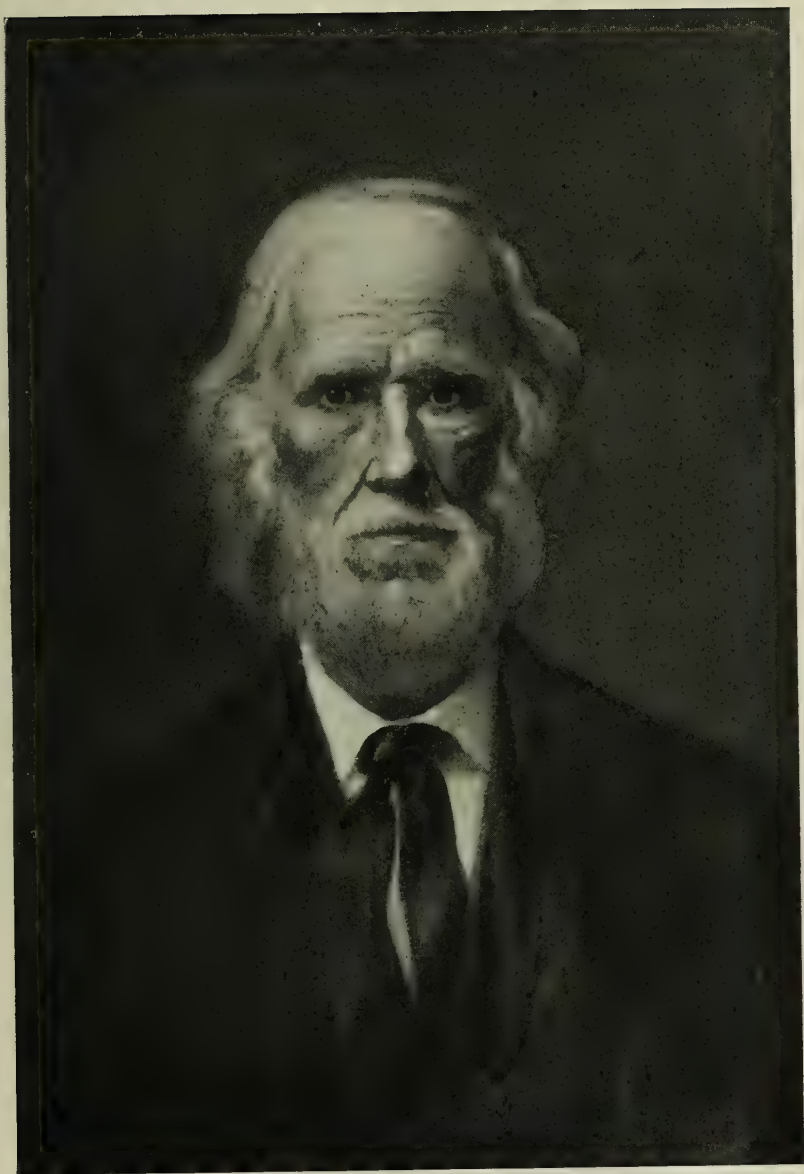
## "TO THE PUBLIC.

"In almost every State of the Union some grateful countryman has celebrated in the historic page the worthies it has produced and the illustrious deeds it has performed under their conduct. This has been done for the benefit of posterity, that they may have domestic examples to imitate; to gratify the honest pride of the people in the fame of their country; to keep them in mind of the obligations they are under to maintain its glory undiminished, and to supply them with standards of patriotism which they may endeavor to exceed if they can, and which they must not fall below. But no one has yet attempted to record the memorable achievements of the eminent men of Tennessee. According to the sphere in which they have acted and the means placed within their reach, they have deserved from their country their lasting remembrance, their highest gratitude, and their most ardent affection. Already the time has come when to many of our inhabitants their names are but just known, while in the memories of others their actions are fading away. Ought not their names and their exploits to be rescued from the obliteration of time and the tomb of silence? Shall their illustrious deeds be erased from the recollections of succeeding generations, or be preserved only in the indistinct memorials of oral tradition? And shall posterity be left unacquainted with the examples which they have given to stimulate hereafter to glorious enterprises? If their splendid achievements cannot be transmitted to after ages in the rich dress they deserve, still it is better to perpetuate them in the most simple form than to let them wholly be forgotten. Such are the motives which have impelled the author to undertake this work. Without the affectation of modesty, but in true sincerity, he knows himself unequal to the task, but his hope and expectation is that of the materials which he has now collected and recorded some future historian may avail himself, and be enabled to represent the historical occurrences of the periods embraced in this volume in a style of elegance suited to the high merit of the actors. Let no one censure his motive, for they are pure. There will indeed be much room to blame the defective performance of the author, but this he will hear with the greatest pleasure if the person dissatisfied will, for the benefit of his country, either produce a more perfect work or contribute to the amendment of this.

"THE AUTHOR."

DR. J. G. M. RAMSEY.

This generation, both in Tennessee and in a number of states where Dr. J. G. M. Ramsey's life and works are known, will hail with delight the parts here reproduced of an autobiography written by Dr. Ramsey while residing for several years in North



**DR. J. G. M. RAMSEY, HISTORIAN**

Author "The Annals of Tennessee." Photographed from an oil painting in the possession of Dr. Ramsey's grandson, Henry Ramsey Lenoir and Mrs. Lenoir, of Knoxville, Tennessee.





Carolina because of the Civil War. This autobiography is in length about three hundred typewritten pages of three hundred words to the page, and covers, in addition to the parts here given, a very full account of Dr. Ramsey's connection with the management of State Banks in Tennessee, his activities extending over many years in the promotion of pioneer railroads, and their management by him as the State Director appointed by the Governor of Tennessee, the experiences of himself and his family during the Civil War and the careers of five of his sons who were in the Confederate Army. It is all profoundly interesting, but the reader cannot help wishing that there were full details of the writing of the Annals of Tennessee, and of its distribution among the reading public, and its reception by competent critics of that day. On these points there is practically nothing.

This autobiography has never in any of its parts been published before, and the publication of any of it now is like a voice from the other world. In considering the many and important matters in which Dr. Ramsey took a controlling part in our early history, one concludes that he was of large calibre in many and varied directions.

The reading world of today knows him only as the author of the Annals, and will be surprised to learn that he could do so many things of large proportions and with such surprising success.

The author makes his grateful acknowledgments to Miss Edith Scott of Morristown, Tennessee, a great-niece of Dr. Ramsey, for the complete autobiography from which the parts here reproduced are taken, and he feels sure that Miss Scott has conferred a great favor upon the students and reading public of today by giving them the opportunity of learning what Dr. Ramsey said of himself, his family and his life.

#### PARTS OF DR. RAMSEY'S AUTOBIOGRAPHY.

The parts of the autobiography set out are not consecutive.

"Autobiographical, Genealogical and Historical Remarks on his Own Family, by J. G. M. Ramsey, M. D. N., of Mecklenburg, Tenn., written at Exile Retreat, N. C., Dec. 8, 1868.

"In these remarks will be found incidents of the exile of his wife, M. B. Ramsey and daughters, M. E. A. R. Breck and Miss Sue A. Ramsey, and of the services of himself and his five sons in the Confederate cause; with an occasional notice of other members and connections of his family.

"My paternal grandfather was Reynolds Ramsey. It is believed that his parents were Scotch-Irish Presbyterians, and that his father on coming to America settled in New Castle, Delaware. It is a tradition but fully believed by their son, Reynolds, that, on their passage across the Atlantic the mother fell over-board and was drowned. Her body could be seen floating on the sea some time after the accident, being buoyed above the waves by the stuffed or quilted dresses which ladies wore at that early period in the high latitude from which they came.

"Their son Reynolds was a good English scholar and had been well raised and piously trained. He was tall and graceful. I can even now recollect his polite bearing when yet an old man and especially to the ladies. He never entered a room with his hat on and never retired from it without a graceful bow and a modest and sincere adieu. The date of his birth is not here and not known, but it can be found in the old family Bible where I have seen it at Robert Swan's, Esq., near Cleveland, Tenn. Mrs. Swan was his grand-daughter and thus came into possession of the family record.

"Reynolds Ramsey married Naomi Alexander on the——day of 17—. These and other similar blanks can be filled by examining Mrs. Swan's Bible. Her father was a member of influence and position in——Church Pa. or New Jersey and his name appears often in the early ecclesiastical records of the Presbytery of ——to which he belonged.

"His daughter Naomi was a rigid Calvinist and had been well indoctrinated in the creed of the Presbyterian Church. After her marriage she with her husband removed to and settled upon Marsh Creek, then in York Co. Pa., now Adams Co., six or eight miles westward from the present Gettysburg. Thrift followed the industrious and frugal habits of this young couple. He rented a merchant mill upon Marsh Creek and his neighborhood was soon settled with pious and intelligent immigrants. A small village, Millers Town, soon sprang up in which soon after was organized a Presbyterian Church. Of this Rev.———afterward (1806) was the Pastor. The congregation was distinguished rather for its piety and intelligence than for wealth and refinement. Good schools and the loving ministry were always well sustained and encouraged. A respect for the laws and order of good society, for parental authority and for filial obedience and a strict regard to the teaching of the Bible and of the Protestant religion, everywhere prevailed.

"In such a community was the rising family of Reynolds and Naomi Ramsey trained. They had three or four sons and one daughter. Of these Francis Alexander Ramsey was probably the oldest and was born May 31, 1764. He was the father of the writer. Early in life he manifested great mental activity and excelled especially in mathematical studies. His chirography was elegant, he could draw well and was especially skilled in trigonometry and surveying. To these attainments were super-added

a gentle and amiable disposition, frank and urbane manners, pure words and an ambition well regulated and lofty, to make a mark for himself upon his age and posterity. No theatre presented itself for the exhibition of his capacities in the neighborhood where his youth and early manhood had been spent, and he remained therefore, with his parents only till his nineteenth year. Of two brothers of his, John and William, nothing further is known, than that they died early, one of them of consumption in Charleston, S. C., in the house and kind family of Dr. David Ramsey of that city, and whose professional aid he had sought under what proved to be an incurable disease.

"Another brother, believed to be the youngest son of his parents, Samuel Ramsey, received his academic education in his father's neighborhood and finished his collegiate studies at Liberty Hall, afterwards Washington College, in Lexington, Va., under the Presidency of Rev. William Graham. He studied divinity under the same learned divine. After his licensure he missionated in Va. a short time. Such was his admiration of his great teacher, that he assumed the name of Graham as part of his own and in all after-life was known as J. G. Ramsey. He married the widow of Rev. Carey Allen, Mrs. Elizabeth Christian, daughter of Dr. William Flemming, who was surgeon and for a part of the day Col. Com. under Gen. Lewis at the Great Indian Battle of the Kenhawa 1775-1784, I think. He afterwards about 1793 removed to Knox Co., now Tenn. and became the founder and pastor of several new churches in the new county and an approved teacher in Ebenezer Academy, which he established on his own farm. He had hemorrhage of the lungs which terminated in dropsy June or July, 1817. An extended Memoir of his ministerial labors and his educational enterprises was published in 1867-8 in the Richmond Christian Observer, written by this writer under the signature of Mnemonika, to which the reader is respectfully referred.

"The remaining number of the children of Reynolds and Naomi Ramsey was their only daughter, Amelia Naomi. She married James King, who died after the birth of Amelia King and James King. During her widowhood she resided with her parents while they remained in Pa.

"My maternal grandfather was John McKnitt Alexander. His father's name I do not know, but I believe it was James. I think he lived in Hopewell Church in either New Jersey or Pa., and was a man of position and influence, both in Church and State. His wife's maiden name was McKnitt. They had a large family of sons and daughters, of the former, the names were Hezekiah, John McKnitt, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, and the youngest Ezekiel.

"The daughters were Jemima who married James Sharp, who was a Major in the Rev. War, and Elizabeth, who married \_\_\_\_\_ Sample. My grandfather, John McKnitt Alexander, married Jane Baine, in Pa., and he, his brothers and sister, were



among the first emigrants who from 1740 to 1760 crossed the Yadkin in search of a new home in N. C.

"They founded several Presbyterian Churches in what afterwards became Mecklenburg Co. Of these, John McKnitt and another brother became elders in the present Hopewell. Major Sharp and Mr. Sample and their wives were members of the same organization. The name Hopewell was given, it is said, to the infant congregation in fond remembrance of the old church from which they emigrated. In like manner, Hezekiah Alexander became the founder and ruling elder in the Sugar Creek. The whole tribe of these Alexanders were remarkable for the tenacity with which they adhered to the doctrines and order of Presbytery. They always had a learned clergy, were always the patrons of schools and the institutions of learning, always zealous, men of intelligence, and public spirit and advocates of the rights of self-government, of conscience and of liberty. Not strange was it, therefore, that when taxation without representation was attempted by the British Ministry and enacted by the Parliament, when indeed Parliamentary Supremacy was claimed as a part and essence of the first voice of resistance to the exercises of these arbitrary and unconstitutional powers and exactions, was found to rise from the free, enlightened and virtuous community, then starting into life between the Yadkin and Catawba Rivers. It was so. That community acted as one man and resolved to separate themselves from the Mother Country. They elected deputies and invested them with unlimited powers. These assembled at Charlotte on the 19th of May 1775, and on the 20th united in unanimous Declaration of Independence.

"Of this Convention of Deputies, not less than six were named Alexander. Their Sec. was John McKnitt Alexander. The whole tribe were active Whigs in the war of the American Revolution which succeeded, my grandfather was beyond the age of military operations and services, yet he was selected by Gen. Greens as a quasi Aide de Camp, was often pilot of his army and by his influence and his money contributed much to the success of the American arms in the Southern States. His oldest son, William Baine Alexander, then below the military age, saw active service during the occupancy of Charlotte by Lord Cornwallis."

"His three daughters were Peggy Alexander, who was born on the 3rd of April, 1766, Polly and Abigail Baine. The former married on the 9th of April, 1789, to Francis Alexander Ramsey, who has been already mentioned.

"This brings to mind what I should have mentioned when speaking of Reynolds Ramsey, on a preceeding page. During the war of the Revolution he was a soldier & compatriot of Washington. He was at Valley Forge, at Trenton and at Princeton. I have heard him say that it was no exaggeration when the historians of those great events represent that the ice across Delaware

River and the frozen roads the soldiers traveled were marked by the blood from their naked feet.

"He supplied the Republican Army with flour from his mill on the Marsh Creek and refused British gold for his breadstuffs, when offered by those he had reason to believe were in the interest of the enemies of his country. I have heard him say that he was as poor in 1781 as at the commencement of the war, and when counting over and examining his box of Continental money left on his hands worthless as waste paper, I have seen his eyes glisten with patriotic joy at the recollection of his sacrifices & self-denial which made him penniless. That was the price he paid for American liberty & independence.

"When his sons had left him and emigrated to the West, my grandfather sold out his mills on Marsh Creek and removed to Gettysburg, now a flourishing inland village. It was laid out by Samuel Gettys, Esq., who had married his (Ramsey's) sister. He resided in that town several years but still retained his membership in his Old Church at Millers Town. Summer and winter with his wife and daughter, Mrs. King, he drove out there every Sabbath in his plain old-fashioned carriage and listened to Mr. Paseton, his old Minister. He was a devout and attentive worshiper in the house of God, as well as in his own family. I have often heard him mention the names of Davies, Blair, Smith, the Tennants and others of the earlier Presbyterian Divines. He was an humble and very pious man, a good citizen and a very conscientious officer, fond of good men and good books, in these he delighted. He reached his three score and ten with few of the infirmities of age. After that age he found it necessary and advisable to comply with the earnest and dutiful request of his two sons of Tennessee to follow them there and to spend the evening of his life with or near them. This he carried into effect in 1808. There for the present I shall leave him till hereafter on another page to resume his history.

"On page third of these sheets it has been mentioned that the eldest son of the family, Francis A. Ramsey, had found in the seclusion of his fathers neighborhood, no suitable theatre for the exercise of his capacities & his attainments. A brother of his mother, John Alexander, had already removed to and occupied a pleasant farm situated on Big Limestone Creek in Washington County in North Carolina. Other Pennsylvanians had settled near him and formed the nucleus of a good Congregation of Presbyterians and of an enlightened society. The uncle invited his young and aspiring nephew to come to the Backwoods, as the frontier is always called. His neighbors united in the same invitation. It comported exactly with the disposition and choice of the young man, now in his nineteenth year. With tears in his eyes and a heavy heart he bade adieu to his fond parents and other members of the affectionate family on Marsh Creek.

"I have heard my father often tell the sorrowful feeling he en-

dured on leaving the home of his youth on a journey of five hundred miles to the unknown wilds of the Western Wilderness infested then and for many years afterward with unfriendly tribes of Indians and by white men, also, little in advance of Savages, in civilization and observance of law and order.

"On an extreme frontier everywhere there are always found a few lawless men who resort thither to avoid the penalty of crime and to find an immunity from punishment awarded to the wrongdoer, in older and better regulated communities. Happily for the world, however, the destructive principle is counteracted or is weakened by the conservative.

"Upon Holston and Chucky as the then new settlements were designated, the large mass of the new settlers were eminently conservative and law abiding. Perhaps in no frontier community was there ever exhibited a simplicity as primitive or a patriotism as genuine and efficient as then existed in Washington Co. of N. C. There our young and adventurous immigrant found a home first in the house of his mother's brother. At an early period after his arrival there, it became known that he understood surveying. His compass and chain he had brought with him. With his horse this constituted his entire fortune. He needed nothing further. These gave him at once employment, competency and position, either as principle or a deputy. He held at the same time the office of surveyor, Sheriff and Clerk. He was nineteen years old when he left Pa., but the minor age worked no disqualification for office. Every inhabitant and non-resident were entering their land warrants on the vacant territory and the Compass became an instrumentality in extending the new settlements, not less necessary and effective than the axe and file.

"When in 1784 the cession to Congress by the Legislature of N. C. of her Western Counties had produced general excitement and dissatisfaction west of the Alleghanies, Francis A. Ramsey took sides with the insurgents. He was Sec. of one of the Conventions whose action withdrew the allegiance of the western people from the Mother State, and established for them a new Commonwealth, thereafter known as the State of Franklin. Under this anomalous government he held office both civil and military. He was one of the Council of State and was sent by The Franklin Authorities on an embassy to negotiate the terms of separation between the two antagonistic and rival governments.

"When Franklin had ceased to be and the Western people had returned to their allegiance to North Carolina, passing on official business to New Bern, through Mecklenburg County, Col. Ramsey formed the acquaintance of Miss Peggy, oldest daughter, as has been mentioned, of John McKnitt Alexander. On the 7th of April, 1789 she became his wife. Soon after this date they moved across the mountains and settled on Little Limestone Creek. The property has since been occupied by Mr. Broil, I believe, and is not far from the present crossing of the E. T. & V. R. R. They



had both previous to their marriage been members of the Presbyterian Church. They are now in the bounds of Salem Congregation, of which the Rev. Samuel Doak was the pastor. Here my oldest brother Wm. Baine Alexander was born on the 26th of March, 1791.

"During the next or succeeding year, my parents removed to the Swan Pond in the present Knox County. The authorities of the southwestern territory had organized a Court for the District of Hamilton. Of this court my father was made clerk. It held its session at Knoxville, a recently established town, and now the seat of the Territorial Government. My father had had made several most eligible locations of land in this County. On several accounts the Swan Pond was the most desirable location for a residence. It was the center and nucleus of a Presbyterian congregation, the uplands were exceeding fertile, a good proportion of lowland suitable for meadows, a small clear lake four or five feet in depth spread its beautiful expanse south of a peninsular sufficiently large for the yards and grounds around the site of the buildings, and also for a large garden and orchard. On this peninsular he determined to erect a mansion for a permanent home. Apprehending malaria from the exhalation of such an extent of water, he cut through the Beaver Dam, which by obstructing the branches above it, had formed the little lake, and by suitable ditches succeeded in draining it off so as to bring all the submerged land into tillage or grass. In place of the beautiful Swan Pond, as known to hunters and travelers for more than a hundred years, it has now the verdure and beauty of a Pennsylvania meadow, unsurpassed in the luxuriance of its grasses and the depth of its alluvial soil.

"At first Col. Ramsey erected a temporary residence, 20 feet by 20 feet, a little in the rear and east of the site he had selected for his family mansion. It was of hewn logs, one story high, a stone chimney in one corner and covered with lap shingles. In this cabin I was born March the 25th, 1797. My second brother, John McKnitt Alexander, was born the 2nd of May, 1793, and probably at this place. My third brother, Samuel Reynolds, was born August the 9th, 1795, and this writer James Gettys McGready, was born on the 25th of March, 1797.

"In the meantime Col. Ramsey, in pursuance of his original purpose, had contracted with an architect and carpenter, Thomas Hope, who had learned his trade in London. The first work he did in Tennessee was done on my father's house.

"It was a large stone structure, a deep basement and an attic besides two tall stories. Its corner, its arches, the top of its chimneys, and one row of building rocks, midway between the ground and the top of the square, were built of pure blue limestone, while the walls throughout were built of red granite. Its style was Gothic, long narrow windows, cornices richly carved in wood, but painted to resemble stone, massive, elaborately



finished and ornamented. It is even yet an imposing and tasteful structure. At the census of 1800 it was the most costly and most admired building in Tennessee. This, his first job in the State, soon brought to Mr. Hope more work than he could execute. Dr. Strong, Col. McClung, and Captain Kain afterwards employed him on their mansions. He was not only an architect, but also a cabinet maker and an upholsterer. The tall and elegant secretary and bookcase in which the fancy volumes of Col. Ramsey's library were placed and a massive buffet were made by Mr. Hope also. In the construction he used as embellishments, some American woods which he had never seen before (sumac was one of them). As well may be excused in an English mechanic, he put upon his workmanship on the top of Col. Ramsey's secretary, the English lions and the unicorn. Col. Ramsey refused to receive the work till he had placed the American eagle in suitable propinquity to and above the armonials of the British Royalty.

"This old time honored mansion is six miles east of Knoxville, and on the road to Dandridge. For twenty-three years it was occupied by its first proprietor, and was up to the time of his death in November, 1820, a center of generous hospitality, refined and elegant and not less sincere, unostentatious and cordial. After his decease it became the distributive share of my father's large estate to my brother Col. W. B. A. Ramsey, since Secretary of State at Nashville. At his removal to the seat of government he sold it to my son Col. Francis A. Ramsey, thus named for his grandfather. We occupied it several years before the Confederate war. While he was in this service it was sold and it now belongs to a stranger. 'Sic Transit Gloria Mundi.' It was a house of prayer and praise. A house for the minister of religion, the stranger, the widow, the orphan, the exile and the homeless. That old mansion with its pointed gables, quaint cornices and antique windows. Dear old home with its gay dreams and sunny hours, cloudless skies and visions of bliss and glorious happiness gone. All gone, gone."

"Thou art tumbling to the dust, old pile,  
Thou art hastening to thy fall;  
And round thee in thy loneliness  
Clings the ivy to thy wall.  
The occupants are scattered now,  
Who knelt before thy shrine,  
And silence reigns where anthems rose  
In days of Auld Lang Syne.

"And sadly sighs the wandering wind  
Where oft in years gone by  
Prayers rose from many hearts to Him  
The Highest of the High.  
The tramp of many a busy foot

That sought thy halls is o'er,  
And many a weary heart around  
Is still forever more.

"How doth Ambition, Hope take wing,  
How droops the spirit now,  
We hear the distant city's din,  
The dead are mute below.  
The sun which shone upon their paths  
Now gilds their lowly graves,  
The zephyrs which once fanned their brow  
The grass above them waves.

"Oh, could we call the many back,  
Who've gathered here in vain;  
Who've careless roved where we do now  
Who'll never meet again.  
How would our very souls be stirred  
To meet the earnest gaze  
Of the lovely and the beautiful,  
The light of other days."

"This digression from the main object of the writer of these pages, has been suggested by the fond recollections of his early home and of the dear parents and other near relatives whose remains are mouldering in the cemetery nearest to the Old Stone House.

"My mother, Peggy Alexander Ramsey died of consumption July 7, 1805, aged 39 years, three months and three days. I was then eight years old, but can distinctly recollect the whole scene and it is still vividly impressed upon my memory. The life and character as a lady, as a wife, as a mother, and as a Christian have been fully portrayed in a funeral sermon by Rev. Robert Henderson, her favorite preacher. That sermon preached from a text of her own selection and another preached at her own request in her sick chamber and entitled "The Christian Hope", were both published by my disconsolate and bereaved father in pamphlet form and extensively distributed among her relatives and religious acquaintances. They were afterwards published in book form in Sermons by Rev. Robert Henderson, of Murfreesboro, Tenn. in eleven volumes. The reader is referred to them. After the death of his wife Col. Ramsey was inconsolable and bereaved. She had hung around his neck like a jewel. Of their sons, three of them had preceeded her to the grave, viz: William B. A. R. died March 21, 1899, nearly eight years old. This name was given to an infant son not yet named. Samuel Ramsey died Sept. 16, 1800, suddenly, aged five years, and Francis Alexander Ramsey died Nov. 23, 1804, aged five weeks. These bereavements were tolerable compared with that occasioned by the death of the mother of his living and dead children. The pang for a time was

too heavy to be borne. His solitude became insufferable. His father-in-law wrote to him to visit Alexandrianna with his four now motherless children. He did so and in the Fall of 1805, he with them spent a few weeks in Mecklenburg, Co., N. C. Returning to his desolate home at Swan Pond, he received a similar request from his aged parents to bring his children to Gettysburg, Pa., to see their grand-parents, who now lived in the village. In the Spring of 1806 that visit was accomplished. He took his children from there on a visit to some friends in Baltimore. Coming back to Gettysburg, he renewed his acquaintance with Mrs. Ann Fleming, a widowed daughter of Judge Agnew. They were married in the Fall and removed soon after to Swan Pond. Soon after this my brother, John McKnitt A. R., at the time a student of Blount College, in Knoxville, died in that city. My step-mother on the birth of a son soon after, named her own son for my deceased brother, J. McKnitt A. My grand-parents at Gettysburg began to feel the infirmities of age, aggravated by the absence of their two sons in Tenn. Their sons invited them to come and spend the evening of their life with them. They came accordingly, but the milder climate of their adopted state rejuvenated them so that they again took up house on a small farm in the grassy valley near Ebenezer Church of which their son, Rev. S. G. Ramsey was pastor. Their widowed daughter, Mrs. King, lived with them and soon after married a Mr. Taylor. My aunt did not live long after this event, dying of puerperal convulsions. She was buried in Ebenezer Church yard. This heavy bereavement drove this couple back to my father's house, where in happy tranquility they passed the remainder of their days.

"My grandfather died in my father's house March, 1817, and my grandmother about 1814. They were gathered to their fathers at an extreme old age and were interred in the family burying ground at Fork (Lebanon) Church.

"Col. Ramsey was a steady patron of schools and learning in his neighborhood. Common school teachers on the Frontier were not always at hand and were often incompetent. To supply great deficit, he often employed educated young men as clerks in his office (then kept according to the law in his house and country), and as instructors of his children. The first of these was John Naylor Gamble, from Pa. His penmanship was elegant, and may still be seen in the records of Hamilton District and other courts in Knoxville. The second was William Smith from New England and the third, Mr. Syle Humphreys, from Limestone near Washington College. These were all good tutors, the latter a classical scholar, with whom my brother William and myself began our Latin studies.

"About 1809 we were sent to Ebenezer Academy, and were then received under the care and instructions of our uncle, Rev. S. G. Ramsey. He had quite a large class of gentlemen and elite of the country. James Houston, a graduate of Washington Col-

lege, and a great linguist, a student of theology under my uncle, and a rigid disciplinarian, was employed as assistant teacher in the academy.

"I had already thought that my knowledge of classical literature might be mainly ascribed to his attainments in Greek and Latin. The health of our principle was precarious and I have the duty assigned of hearing the recitations of the more advanced young men. I found this very conducive to my own progress. My brother and myself were together throughout the whole of our studies and then afterwards kept in the same class.

"We remained at Ebenezer until Oct. 1814, when having been there five years, we were sent to Washington College. We took an advanced position, even in Dr. Doak's classes. He was a graduate of Nassau Hall in its palmyest days, under John Witherspoon, D. D., its accomplished President. Being in advance of most of the members of the class, we devoted some time to the study of Hebrew. At the Commencement March 1816, we received the degree of Bachelor of Arts, I in my nineteenth and my brother in his seventeenth year. Returning home I availed myself one year of the miscellaneous books which my father's large library afforded.

"In the early summer of 1817, I entered the office of my never to be forgotten medical preceptor, Joseph Churchill Strong, M. D., the senior physician of Knoxville, Tenn. In the meantime, I had, though under age, been elected Register of Knox Co. This afforded me an agreeable diversity of employment. During my first year's study, under Dr. Strong, my stepmother lost her health and in November she died during my absence to Salem, N. C., whither I had gone for the purpose of bringing home my sister, Eliza, who had been sent there to school. On our return we found our father for the second time a widower. I continued to reside in the family of Dr. Strong, studying medicine, attending his drug store, keeping his books and had charge of his keys, his bank deposits, and sometimes, visited his patients. He was an excellent teacher of medicine, was the senior physician of the Co. and his practical remarks had always validity of medical axiom."

"After more than two years of diligent application to medical studies, in October of 1819, I went on horseback to Gettysburg, where I left my horse and took stages for Philadelphia. Dr. Strong gave me letters of introduction to the medical faculty of the University of Philadelphia; in the class of 1819 and in 1820 I never lost a day, not even one lecture. I took notes of all the lectures of all the professors except Dr. Ware on chemistry. I laid in a good medical library in the city.

"Returning to Knoxville I went to Memphis, then only a hamlet, to Brownsville, and other very infant villages, intending to settle somewhere in the Western District. My father in the meantime had married in April, 1820, his third wife, Mrs. Margaret Humes, of Kentucky. A few months afterwards he re-



ceived the appointment of President of the New State Bank, then first organized. Preparing to put his bank into operation, he remained late and early in the office of (Scotch) James Campbell, the cashier; it stood at the corner of Cumberland and Walnut Streets, not far from the First Church and Kennedy's Mill Dam.

"Here he contracted malarial fever. Unwilling to prescribe when the patient was my father, I invited Dr. Strong to take the case. Dr. King was called in consultation. They attended him faithfully, but on the 13th day of November, 1820, he breathed his last. His remains were taken to Knoxville, followed by a large concourse of mourning citizens and friends, to the family burying ground at Lebanon.

"The death of Col. Ramsey produced a general sorrow in the community of which he had been long and prominent a member. The Presbyterian Church had lost one of its brightest ornaments. His own congregation, Lebanon, had been deprived of one of its founders, and its most distinguished, as he was the most zealous and exemplary of its leaders. The poor and the friendless have lost their benefactor and their sympathizing friend, and counsellor to the stranger. He had always extended a cordial welcome, a warm hand and an open house. In all the relations of life, a son, a brother, a husband, a father, neighbor, citizen, public officer and patriot, he was dutiful, faithful, active, useful, exemplary, public spirited, enlightened and a true lover of his country and a good man. He cared not for wealth only as a means of benevolence and beneficence to others. From his first arrival on the frontier in 1783 until the time of his death in 1820, a period of thirty-seven years, he was never without office. Offices were showered upon him, and he proved himself worthy and competent of them. Offices which implied ability, probity, efficiency and zeal in the public service and high pressure in character.

"It is no indelicacy in this writer to refer thus to the character of his deceased father. Indeed to have omitted what has been said of him would have been infidelity to historical truth and in this writer a filial impiety. For a more special account of the deceased, the reader is referred to Ramsey's *Annals of Tennessee* passim.

"I have already mentioned that I intended to seek a theatre of practice in the Western District. I was preparing to execute this intention in the summer of 1820; to this my father interposed the objection that he was getting old and preferred that I should remain near him; to this preference was added that of Dr. Strong, with the advice that I should settle in Knoxville. I opened my office, therefore, on Main Street, between Water and State Streets, August 1, 1820. In November my father died, my brother, W. B. A. R. and myself had to administer on his estate. On the 1st of March, 1820, I was married to the present

Mrs. Ramsey, Peggy Barton Crozier, oldest daughter of Capt. John and Hannah Crozier, then living at Fruit Hill near Knoxville. After our bridal tour of several weeks we returned and prepared for housekeeping.

"We lived in Knoxville till January 7, 1823, when we removed to a building I had erected on one of my father's farms, around Gillams Station, immediately in the fork of Holston and French Broad Rivers. Connecting agriculture with professional pursuits, I began to investigate the non-remunerative character of East Tennessee farming, nearly three thousand miles of river navigation between our section of the State and the Gulf of Mexico. While in the other direction the Alleghany Ranges interposed their formidable heights, and as an inseparable impediment to our commercial intercourse by land with the South Atlantic Harbors, and through them with the markets of the world.

"It will scarce be believed at this day of railroads and steamboats that the isolated position of East Tennessee fifty years ago made farming then even with the greatest industry and the strictest frugality, so unproductive and unrenumerative. I have known corn to sell at that early period at six and eight and one-third cents a bushel, and for want of purchasers was sometimes thrown out of the stock as food for the hogs.

"Meat was correspondingly low, pork \$2.50, beef \$2.25 or if stall fed \$2.50, at these prices there was no requital for the toil of the husbandman. The capital invested in real estate was wholly unproductive. There was no demand for labor. This produced a constant immigration of the industries and the enterprising from East Tennessee to a section of a country having greater commercial facilities.

"The prevalent opinion was that these embarrassments to our agriculture and to our commerce could be traced to the obstruction of our navigation and if the Muscle Shoals so improved as to admit the passage of steamboats through them, our products would find a market below them. I on the other hand, after very patient examination of the whole subject, held a very different opinion.

"I insisted that East Tennessee was essentially an Atlantic country, and that the true theory of our trade was to reach the South Atlantic seaports with our products and through them a foreign market. A land connection with Charleston and Augusta, I believe would be more promotive of our agricultural interests than a circuitous and long voyage of river navigation, subjecting our cereals to certain deteriorations of the raw material and imposing upon our trades the heavy competition their cargoes would encounter with the products of the whole West and Northwest.

"I availed myself of every opportunity of impressing these views upon the good judgment of my intelligent countrymen. The

arrival of a small steamboat, *The Atlas*, Capt. Conner of Cincinnati, in 1826 at Knoxville, was hailed with lively enthusiasm as a dawn of a better day upon the industrial interest of East Tenn. I, too, admired the enterprise of the fearless Navigator. I contributed to the dinner and to the purse too by which we were feted. I invited him to bring his little craft further up the river to Mecklenburg, the name I had given to my private residence at the confluence of the two principal streams of East Tenn."

"On the day appointed the *Atlas* with most of the K. people on board, arrived at my landing, an immense concourse of citizens from the surrounding country had come in to witness the triumph of the genius of Fulton amidst our Shoal Rivers and our Mountain seclusions.

"From a rostrum erected on the bank of the French Broad, I gave Capt. Conner and his voyagers a hearty welcome to my house and its hospitalities, but took the occasion of such an assemblage of my countrymen as were present to expatiate at some length on the theory of our trade as already set out on the preceding pages which have been briefly stated. My address was published in the first issue of the Knoxville paper and was extensively read, analysed and calmly considered.

"I was ab initio a Democrat of the Jeffersonian School—a believer in the theory of government which makes the States nearly all Sovereign; the Creators of the Union and not its subjects and that in this Sovereignty the States could at their option nullify unconstitutional acts of Congress or secede from the Union, whenever such usurpation of power by the Central Government should make such secession proper or necessary; that the States as States possessed as reserved rights, the power to judge as the mode and measures of redress; these were youthful political sentiments in 1820, they were my political creed in my manhood in 1840, and the deliberate convictions in my old age in 1870.

"I became early in life one of the tutors of Hamden Sydney Academy in Knoxville, I was made Chairman of its Board of Trustees during the late war. Our building and grounds were used by the soldiers of both armies and much damage resulted.

"About 1822 or soon after my father's death, I was elected to fill the vacancy caused by his death, in the board of Trustees of Blount College. Since the University of East Tenn.

"Not long after this election to this position I chose to resign it, differing with the majority of my Colleagues in the board on what I considered a vital question, the minority consisting of Major W. B. Lemon, Major Arthur Crozier, myself and perhaps others tendered our resignation. President Sherman refused to receipt mine and invited me to withdraw my resignation. Reminding him of the usage of the British Ministry on such occasions I replied that the majority in the future must bear the responsibility for their own policy."

"Several years after this I was elected Trustee of Washington College near Jonesboro, Tenn. I had received from its faculty previously my second degree of Master of Arts and being an Alumnus of that oldest Literary Institution west of the Alleghanies, I could not decline the literary civility implied by my election as a trustee. It was nearly one hundred miles from Mecklenburg, my private residence and I rarely attended the meetings of its Board of Trustees. Its grounds were classic and historical, I had graduated there, its halls were remarkable from age and from the character and service and patriotism and worth and public and private virtues of its founder and president, Rev. Samuel Doak D. D. He had planted it in the wilderness during the Revolutionary War. He had watched it during its infancy, its precarious manhood and before his death had witnessed its expansion and maturity. Like the Monks of the Middle Ages, he had kept alive and burning the fire of genuine and profound literature. The Gov. of his own planting on the distant frontier of what is now Tenn., had blossomed under his own culture, had matured and borne fruit. Songs of the sublime Horace, the *Bucolics* of Virgil, *Metamorphoses* of Ovid, the orations of Demosthenes and Cicero, were studied and read aloud under the ancient trees around Dr. Doak's log college, as Martin's Academy was called. The primitive forest that had once resounded with the scream of the panther, the howling of the wolf and the war whoop of the Cherokee, were now vocal with classical literature and the young men in every cabin in which they boarded around what had once become Washington College, were engaged in the studies of Latin, Greek and Hebrew languages. Such was accomplished by the energy and learning of Pres. Doak. His tutors and patrons of learning everywhere appreciated his genius, his attainments and his worth. His students idolized him and some few years after his resignation of the Presidency and his removal to Bethel, a number of them waited upon him and requested him to sit for his likeness before an eminent artist. He refused the request at first, but an excellent picture of the now venerable and patriotic divine and scholar was at length obtained. It was left by the artist in the office of Dr. Cunningham, in Jonesboro, a favorite alumnus of Washington College. There I first saw it. Attending next day a meeting of the Trustees in the new College edifice just then erected, I proposed a resolution, 'That the Sec. of this Board apply for and receive from Dr. Cunningham the picture of Dr. Doak now in his possession and that as a token of our respect and in veneration of the memory of the president and the founder of this college, his picture be removed to the Library room at Washington and be perpetually preserved as the most valuable of its achievements.' My resolution was carried by acclamation and afterwards carried into effect. It was a very accurate likeness of him, less finished and artistic than was due to the subject of it. But Dr. Doak was remarkable for the simplicity of his charac-



ter and it may not be inconsistent with true taste that the painting should be inartistic, inexpensive and artificial likeness.

"When the news arrived at Knoxville of the death of President Doak in 183—, I called together the alumni of Washington College within my reach. At that meeting I offered customary resolutions of respect to the memory and veneration for the services and virtues of one so useful as our deceased teacher, Dr. Doak. The names of the members that I can call to mind were besides myself Hugh Brown, J. W. Corvan, S. N. Jacobs and my brother W. B. A. Ramsey. On the motion of Hugh Brown, I was appointed to prepare a suitable memoir of the deceased. This grateful duty I performed. It was afterwards published. The proceedings of that meeting will be found in the Knoxville Register of that day of which W. Brown was co-editor with F. S. Heiskell, Esq.

"I received at several periods of my life Honorary Membership in many of the Literary and Scientific Societies in America. The one of which I was especially proud was the Medical College of South Carolina, secured to me, as I believe from my successful treatment of a case of dropsy in the chest, in Charleston, S. C. and which I had been invited to see and to treat while on a visit to that city for my health and professional improvement in the winter of 1828-1829.

"Another literary distinction which I also value high was honorary Membership in the E. Society of New York and still another from the Historical Society of the State of Georgia, and others too numerous to mention here. These with my diploma, certificates of honorary membership, commissions from the civil authorities were with my family considered my chief treasures, my idols when I was driven into exile.

"My son-in-law Col. P., had become interested in a large farm high upon the Ky. river and wishing to improve and develop it by the use of machinery, invited my son Alexander to become his active partner. This he did. Under his direction a mountain was tunneled and one of the forks of the Ky. river directed through it. The mills proved to be valuable, furnishing to Frankfort and other places vast quantities of plank and lumber, transported in rafts down the river. Sometime after he returned to Tenn. and becoming acquainted with Miss Presley of S. C., went there and married her. I gave him the property sometimes known as the Swanpond, more recently as the Stone House. It was almost the oldest N. C. Grant in this section of the country. My father had entered it in 1786 when he, Gen. White and Col. Love were the first to explore that frontier. Swanpond was the place where I was born March 25, 1797. The place is a little historical. Beavers had constructed their dam below the confluence of two small streams. This formed a pond covering perhaps two hundred acres. To this vast quantities of aquatic birds resorted especially in the winter, amongst others the swan in large droves. At a very early day French and Spanish traders ascended the river to the fork

(afterwards Mecklenburg) a mile from it and procured valuable cargoes of feathers and furs. The remains of an old house built by a Mr. Evans, pioneer hunter and poultryman is within my recollection. It stood on Mrs. Breck's part of the plantation on an eminence commanding a view of the house and Cumberland Mountains on the North and the Alleghanies on the South. When I first saw these remains here there were bearing peach trees standing near them. Their fruit was most delicious. It was then called the French peach and from it the large silver colored and juicy peach still in the neighborhood is believed to be derived.

"This vista has long since disappeared. They were not far from a more recent structure occupied by Mr. Jeremiah M. Monday. It can be made the most beautiful place in Knoxville, or Knox Co.

"Swanpond is historical furthermore as the oldest, finest and most costly structure erected in this part of Tenn. At the close of the administration of Washington, my father began it. The architect was from London, Thomas Hope, a regular trained worker and carver in wood. At the census of 1800 it was the best house in the State. Its style is Gothic. Its corners are all blue lime-stone, while the arches and the rooms of stone above and next to them are of the same material. For twenty years it was the home of the pioneer, the stranger, the widow and the orphan. It was also the home of the Christian minister. A whole Presbytery held its side service in its hall. For the same length of time it was the house of prayer. Morning and evening it was vocal with the reading of God's word, singing His praises, with the incense of prayer around the family altar erected for His worship.

"These memories of the past would be pleasant especially to this writer, but for the reflection that within the last ten years the house has been desecrated often to the rapid inroads of the rude and vulgar uncultivated, often to the fun and folly, frolic and vulgarity of the vagrant and perhaps too often to the purposes of licentiousness and crimes. Such is the history of the world and of man. The ashes of the Father of the faithful are surrounded now by Pagans and Idolatry.

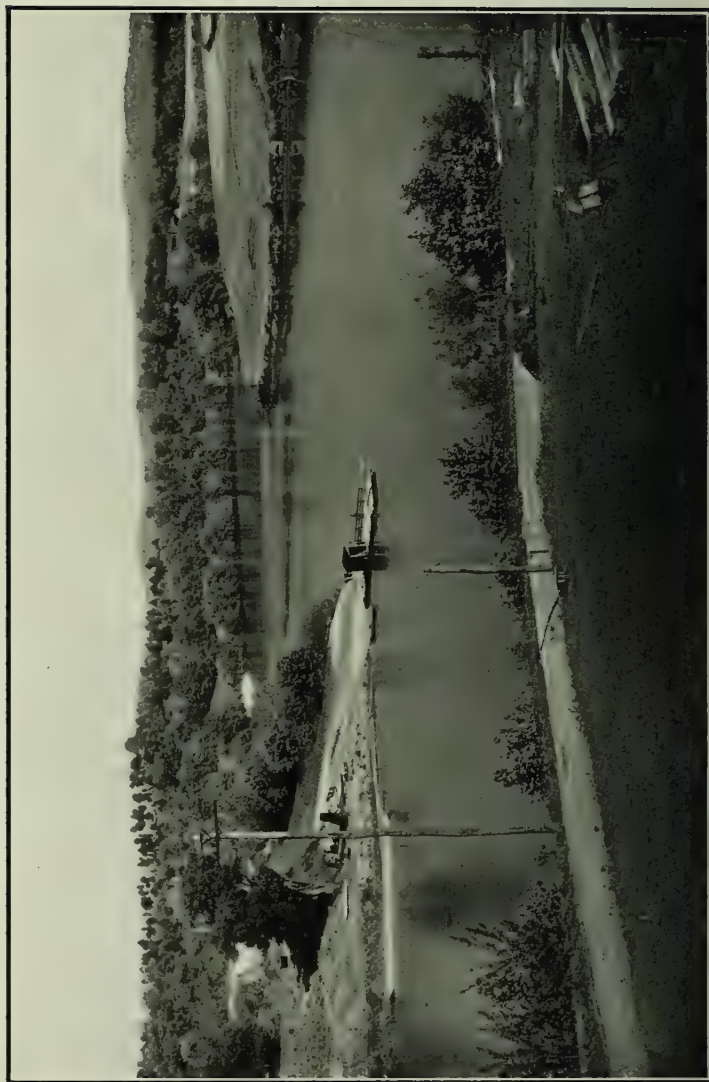
"Mount Zion is now a Turkish Harem. The primitive churches planted by Christ's apostles no longer exist and have been supplanted by the temples of the heathens, the Gentiles, the infidel the licentious and the profane. It is so ordained of Heaven. It is all right, I yield to it and submit.

"As before stated I gave as his patrimony to my son Col. F. A. Ramsey, Swanpond which had been the home of his grandfather of the same name and title. He occupied and improved it for a few years and the war coming on he took his wife and children back to S. C. He returned to Tenn. and enlisted upon the active duties of a soldier's life. He joined Capt. Kain's Artillery, went to Chattanooga, bore a gallant part in the affair at Bridgeport, followed his Capt. in the campaign he carried across the

Legratchee, Walden and Cumberland Mountains. From these towering heights their cannons resounded one day from one eminence, the next day from another, perplexing and confusing the enemy by their rapid change of place and giving rise this way to the report that the mountains were filled with rebels and causing thus a partial retreat of the enemy."







Junction of Tennessee and French Broad Rivers six miles above Knoxville. This was the location of Mecklenburg, the home of Dr. J. G. M. Ramsey, historian of Tennessee.

## CHAPTER 6.

Ramsey's Autobiography Continued—He Accepts  
Amnesty from Pres't Andrew Johnson—John  
Howard Payne Visits Mecklenburg, Writes  
"The Lament of the Cherokee"—Two  
Letters from Andrew Jackson to  
Dr. Ramsey—His Memoirs  
of Tennessee.

### DR. RAMSEY'S AUTOBIOGRAPHY CONTINUED.

"At the end of the year 1866 I relinquished the lease I had at our first retreat and formed another with Rev. Dr. Pharr a few miles nearer Hopewell. In some respects the location was better. The dwelling house was more comfortable and better furnished.

"A little income from Tenn., always sent promptly or a little in advance by our son Crozier, the emoluments derived from my practice and my journalistic contributions, and especially the skillful attention of our son McKnitt upon a small farm furnished us an adequate support. The frugal and inexpensive habits of my family, with their industry and economy required no heavy expenditures of money. In our secluded neighborhood there were no visits of ceremony, no show, no fashion. We formed our own society, had few associates and no intimate friends. We had not become more selfish but more domestic. The theatre for exercise of our affections was plainly more contracted, more centralized, not so expensive and widely diffused as before our exile and banishment from our early home. This was more noticeable on myself. I had never, since July, 1819, been without office. I had had the professional charge of a very extensive practice, embracing several counties around my residence. I had had the charge of several farms, besides the building and improvements of my town lots. My mills and ferry gave me additional care and trouble. I was one of the Trustees of three colleges and two Academies and Commissioner of Common Schools. I was a State Director of several R. R. and Agent of Tenn. for the sale of her bonds and the purchase of the iron and equipments of the E. Tenn. & Ga. R. R. I assisted in building the first steamboat that was ever owned or used in Knoxville. I was State Director of half a dozen banks and President of the L. C. & C. R. R. Bank, and President of the Branch Bank of the Bank of Tenn. at Knoxville. I was also Confederate States Depository and had charge of and disbursed more than forty-two millions of dollars for the

Confederate States Government. Besides the pressure of these varied engagements, I was a frequent contributor to the scientific, literary, religious and political journals of the country and the author of the *Annals of Tennessee*. In short, from July 1817 to April 1865, I cannot recollect that I was ever idle a whole day. *Omnis in hoc* was my peculiar characteristic. If I had a thing to do I was absorbed by it till it was finished. I took pleasure in my business. It was a part of my religion to achieve. Achievement was my idol, the good of others my purpose. I had endeavoured as age was advancing rapidly upon me, having already reached my three score and ten, to decline further public pursuits. I hailed the Surrender of 1865 with real pleasure and genuine satisfaction as the termination of my public life and public service and public usefulness.

"On the 17th of October, 1867, our daughter Susan was married to Wm. Davidson Alexander, Esq. of Alexandrianna, Mecklenburg County, N. C. His family was old and respectable, he was an alumnus of Davidson College, went with his three brothers into the war heartily and lost heavily during the conflict. He has industry, frugality and enterprise, is living on his own large cotton farm and near to a R. R. and a good market and with blessing of God, the young people will do well. They are in a good Scotch-Irish neighborhood and both of them members of Hopewell Church and within convenient distance of it and of Alexandrianna Academy. Our son Crozier had paid us a long and pleasant visit during the same summer and brought back with him to our Exile Retreat No. 2, his widowed sister, Mrs. Breck. He was urged to remain with us to witness the ceremony of his youngest sister's marriage, but his duty to his clients at home called him to Knoxville. I accompanied him to Charlotte and never saw him again.

"Col. F. A. Ramsey had invested the proceeds of his Swanpond farm in a steam flouring mill not far from Rome, Ga. He found the investment not very remunerative and while on a visit to us, heard of a large property in Rowan Co. with mills and other machinery, all farming stock implements, house furniture, for rent. I went with him to see it. We determined to move to and occupy it. It was late at night when the Charlotte mail was brought in. A letter in a mourning envelope attracted my notice. It was from the Hon. J. H. Crozier, my wife's brother, and contained the distressing intelligence that our son, Gen. Crozier Ramsey, was dead.

"At the time of receiving the letter of Col. Crozier announcing the death of Gen. Ramsey I need not add that I was overwhelmed with grief. Mrs. Ramsey and Mrs. Breck happened to be absent that night from our Retreat on a visit to our daughter Susan, sick at her own house four miles off. McKnitt and myself endured the stroke of that melancholy night of loneliness and desolation. What added to my grief was next morning I had to be the messenger to bear the sad news to my wife and daughters at Mr. Alexan-

der's. As I approached the place Mrs. Breck saw me first and before I had uttered a word ran to the gate exclaiming 'What is the matter? Is Brother Crozier dead?' During the morning she told me that she had had presentiments of the overwhelming calamity but had withheld them from us. Such presentiments I have often experienced; I have known several instances of the phenomenon in others, which I cannot stop here to detail. I consider there is nothing in the belief of their truth either unreasonable or unphilosophical."

"In a few days I tore myself from my afflicted family and went to Rowan Co. preparatory to the establishing of Exile Retreat No. 3. In a few days Mrs. Ramsey and Mrs. Breck reached our new home. Though sensible in the highest degree of the extent of our latest bereavement, devoted themselves to their new domestic duties. How we longed for some Tenn. friends who had known Crozier, our other deceased children, ourselves and thus knowing could appreciate our loss and our affliction. But here we were in a double sense entire strangers. Not one came in to weep with us or to cheer us or to offer the consolations of religion. So true is it that 'the witch is always left to weep'. Even the pastor of Tyatira, Rev. S. C. Pharr, D. D., only said on his first and last call at our house of mourning, 'This is the common lot of humanity.' And then alluding to an unfounded——— that our son had made a very large fee, very recently in a land speculation, added 'all that, you will now inherit, he had neither wife nor children, it will now be your own.' The sordid soul, the unsympathising heart and the vulgar breeding, implied in such a remark, were unbecoming his position and his sacred office, and I resented it as such by telling him that instead of comforting us by his visit he had insulted and wounded our feelings, begged him never to speak to us again. Avarice had turned his heart to stone and a heathen would have had more religion and more manners, too. He felt the rebuke and never again entered my house.

"The suits that had been instituted in the State and Federal Courts at Knoxville for the recovery of my real estate, made it necessary for me to go immediately to Tenn."

"I dreaded the scenes of my boyhood and of my manhood and of my half century of active public life and extended usefulness to my country. Six years of our exile had reconciled me to our changed condition. But there was one change I had never contemplated or expected. How could I go into Gay Street, to Ramsey's Block in which was my son's law office and find it vacant. There for twenty years or more I had always found him and met him with a smile of filial affection on his face and of dutiful welcome and fond regard on every feature. That office was now closed.

"But my duty could neither be delegated nor performed by another. I must go there in person. I took the train via Atlanta. The season was inclement and it would be too cold in



February. From Charlotte all the way a dim recollection reminded me at every station of some earnest effort to serve the South and to be useful to the country. But I saw them now with a stoical apathy. I arrived at Dalton in the night. Then taking the East Tenn. & Ga. R. R. train I was on my own road. Every step from there to Knoxville I knew as I did my own plantation. Of the entire work, magna pars fui. From the first meeting of the New Board at Athens in 184.... to the arrival of the first car at Knoxville, I had been annually and regularly appointed by the Governor a State Director. This new board galvanized into life the old Hiwassee R. R. By Gov. Trousdale I was appointed State Agent, sold Tennessee bonds for \$104.60 and with the proceeds bought its rails and equipments and completed my agency satisfactorily to the State, the community and the company. This enterprise had revolutionised the trade of East Tennessee. I had sold corn in 1823 at 20 cents per bushel in June, wheat at  $33\frac{1}{3}$  and beef and pork at \$2.50 per cwt. Corn was now above \$1.00, wheat \$1.50 and pork and beef \$5.00 and \$6.00. I found thriving villages all along the route and beautiful farms and enterprising farmers all over the country. A new creation had taken place. The metamorphosis was everywhere apparent. It was night when I left Dalton. Day appeared as the train approached Cleveland; there I received the warm grasp of Tennessee Longstreet. It was so at all the stations. It was so at all the stations we passed, a cordial welcome from Whigs and Democrats and Union men.

"I stopped at Lenoirs to see my two grandsons, now motherless. One of them I had never seen. Henry Ramsey Lenoir bore the image of his sainted mother, but looked upon me as a stranger. At Lenoir I met quite a number of old friends and was received as in days of old. I walked with Dr. Lenoir to their private cemetery. I wept over the grave of poor Henrietta, my favorite child and the favorite of every one and especially of my wife and me. James Ramsey Lenoir and his sweet little brother died on the same night and were buried in the same grave. Promising to return in a few days and make a longer stay, I next morning went on the train to Knoxville. At the depot I was met by and surrounded by an immense number of friends and neighbors who gave me an intensely warm and enthusiastic welcome. Passengers on the train the day before had given the information that I was at Lenoirs, would be up the next morning. That course at the depot was immense and it was sometime before we got into town. I went not beyond Col. Crozier's office. I could not think of going as far down Gay Street as Ramsey Block and did not do so for several days. That same afternoon I rode out to Riverside with my grandson, Wilberforce Dickson and remained with my daughter several days. The Sabbath intervened and I went to our old Church Lebanon. Rev. H. Brown was the stated supply. I occupied my old pew. I looked around for the

old elders and the old members. Dr. Curry, our last pastor, I knew was dead and so of my brother, J. M. A. Ramsey. A new set of elders and deacons had been formed in my six years of absence, not to 'the manor born', the pews were empty. The congregation exceedingly small, lacking everything but Presbyterian people as of old. The church-yard was broken down and burned but not much injury had been done to the building itself. But the greatest change was near the residence of my old place 'Mecklenburg.' Not a single building that I had left there in 1863 was now standing, not a structure left. Mansion, office, library, kitchen, smoke-house, cribs and barns were all either destroyed by fire or water. The sight was mournful. Still everyone of the congregation greeted me cordially.

"I had not yet been on the streets in town only as I came in from the train. But nearly a week after my arrival I went into Knoxville. Leaving Col. Crozier's office, I went down Gay Street. Every acquaintance I met gave me a hearty welcome back to my old home and seemed really anxious for me at once to bring back my family and settle again. Old and young, rich and poor, all political parties, all sects without an exception were delighted to see me. I could not, without incivility, get off the streets. It was nearly twelve o'clock before I could reach Cumberland Street.

"No one can tell the sadness I felt when I went into the office so recently occupied by my son and received from his physicians the incidents of his sudden death. Some of the circumstances lead to the suspicions of poison. The Judgment of the Great Day will reveal it all. I found that he had been robbed of his money. Some of his own papers, some of mine cannot be found. The whole thing was shrouded in mystery. For a year before his death the country had become comparatively quiet. Crozier went anywhere without molestation. Once only was he assaulted in the streets. Once a pistol was fired through his window at night. In one of his letters he mentioned the great relief he had experienced, a heavy burden had been taken off of him and he felt like a new man. The labor which he had endured for many years of investigating my land cases, of hunting up testimony and taking depositions, had come to an end and he had the satisfactory consciousness of knowing that everything had been done in preparing them for trial and promoting my success. This he imparted to me cheerfully and he looked forward to the time when we might return and all live together in one house again. Could some diabolical instrument of some of the parties concerned who knew the thoroughness and extent of his professional preparation in the cases, have been bribed to perpetrate his murder by poison. I have said this to no one. The Judgment day will reveal it. In my own case I have always believed that the poor Michigan who fired my house was employed at and sent from Cincinnati to do the burning. Money

has become potential for mischief ever since 1860. It's potentiality for the purpose of gratifying the malignity and stimulating the latent revenge of a devil incarnate is unquestioned. I may be mistaken. Time may not reveal it. Eternity will.

"I, in company with Mrs. Swan, went one morning to Gray Cemetery where Crozier was buried. We planted some evergreens on his lonely grave. May angels guard his resting place till the morning of the Resurrection.

"After remaining in Tennessee nearly two months alternately at Riverside and Knoxville and Lenoirs, I bade them all adieu and returned via Washington and Morganton to my Exile Retreat No. 3. Our daughter, Mrs. Dickson and her two boys came with me. They had stood the brunt of adversity and of isolation from us for five years. Mrs. Dickson unaided and alone had managed her farm so well she was able by her domestic habits, her skill and frugality to bear the expense of such a journey. We came by rail to Wolf Creek, thence to Morganton by stage and thence by steam again to our house. This journey up the French Broad, the very route I had projected in 1828 and assisted in surveying in 1836, brought to mind the frequent travels on horseback which I made in the incipency of the great work of connecting the south and west by railroad. The visions of my youth were realized. Old friends at Asheville and Morganton spoke of it to me in very complimentary terms. Arrived at home I found all well. Mrs. Dickson spent the summer at Retreat and during her stay on more than one occasion my entire family consisting of only three sons, three daughters, our grandchildren, were often all with us at one time. To this there was one exception, Dr. Lenoir and his two motherless boys were at their home in Tennessee. Such unions are not often seen after such separations, such dangers and such adversities. Such a reunion may not take place again. On earth the Lord prepares us all for a glorious union above, one where there will be no more separation, no more sorrow, no more affliction, no more death, where those dear members of our flock who have gone before us to heaven will be the first to welcome us there, a united family above.

"Many men on arriving at the close of life complain of all its pursuits and enjoyments as proving vanity and vexation of spirit, but to my mind this is just an intimation that the plan of their lives had been selfish, that they have missed the method of doing good and that they have sought for pleasure not in the legitimate use but in foolish abuse of their faculties. I cannot conceive that the house of death should cause the mind to feel ill, acts of kindness done to others, acts of beneficence to one's country, all exercises of devotion performed in a right spirit, all deeds of justice executed, all rays of knowledge disseminated, all deeds of humanity and patriotism during life as vain, unprofitable and unconsoling even at the moment of leaving forever this sublunary scene."

## ACCEPTS AMNESTY.

It was while Dr. Ramsey was living in North Carolina that Andrew Johnson, President of the United States, issued a pardon to him, which he accepted in the following letter addressed to Secretary of State, William H. Seward:

EXILES RETREAT,  
Near Charlotte, N. C.  
Dec. 2, 1865.

"Hon. W. H. SEWARD,  
Secretary of State, &c.,  
Sir:

I hasten to ratify to you that the pardon of President J. dated Nov. 10, and sent to the care of my son, Gen. J. C. Ramsey at Nashville, Tenn., has been received by him. He informs me that it is my duty to say to you that the pardon is accepted and that I had taken the amnesty oath prescribed in the proclamation of the President dated May 29, 1865.

I have the honor to be,  
Very respectfully,  
Your Obt. Serv't.,  
J. G. M. RAMSEY."

## JOHN HOWARD PAYNE AT MECKLENBURG.

In 1835 John Howard Payne came to Knoxville to publish an account of his arrest and imprisonment by the authorities of the State of Georgia while he was acting as Secretary to John Ross, Chief of the Cherokee Indians, then living in that state. A lengthy account of his incarceration and unnecessarily severe punishment was published in the Knoxville Register, December 2, 1835, written by himself, for which purpose he remained in Knoxville several weeks, and while there made friends. Dr. Ramsey met Payne and entertained him at Mecklenburg, and this was one of the brightest episodes in the Doctor's long and distinguished career. No man was ever more tenderly attached to his home and family and kindred than he, and to entertain the author of "Home Sweet Home", (which found its way around the whole earth) and whose unhappy career was in such sad contrast to the sentiment of his immortal song, would be to one of Dr. Ramsey's fine sensibilities and high character, a memory to love and cherish as long as he lived.

When this Chapter was being written a diligent search was made among some bound files of the Knoxville Register in the



possession of Mrs. D. M. Laffitte of Bristol, Tennessee, a daughter of Frederick S. Heiskell, for the issue of the *Register* of December 2, 1835, but it was not to be found; and so this account by Payne of his experiences among the Cherokees—an account both interesting and historically very valuable—is lost.

One naturally wonders how Payne came to go to the Cherokee country and what business he had there, and the accepted explanation given is that he was traveling through many States to get subscribers and material for a periodical he was trying to establish. The material he could get among the Cherokees would be of a kind new to him, and, under the existing relations between the Cherokees and the United States government, interesting to the American people. When he came to the Cherokee country he got in touch with John Ross, the chief, and became his confidential friend and adviser, and developed into an outspoken upholder and champion of the Cherokee cause in their differences with the United States. This brought him under suspicion with the agents of the government, and finally the Georgia State troops raided John Ross's residence at night and took Ross and Payne into custody, and marched them twenty miles to military headquarters, where they were held prisoners for several days. The military seem to have acted without orders from their superiors. At any rate, the government agents denied any connection with it to Lewis Cass, Secretary of War. The arrest naturally created great excitement and drew from Thatcher M. Payne, brother of John Howard, and a lawyer in New York City, the following letter:

"New York, November 27, 1835.

"To Hon. Lewis Cass.

"I have just received information that my brother, John Howard Payne, on the night of the 10th of November instant, while in company with John Ross, the Cherokee chief, at his dwelling in the Cherokee nation, was seized by a party of about twenty-five of the Georgia guard, and conducted by them to the headquarters, about twenty miles distant from the place of seizure, where, as I am informed, he is now imprisoned. Mr. Payne's general object, in a tour through the Western and Southern sections of the United States, has been partly to obtain subscribers to a periodical work in which English and American writers may meet upon equal grounds, and partly to collect such materials for his own contributions to the work as a personal acquaintance with the various peculiarities of our extensive and diversified country may supply.

"To one acquainted with his pacific disposition and exclusively literary habits, the supposition of his entertaining any views politically dangerous, either in reference to the State of Georgia or the United States, in their respective relations to the Cherokees, if it were not accompanied with results painful, and perhaps perilous to himself, would seem ludicrous. My informant, a stranger, states that 'it is there reported that he is considered by the officers of the government to be a spy;' whether any 'officers of government' is meant those of Georgia, or of the United States, I am not informed.

"He likewise states that 'Mr. Payne is supposed to have some influence in producing the failure of the late treaty with the Cherokees.'

"In the present excited state of feelings in that section of the country on subjects connected with the Indian removal, these may, perhaps, be serious charges to the personal safety of one coming under suspicions of the character above alluded to, however groundless.

"I take the liberty (I hope not unwarrantable) to request and urge a speedy inquiry into the circumstances of the case, and the use of the means within the power of your department of the government to procure his release if, as will undoubtedly appear, upon investigation, he shall be found to have been wrongfully detained.

"I am, with respect,

"Your most obedient servant,

"THATCHER M. PAYNE."

#### PAYNE'S HISTORY AND GENIUS.

John Howard Payne was one half Jew, his father being William Payne who was of English descent, and his mother, Sarah Isaacs, a full blooded Jewess and daughter of a converted Jewish father. Payne was born in New York, June 9, 1791, and died in Tunis, Africa, while U. S. Consul there, April 9, 1852. He was intellectually brilliant, versatile, Bohemian, changeable, in youth strikingly handsome, and could do many things—not all of them the best they were ever done—but in a manner which marked him a wonderful man. One can but envy his splendid and varied capacity—his dazzling manifestations of genius that burned and glowed and created and astounded.

The volume and variety of his work can be judged when it is known that he wrote eleven tragedies, nine comedies, twenty six dramas, seven operas and ten farces. Of his tragedies one, "Brutus", was an overwhelming success, and is still recognized as a living drama.

One opera "Clari" can never die, for it first gave to the world "Home, Sweet Home". The first production of the opera was on May 8, 1823, at the Covent Garden Theater in London, where Henry P. Bishop was Director of Music. The words were written by Payne in Paris and he had heard the air sung by a flower girl in Italy. He sent the words and the air to Bishop, who had heard the air before and who adapted the words to it, and so the immortal song was then born.

As an actor when but a youth he created a furor in both England and America, and he was the first American actor to attain an established standing among the English people. Even in the city of Paris, the French acclaimed his histrionic genius.

Payne was twice appointed American Consul in Tunis, once by President John Tyler, on August 23, 1842, through the influence of Daniel Webster and William L. Marcy. He received notice of his recall November 20, 1845, but was reappointed in 1851 and left America in April of that year for Tunis, never to return alive.

He died in Tunis and was buried there. The U. S. government caused a marble slab to be placed over his grave with the following inscription:

"Memory Of  
"COL. JOHN HOWARD PAYNE,

Twice Consul of the United States of America for the  
Kingdom of Tunis.

This stone is here placed by a grateful country. He died at the American Consulate in this city after a painful illness, April 1, 1852. He was born in the City of Boston, State of Massachusetts, June 8, 1792."

"His fame as a poet and dramatist are well known wherever the English language is spoken through his celebrated ballad of 'Home Sweet Home', and his popular tragedy of 'Brutus', and other similar productions."

On the four margins of this slab of marble are the following lines:

"Sure when thy gentle spirit fled  
To realms beyond the azure dome  
With arms outstretched, God's angels said,  
Welcome to heaven, 'Home, Sweet Home.' "

There are two errors in this inscription: Payne was born in New York, not Boston; and died on April 9, 1852, instead of April 1, 1852.

On October 14, 1882, W. W. Corcoran of Washington addressed a letter to Honorable Frederick T. Freylinghuysen, Secretary of State, at Washington.

W. W. CORCORAN TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE.

"Washington, D. C.,  
Oct. 14, 1882.

"The Hon. Frederick T. Freylinghuysen,  
Secretary of State.

"Dear Sir—I respectfully ask permission of the State Department to disinter the remains of our countryman, John Howard Payne, which now rest in a grave near Tunis, in Africa, that they may receive more appropriate sepulture in the bosom of his native land.

"Mr. Payne died, as is well known, in the service of the State Department, on the 9th of April, 1852, while acting as consul of the United States at Tunis, and I understand that a marble slab, erected by order of the Department, still marks the spot where his body was laid.

"It has seemed to me that the precious dust of an American citizen who sang so sweetly in praise of 'Home, Sweet Home' should not be left to mingle with any soil less dear to him than that of the land which gave him birth, and which, by the beauty of its home-life, gave to him his best poetical inspiration.

"If you concur with me in this sentiment, I beg leave to say that I will when favored with your official permission, charge myself with the duty of providing for the removal of his remains to this country, and, on their arrival here, will give to them a new and suitable resting place in Oak Hill Cemetery, taking care, of course, to mark the spot with a monument, which shall perpetuate in the eyes of his countrymen the name of the poet already embalmed in their hearts by his immortal lyric.

"I ought to add, that I make this application to you because, as the honored head of the State Department, you seem to be the natural custodian of Mr. Payne's grave in Tunis. I am further induced to make this appeal to you because, after careful inquiry, I am led to believe that Mr. Payne has now no descendant or a collateral kindred to whom I could address a communication on the subject. In evidence of this fact, I beg to invite your attention to the accompanying letters.

"I have the honor to be, sir,

"Your most obedient servant,

"W. W. CORCORAN."

Correspondence followed which led to the granting of Mr. Corcoran's request, and on March 22, 1883, the steamer bearing Payne's remains reached New York and the remains lay in state in the Governor's room in the City Hall.



On June 9, 1883, they were reinterred in Oak Hill Cemetery, Washington, D. C., with very imposing ceremonies, among the most imposing ever accorded an American.

The movement to bring the remains back was initiated and carried out entirely at the expense of Mr. Corcoran whom all Americans will honor for his splendid philanthropy, even while they hold the opinion that this duty should have been initiated and performed by the United States government at its expense.

It was while Payne was employed by John Ross that he wrote

"THE LAMENT OF THE CHEROKEE.

"O, soft falls the dew, on the twilight descending,  
And tall grows the shadowy hill on the plain;  
And night over the distant forest is bending  
Like the storm spirit, dark, o'er the tremulous main.

"But midnight enshrouded my lone heart in its dwelling,  
A tumult of woe in my bosom is swelling  
And a tear unbefitting the warrior is telling  
That hope has abandoned the brave Cherokee.

"Can a tree that is torn from its root by the fountain,  
The pride of the valley; green, spreading and fair,  
Can it flourish, removed to the rock of the mountain,  
Unwarmed by the sun and unwatered by care?

"Though vesper be kind, her sweet dew's in bestowing,  
No life-giving brook in its shadows is flowing,  
And when the chill winds of the desert are blowing,  
So droops the transplanted and lone Cherokee.

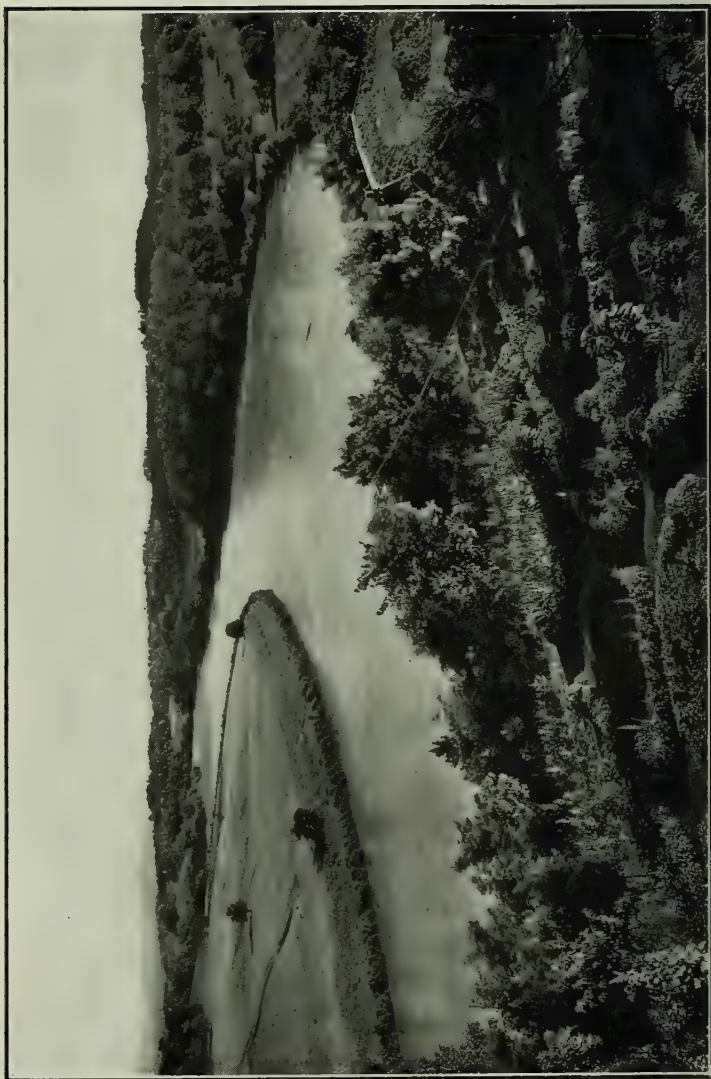
"Sacred graves of my sires; have I left you forever?  
How melted my heart when I bade you adieu;  
Shall joy light the face of the Indian? Ah, never;  
While memory sad has the power to renew.

"As flies the fleet deer when the blood-hound is started,  
So fled winged hope from the poor broken-hearted;  
Oh, could she have turned ere forever departing,  
And beckoned with smiles to her sad Cherokee.

"Is it the low wind through the wet willows rushing,  
That fills with wild numbers my listening ear?  
Or is it some hermit rill in the solitude gushing,  
The strange playing minstrel, whose music I hear?

"'Tis the voice of my father, slow, solemnly stealing,  
I see his dim form by yon meteor, kneeling  
To the God of the White man, the Christian, appealing,  
He prays for the foe of the dark Cherokee.





Tennessee River from Knoxville, Tennessee, Country Club.

"Great Spirit of Good, whose abode is in Heaven,  
 Whose wampum of peace is the bow in the sky,  
 Wilt thou give to the wants of the clamorous ravens,  
 Yet turn a deaf ear to my piteous cry?

"O'er the ruins of home, o'er my heart's desolation;  
 No more shalt thou hear my unblest lamentation;  
 For death's dark encounter, I make preparation;  
 He hears the last groan of the wild Cherokee."

#### A VISIT TO MECKLENBURG.

The following account of a visit to the venerable residence of Dr. Ramsey, is from "Ora", the correspondent of the Mobile Advertiser, and was republished in the Knoxville Daily Register of April 6, 1862.

"I enjoyed a most delightful visit, a few evenings ago, in company with the talented and witty editor of the Knoxville Register, Col. J. A. Sperry, at the house of the celebrated historian of Tennessee, Dr. J. G. M. Ramsey, who resides at the junction of the Holston and French Broad Rivers, about four miles northeast of Knoxville. The road to the Doctor's house is a most delightful one, presenting some charming views of the mountain and valley scenery. At the junction of the rivers, the Holston winds around a beautiful, undulating country, forming a picturesque, indented shore running from the north to the south; while some hundred yards above, it falls over a rocky bed, making a pleasant murmuring sound, and reminds one of the dark-rolling waters of the Danube. On the right is presented the mouth of the French Broad, running from east to west, with its high, rocky cliffs on the north side, jutting over some sixty-five feet. About three hundred yards from the mouth, under the cliff, gushes a clear cool spring, which is approached by a small boat, the scene by moonlight is very exquisite.

"Crossing the Holston, you ascend a graded bank, and near a high Indian mound stands an ancient looking building, once called Gillam's station, built in 1790, and now the residence of the venerable historian, surrounded by primitive forest trees. Near the main building is a small cottage, over which is still to be seen the Doctor's original 'shingle', on a plain board about four feet long and one wide, which was once painted white, but now faded, with black letters still plainly visible, 'Doctor Ramsey.'

"This was once the doctor's office and laboratory, and is still in its primitive state, while in an adjoining room is his library and museum. It was here he wrote his first volume of the history of Tennessee. The second volume, which comes down to the times of the Mexican war, under Mr. Polk's administration, I learn is also completed, the publication of which was prevented by the



revolution. His museum contains many old Indian relics, and two pieces of Indian sculpture resembling very much the Indian style.

"About 100 yards from the house is the ruins of the old Presbyterian Church of Lebanon, rebuilt in 1807, the first built in Tennessee, whose pastor was the Rev. Samuel Carrick, whose daughter married in 1798, the Hon. Hugh L. White, formerly United States Senator. The old high backed pew is still to be seen, where Gov. Sevier, the first Governor of Tennessee, was wont to sit with his friends, Capts. Crosby and Reynolds Ramsey, (the grandfather of Dr. Ramsey,) both soldiers in the old revolutionary army, who at that day wore powdered hair and cues, with cocked hats, shorts and ruffled bosoms and cuffs.

"In the old churchyard which contains the dust of a generation of over a century ago, is the tomb of Elizabeth Carrick, consort of the Rev. Samuel Carrick, who died in September, 1793, at the time of the invasion of Knoxville by the Indians. The remains of both the grand parents of Dr. Ramsey also lie there, with Capt. Gillespie, the celebrated Indian fighter, and the old Indian chief Oconostota.

"But I must close this already long letter, expecting to write you the next time from the old stamping ground of Chattanooga Ora."

DR. RAMSEY TO DR. WM. KENT GILBERT.

In a letter of October 4, 1878, Dr. Ramsey introduces the name of Rev. Samuel Carrick who was the first President of Blount College, now University of Tennessee, and who shines like a star in early Tennessee history.

Oct. 4, 1878.

"Knoxville, Tenn.

"Dear Sir—

"The first mortar I ever saw was made of neither bell metal, wedge wood, glass, etc., but was sculptured out of the marble quarry near one of his churches by Dr. Carrick, himself, who exercised the double functions of minister and doctor, not only the care of souls, but the cure of the bodies of his parishioners. I have his mortar yet, still well preserved, and highly venerated for its antiquity and its worthy sculptor. Dr. Carrick was born near your native place, Gettysburg, Pa. I have no doubt the Gilberts and McConaughys, your ancestors knew him. Again, the physician of that day was omnis in hoc. He was surgeon, obstetrician, dentist, oculist and all that. Yes; they were giants in their day. The contemporary of Dr. C. was a physician from France and had all the high culture of Paris and Naples. The successors of these two were eminent for their endowments and character, as well as their literary and professional attainments. There were then no quacks, and no patent medicines or nostrums.

No student aspired to professional life without an extensive course in preparatory studies.

"The name of Rev. Dr. Carrick was Samuel—occasionally Zarino was affixed to it, but not uniformly. I have heard that it was so inscribed on his tombstone. I do not know the name of his medical preceptor. He must have left Adams (then York) about 1783-9, as he began to preach at the latter date on this frontier. His wife, I think, was a Miss McDowell, of Rockbridge, Va., who died Sept. 1793, the day Knoxville was threatened with an attack by 1000 Indians under "Double-head," a Cherokee chieftain. There were only 48 riflemen to resist their invasion, so that every man and boy in the settlement was kept under arms all day. The remains of Mrs. Carrick were therefore borne to the grave yard and interred by women only. Dr. C's second wife was a sister of Col. John McClellan. Dr. C. died of apoplexy in 1808. His widow some years afterwards, say 1827, removed to Missouri. The French physician's name was Fornier, or Phornier probably. He went west and I lost sight of him. He was learned and convivial, and was believed to be one of the Illuminati and an infidel."

Henry R. Lenoir of Knoxville is a grandson of Dr. Ramsey, and the author takes this method of acknowledging his indebtedness to him and to his wife, Mrs. Lenoir, for much of the matter contained in this chapter. Old families usually have relics that come down from generations long since past, some prized more highly than others, and Mr. and Mrs. Lenoir have such, and the two they esteem highest, whether epistolary or other kind, are two letters written by Andrew Jackson to Dr. Ramsey nearly a century ago, and which have crept down the intervening years to their possession, to be kept and cherished as almost sacred things.

ANDREW JACKSON TO J. G. M. RAMSEY.

"Hermitage, near Nashville, Tenn.,

"June 14, 1823.

"Dear Sir:

I have recd. your friendly letter of the 30th of May last. I have seen the pamphlet you allude to in your letter, but I had not the honor of being a member of that patriotic convention which met in May 1775 in Mecklenburg, State of North Carolina, and declared themselves independent.

I was then a citizen of South Carolina, adjoining the County of Mecklenburg, but too young at that time to participate in the deliberations which reflect so much honor on the patriotic pages of that day. Mine was an humbler part, what feeble aid I afforded in the Revolutionary contest was in the ranks that composed the defense of our country and of freedom.

I can afford you no further information on that subject but what you have derived from the pamphlet. It would afford pleasure if I could.

I am, Sir, with due respect yr  
Mo obt. Servant

Andrew Jackson.

"J. G. M. Ramsey, Esqr."

Hermitage January 15th, 1827.

"Dear Sir:

"Your favor of the 8th instant presenting me with a print commemorative of the declaration of the Mecklenburg convention is received.

"I beg you, sir, in return for this token of your regard for me, to accept my sincere thanks, with this earnest expression of my hopes that your patriotic intentions may be crowned with success. That Declaration ought not to be lost, nor will not be while there is any of our Revolutionary patriots alive to attest its effects upon our Revolution.

"This print if forwarded to me at Nashville will reach me safely.

"I am very Respectfully, Sir, your  
mo. obt. Servant,

Andrew Jackson.

"Mr. J. G. M. Ramsey, P. M."

#### ANNALS OF TENNESSEE.

He is a very happy man, loved of fate and all the gods at once and greatly to be envied, who can write one book and thereby start his name travelling down the ages, to tell coming men and women that he once lived and loved and labored, and what his aspirations were, and what he thought of life and what it meant to him; and this was Dr. Ramsey's good fortune in writing his annals of Tennessee. It was published at Charleston, South Carolina, in 1853 in one volume of 744 pages, but no second edition was ever printed. The number of the first edition we do not know. The copies now in the United States are necessarily small and they command a high premium in sales. We reproduce the very stately dedication and part of the dignified preface, and submit both to the reader as well worthy of his attentive perusal. The book is recognized as authoritative and practically final as to all matters of which it treats.

#### "DEDICATION.

TO THE SURVIVING PIONEERS OF TENNESSEE,

whose enterprise subdued her domain, and whose valor defended it,  
*most gratefully;*

TO THEIR IMMEDIATE SUCCESSORS,  
whose patriotism, wisdom and virtue, provided for and bequeathed to posterity, the parimonial blessings and wise institutions of liberty, of law, of learning and religion,

*most dutifully;*

TO THE YOUNG MEN OF TENNESSEE,  
inheriting so much that is estimable, manly, virtuous and patriotic,  
and

to whose guardianship, filial piety, ancestral and state pride  
*are committed*

the preservation of her unstained escutcheon, her ancient fame, her heroic example, her sovereignty, her character and her glory—her high destiny and future improvements—

*most confidently,*

“Let no mean hope your souls enslave;  
Be independent, generous, brave;  
Your fathers such example gave,  
And such revere!”

Is this volume dedicated, by their fellow citizen,

THE AUTHOR.

Charleston, S. C., February 22, 1853.”

“The writer is one of the first-born of the sons of the State of Tennessee. If this seniority brings with it none of the rights of primogeniture, it certainly has imposed the duty of filial veneration and regard for the land of his nativity. With this devotion to his State, and to its worthy pioneers, has always been united the deep regret, that their early history has been so little known, and is now almost forgotten. Oppressed by this feeling, and impelled by the desire to revive and preserve the knowledge of past events in Tennessee, he determined, many years since, to collect such incidents of her history as were within his reach. At first, his object was merely to occupy, in these researches, the leisure hours which could be spared from professional engagements; but he soon discovered, that by extending his labours, he might add to his own pleasure, the high gratification of contributing something, however humble, to the historical literature of the day, and thus do a service, at least, to the people of his own State.

“For the collection of the materials of such work, he has had some peculiar facilities. His boyhood and his youth were spent with the pioneer and the emigrant. Later in life, he has not been without some share of intercourse, with the public men and principal actors in the early settlement of the country. His opportunity of conferring with many of them, has not been infrequent, and has



been sedulously improved. He became, whilst yet a young man, the possessor of the journal and papers of his deceased father, the late Col. F. A. Ramsey, a pioneer of the country, whose life was identified with its interests, at every period of its growth, up to the time of his death, in 1820. He has since become the depository of the papers of Sevier, of Shelby, the Blounts, and other public men. His position as Corresponding Secretary of the East Tennessee Historical and Antiquarian Society, has given him the advantage of its collections and correspondence. In addition to these sources of valuable information, he has availed himself of others. The records of all the old Franklin Counties have been patiently examined by him. He has also visited the Capitals of Georgia, North Carolina and Virginia, and, by the courtesy of Governor Towns, Governor Reed, and Governor Floyd, of these States, has been allowed free access to the Public Archives at Milledgeville, Raleigh, and Richmond, from which has been procured, all that they contain on the subjects of his research. The Archives of Tennessee, preserved in the office of the Secretary of State of Nashville, he has also examined. Private and public libraries, the offices at Washington, and the periodical journals of the day, all sources, within the writer's reach, likely to contribute to his purpose, and add to the perfection of his work, have been carefully examined and culled from."

"Conscious, as he is, of the imperfections of his performance, the writer persuades himself that he has rendered some acceptable service to Tennessee, in his attempt thus to perpetuate her Annals and illustrate the actions of her people. Consoled with this reflection, he confides it to his countrymen."

—————"Si quid novisti rectius istis Candidus imperti;  
si non, his utere mecum.

J. G. M. Ramsey.

"Mecklenburg, near Knoxville, Tenn., Nov. 16, 1852."





**JUDGE JOHN OVERTON**  
Founder of Memphis and Jackson's life-long friend.

## CHAPTER 7.

## Memphis.

When Hernando De Soto discovered the Mississippi River from the Chickasaw Bluffs in May, 1541, he was doubtless the first white man that ever set his foot in what later became the City of Memphis. It is a far cry from that distant day more than three centuries and a half ago, and from that primeval wilderness along side of that fearful rolling flood, to the year 1920, when the great and splendid modern City of Memphis, with 150,000 population, now sits like a queen, with every grace and charm of beauty, on the spot where the intrepid Spaniard first viewed the lordly Father of Waters; and what a father of Waters the Mississippi is, with a length of 2,896 miles and tributaries aggregating 28,965 miles, making 31,861 miles of rivers which it empties into the Gulf of Mexico. De Soto crossed the river on a raft, and plunged into the wilderness on its western shore, and made his way to the highlands of White River, wandering about for a year, marching through forests and swamps and canebrakes. He finally came back to the Mississippi again with his band of explorers to what is known as Chicot, Arkansas, and here he died and was buried; but subsequently the body was taken up and found its final grave in the bosom of the "River of the Holy Ghost," which he named the Mississippi, and which still, says Bancroft, "rolls its magnificent current over the place of his burial, a fitting monument for his remains, as it is for his renown." His soldiers finally found their way back to Cuba. De Soto's expedition had been a failure; no gold was discovered nor the Fountain of Youth. His march indicated a want of design, and a wandering about and a lack of apparent objectiveness, which may be explained upon the theory of a man searching for something which he thinks is as liable to be found in one place or section as another. He died with the El Dorado still a figment of his brain. He did not spare his army, and there was no military character to his method of explor-



ation. He had attained fame in Peru, and, while his quest in North America was a failure, he gained an immortality more lasting than the fame attained in Peru, by his discovery of the Mississippi River. His name and that of the great inland sea will be linked together as long as the great river rolls its waters towards the Gulf.

Memphis is located 454 miles from St. Louis, and 818 miles from New Orleans, and is the largest city in Tennessee, and, with a few exceptions, the largest on the Mississippi River. It owes its origin to John Overton, who was its founder, and who, if he had no other title to fame, his place in history would be secure. The man who founds a city, and especially such a city as Memphis has become, will be known and admired and eulogized as long as time lasts.

On April 25, 1789, John Rice, then a citizen of North Carolina, owned a grant in the land office of Hillsboro, North Carolina, it then being commonly known and called "John Armstrong's office," for 5,000 acres of land, beginning about one mile below the mouth of Wolf River on the Chickasaw Bluffs, on one of which Memphis now stands. The land was surveyed on December 1st, 1786. In order that this generation may peruse the document upon which millions and millions of dollars of property is based in Memphis, we quote the grant in full:

#### THE JOHN RICE GRANT.

"State of North Carolina. No. 283.

"To all to whom these presents shall come, Greeting:

"Know ye, that we, for and in consideration of the sum of ten pounds for every hundred acres hereby granted, paid into our treasury by John Rice, have given and granted, and by these presents do give and grant unto the said John Rice, a tract of land containing five thousand acres, lying and being in the Western District, lying on the Chickasaw Bluff. Beginning about one mile below the mouth of Wolf River, at a whiteoak tree, marked J. R., running North twenty degrees, east two hundred and twenty-six poles; thence due North one hundred and thirty-three poles; thence North twenty-seven degrees, West three hundred and ten poles to a cotton wood tree; thence due east one thousand three hundred and seventy-seven and nine-tenths poles to a mulberry tree; thence South six hundred and twenty-five poles to a stake, thence West one thousand three hundred and four and nine-tenths poles to the beginning, as by the plat hereunto annexed doth appear, together with all wood, waters, mines, minerals, hereditaments and appurtenances to the said land belonging or pertaining; to hold to the

said John Rice, his heirs and assigns forever—yielding and paying to us such sums of money yearly, or otherwise as our General Assembly from time to time shall cause. This grant to be registered in the Register's Office of our said Western District within twelve months from the date hereof; otherwise the same shall be void and of no effect.

In testimony whereof, we have caused these our letters to be made patent, and our great seal to be hereunto affixed. Witness Samuel Johnson, Esquire, our Governor, Captain General and Commander in Chief, at Halifax, the twenty-fifth day of April, in the XIII year of our Independence, and of our lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-nine.

By his Excellency's command.

SAM JOHNSON.

J. Glasgow, Secretary.

State of North Carolina,  
Western District.

By virtue of a warrant from the State Entry Taker, No. 382, dated the twenty-fourth day of June, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-four, I have surveyed for John Rice five thousand acres of land, lying on the Chickasaw Bluff; beginning about one mile below the mouth of Wolf River, at a whiteoak tree, marked J. R. Running North twenty degrees, East two hundred and twenty-six poles; thence due North one hundred and thirty-three poles; thence North twenty-seven degrees, West three hundred and ten poles to a cotton wood tree; thence due East one thousand three hundred and seventy-seven and nine-tenths poles to a mulberry tree; thence South six hundred and twenty-five poles to a stake; thence West one thousand three hundred and four and nine-tenths poles to the beginning.

Surveyed December 1st, 1786.

ISAAC ROBERTS, D. S.

But there was another grant for 5,000 acres of land known as the "John Ramsey Grant", which began at the Southwest corner of John Rice's Grant. The battle between these two grants in Memphis was long and hard fought and uncertain, but was finally settled. This grant also is given in full.

#### THE JOHN RAMSEY GRANT.

No. 19,060. Recorded May 10th, 1823.

The State of Tennessee.

To all to whom these presents shall come—Greeting:

Know ye that in consideration of Warrant No. 383, dated the 24th day of June, 1784, issued by John Armstrong, Entry Officer of Claims for the North Carolina Western lands, to John Ramsey, for five thousand acres, and entered on the 25th day of October, 1783: by No. 383, there is granted by the State of Tennessee, unto the said John Ramsey and John Overton, assignee, etc., a certain tract or parcel of land, containing five thousand acres by survey,

bearing date the first day of March, 1822, lying in Shelby County, eleventh District, ranges eight and nine, sections one and two, on the Mississippi River, of which to said Ramsey four thousand two hundred and eighty-five and five-sevenths acres, and to said Overton seven hundred and fourteen and two-sevenths, acres, and bounded as follows, to-wit: Beginning at a stake on the bank of said river—southwest corner of John Rice's five thousand acres grant, as processioned by William Lawrence in the year 1820—running thence south eighty-five degrees, east, with said Rice's south boundary line, as processioned aforesaid, one hundred and seventy-five chains to a poplar marked R; thence South 200 chains to an elm marked F. R.; thence West, at sixty-two chains, crossing a branch bearing south, at seventy chains crossing a branch bearing southwest, at one hundred and nineteen chains crossing a branch bearing south, and at one hundred and sixty chains a branch bearing south—in all two hundred and seventy-three chains to a cotton wood marked F. R. on the bank of the Mississippi River, thence up the margin of said river, with its meanders, north seven degrees, east eleven chains, North one degree East five chains and thirty-five links, North ten and a half chains, North eight degrees, East fourteen chains, North twenty-two degrees, East eleven chains and sixty-three links, north eighty-six degrees, east four chains and sixty-three links, north twenty-nine degrees, east seven chains and ten links, north four degrees, west three chains and twenty-seven links, north five degrees, east six chains, north ten degrees, east three chains north thirty-one, east sixteen chains, north four degrees, east thirteen chains and seventy links, north fourteen degrees, east thirteen chains and nineteen links, north twenty-six east thirteen chains and eight links, north forty-three, east seven and one-half chains, north thirty, east twenty-two chains and thirty-eight links, north forty, east one chain and eight links, north fifty-three, east one chain and twenty-four links, north forty-nine, east three chains, north thirty-three, east five chains and eighty links, north forty-seven, east seventeen chains, north thirty-six, east four chains and thirty-four links, north forty-nine degrees, east six chains and fifty-seven links, north thirty-nine degrees, east thirty-three and one-half chains; thence north thirty-six degrees, east twelve and one-half chains to the beginning, with the hereditaments and appurtenances:

TO HAVE AND TO HOLD, the said tract or parcel of land, with its appurtenances, to the said John Ramsey and John Overton and their heirs forever.

In witness whereof, William Carroll, Governor of the State of Tennessee, hath hereunto set his hand and caused the great seal of the State to be affixed, at Murfreesboro, on the thirtieth day of April, in the year of our Lord, 1823, and of the Independence of the United States the forty-seventh.

By the Governor.

WILLIAM CARROLL.

Daniel Graham, Secretary.

John Rice moved from North Carolina to Tennessee and engaged in his business of trading, and he was finally killed by the Indians in 1791. He left a will conveying the Rice Grant to his brother, Elisha Rice. The will was in his own handwriting, but without witnesses.

John Overton bought the Rice Grant for \$500.00 from Elisha Rice, May 24, 1794, and to make certain that he was getting a good title, he took a quit-claim deed from all the brothers of John Rice, four in number, who would inherit from him in case of his death without will. By the law of North Carolina at that time, brothers inherited to the exclusion of sisters. Overton at once conveyed an undivided half interest in the grant to General Andrew Jackson, and the presumption is that the original purchase was made both for Jackson and himself. General Jackson at different times sold three-eighths of his one-half interest, and the title finally settled down thus: Judge Overton one-half; William Winchester one-eighth; General Jackson one-eighth, and General James Winchester one-fourth, one-half his own property, and the other half as trustee for a deceased brother. Later General Jackson sold his remaining one-eighth to John C. McLemore, who married a niece of Mrs. Jackson. The town was laid off into lots with streets, parks and public squares, in the early part of 1819, but the sale of lots was not very encouraging. The owners were liberal and far-seeing in the parts set aside for public use, comfort and pleasure.

On April 20th, 1829, the following proceedings were had in the Court of Pleas and Quarter Sessions of Shelby County:

#### PETITION FOR DIVISION.

"To the Court of Pleas and Quarter Sessions, for the County of Shelby, in the State of Tennessee, sitting at their April Session, 1829:

"We, the undersigned, respectfully represent to your Worships that we hold different undivided interests in sundry unsold lots in the town of Memphis, and in a tract of twelve hundred acres. We pray the Court to appoint the lawful number of Commissioners to divide the said town lots, and the said land, between us agreeably to a plat of the same that will be exhibited to the Commissioners by our agents, according to law, our respective interests in said property being as follows, viz: John Overton owns one-half; John McLemore owns one-eighth; the heirs of General James Winchester own one-fourth; and the devisees of Wm. Winchester, of Balti-



more, own one-eighth; and your petitioners, as in duty bound, will ever pray, etc. April 20th, 1829. (Signed)

JOHN OVERTON.

JOHN C. McLEMORE.

By their attorney in fact, Wm. Lawrence.

GEORGE WINCHESTER.

WILLIAM WINCHESTER.

By their attorney in fact, M. B. Winchester."

On Monday, 20th July, 1829, the Commissioners, who had been appointed by the Court to divide and set apart the interest of the respective owners in severalty, having reported, and their report having been ratified by the Court, the Court decreed that John Overton owned a one-half interest; John McLemore one-eighth interest; William Winchester, and George Winchester, as the devisees of William Winchester, deceased, one-eighth interest, and the estate of General James Winchester two-eighths.

It was the eastern part of the 5,000 acres of the Rice Grant that was laid off into lots; and the town was named "Memphis" by General James Winchester.

In the "Portfolio," published in Philadelphia, 1820, there is a well written advertisement of the prospects of the new town, and every feature that could attract purchasers and settlers was very persuasively set forth. The authorship of this advertisement is attributed to General Jackson.

Memphis was incorporated in 1826, but the election for municipal officers did not occur until 1827, in which year the original charter was amended by the legislature. The corporate law of the new municipality began in March, 1827, and Marcus B. Winchester was the first mayor. Mayor Winchester was born in Sumner County, Tennessee, and educated in Maryland. He entered the army in 1812, serving on his father's staff, and was taken and held a prisoner in Quebec for nearly a year. Later on, he served with his father at New Orleans; and finally, in 1815, came to Memphis and entered into business with A. B. Carr, and the firm became the rival in business of Isaac Rawlings, who succeeded Winchester as Mayor of Memphis, after the latter had served two years in that position. Mayor Winchester is credited with having made a good mayor, and he seems to have had the unlimited confidence of everybody. He served in the army with the rank of Major. Curiously enough, he contracted the first miscegenation marriage, and as far as history shows, the last, ever in Tennessee. The facts in this strange episode in Mayor Winchester's life are related by James

D. Davis in his "Early History of Memphis," published in 1873, at which time Davis was one of the oldest citizens in Memphis, and could write of men and events connected with the founding of Memphis and its early days, from personal knowledge.

Davis tells the story as follows: "Col. Thomas H. Benton, who afterward distinguished himself as the veteran United States Senator from Missouri, and who commanded a regiment under Jackson at New Orleans, brought with him on his return a beautiful French quadroon girl, with whom he lived some two or three years, when, in view, perhaps, of his future greatness, he concluded to turn her adrift and get married. He did so but not without providing liberally for her, giving her property and money, which was placed in Winchester's hands for safe-keeping. This brought those attractive persons together, and the consequence was a great error, but Winchester could not think of remedying it in the way Benton had done. He concluded to pursue the opposite course, and therefore took "Mary" to Louisiana, where the laws permitted intermarriage of the races, and there formally married her. If Winchester thought that this act would modify the asperity of popular feeling against him, he was greatly mistaken, for it increased in virulency tenfold. . . . Poor Mary tried, by acts of charity, liberal donations to religious purposes, exemplary and unobtrusive deportment and all other conceivable means to allay the intense hatred, but it only had the effect to increase, if possible, its vindictiveness."

Davis first published this statement of Mayor Winchester's marriage in the *Memphis Appeal*, in 1873, and that paper in the same issue made the following comment:

"In another place we publish an inimitable story, written by one of the oldest citizens of Memphis. The narrative is distinguished by its naive simplicity and truthfulness. It tells of facts which every old citizen was cognizant, and of prejudices that lost their force long before Mayor Winchester died. He came here before a social system existed, and when people's prejudices against Creoles were incorrigible. It was in 1851 or '52 that Mayor Winchester, for the last time, appeared before the people. A staunch Democrat, he defeated for the Legislature in this County, in which the Whig party was dominant, a gentleman as courtly and polished and as worthy a citizen as himself. This competitor of Major Winchester was Col. John Pope. There was never a member of any community more esteemed while he lived, or more honored at his death, than Major Marcus B. Winchester, the most graceful, courtly, elegant gentleman that ever appeared upon Main Street, and the 'dress proclaimed the man.' "

The Tennessee Legislature of 1822, in all probability in consequence of this marriage, passed an act prohibiting such alliances in these words:—

“The intermarriage of white persons with negroes, mulattoes, or persons with mixed blood descended from a negro to the third generation, inclusive, or their living together as man and wife in this State, is hereby prohibited.”

At the time of Mayor Winchester's marriage, such an alliance was permissible at New Orleans, and there was no statute in Tennessee against it, and nothing in the State's Constitution of 1796, nor in the Constitution of 1834, but the State's third Constitution, that of 1870, contained a provision in the exact words of the statute of 1822.

There is no evidence that John Rice, the first owner of the site of Memphis, ever visited the Chickasaw Bluffs, but Col. J. M. Keating, for many years editor of the *Memphis Appeal*, in his great and authoritative *History of Memphis*, says that it is more than likely that he did, as he was a trader who perhaps made trips to Natchez, as Andrew Jackson and General Wilkinson did, a few years later.

While there were others interested in the proposed town, John Overton is really due the credit for making Memphis a city, and but for him the town that had such a struggle for existence for a number of reasons, would have probably disappeared from the map of the State.

The faith of Overton never wavered, and there is no evidence that any one of the original purchasers of the site ever got discouraged or pulled back. This was a faith that could move mountains; it was a faith that actually did build, ultimately, a great city. That imagination was limitless that could at that day look forward and see located upon the Chickasaw Bluffs a city of wealth and splendor.

J. J. Rawlings, a relative of Mayor Isaac Rawlings, says:

“Memphis had a hard struggle for its existence that but few of its present population know of; for years after the first attempt of its people to make a town, it was antagonized by several neighboring villages which thought their chances for becoming a city much superior. Randolph, a town five miles above, on the Mississippi River, was its main rival, and it succeeded in getting largely the advantage of Memphis in trade. Randolph was backed by a large portion of our own county. The settlement on Big Creek, the

most populous and wealthy settlement in Shelby County, did most of its business with Randolph for several years; in fact, the people of that section of the County had stronger inducements for trading at Randolph than at Memphis. They were equally as near Randolph, and had better roads, unobstructed by small unbridged streams. When they came to Memphis they had to come by water. They came down Big Creek and Wolf River in boats, canoes, skiffs and small flat boats, loaded in a supply sufficient for five or six months, and carried it back in boats. Randolph began to boast of the advantages it had obtained over Memphis in a business way, and threatened to wipe her off the map of Tennessee; it really thought its chances for a town were much superior to those of Memphis, and that Memphis would finally go down."

But Randolph was not the only rival of Memphis; there was Fort Pickering and South Memphis, but they were all finally annexed or wiped out.

Memphis had in 1819 a population of 53; in 1827, 500; and in 1830, 663; the United States Census shows that Shelby County had in 1820 a population of 364; in 1830, 5,648; and in 1840, 14,721.

The first bank organized in Memphis was the Farmers' and Merchants' Bank, chartered in 1833, of which Mayor M. W. Winchester was one of its early Presidents.

The first epidemic of yellow fever was in 1828.

The first cotton planted in Tennessee was by Col. John Donelson, who, in 1780, planted a half acre on his farm on Stone's River.

The first steamboat that ever went by Memphis on the Mississippi River was the steamer "New Orleans", built at Pittsburg, 116 feet long, 20 feet wide and the engine a 34-inch cylinder, and the boiler of adequate proportions. This steamer was the first boat to carry cotton on the Mississippi, which was loaded at Natchez on the maiden trip of the vessel, and shipped to New Orleans.

But, while Overton and Jackson had bought the Rice Grant and were thus the owners of the site of the City of Memphis, the Chickasaw Indians were to be reckoned with, who claimed title to all that part of Tennessee between the Tennessee River and the Mississippi, one of the richest portions of the globe for agricultural purposes. It is curious that the Chickasaws did not occupy this fertile section, although they claimed title to it, but they used it only as a hunting ground.

Ramsey in his "Annals of Tennessee," says: "Vague and uncertain claims to several portions of the territory were asserted by



as many several tribes, but no part of the present Tennessee was held by the actual and permanent occupancy of the Indians, except that section embraced by the segment of a circle of which the Tennessee River is the periphery, from the point where it intersects the North Carolina line to that where this stream enters the State of Alabama. This was settled by the Cherokees. All of Tennessee, beside this, was uninhabited, though a portion of it was claimed or occupied as hunting grounds by the Shawnees, Chickasaws, Choctaws, and the Cherokees."

But whether the claim of the Chickasaws was valid or not, they made it and had made it long before Memphis was founded, and in order that their claim might be wiped out in a manner that would leave no question, President James Monroe commissioned General Jackson and Isaac Shelby, Governor of Kentucky, to negotiate a treaty with the Chickasaws for the extinguishment of their title to all of the lands claimed by them in Tennessee and Kentucky west of the Tennessee River. General Jackson had just returned from Florida, and on October 30, 1818, he wrote to Judge Campbell that he was "so weak as to be unable to hold a pen for some time after my arrival at the treaty ground. We arrived here on the 29th, and found everything wrong; an agent unacquainted with the Indians, the geography of the country, or even what were the wishes of the government, and not one-half of the Nation notified of the place of meeting." Delay was had in order to collect the Indians together. Finally the negotiations began, and naturally offers and counter-offers were made and considered, but finally an agreement was reached by which the Chickasaws were to receive \$20,000.00 in cash each year for fifteen years; also, some specific sums to certain individuals, and some reservations to certain members of the Chickasaws, and some annual sums to the chiefs of the tribe. The treaty was signed October 19, 1818. In 1833 the Chickasaws sold all of their remaining land in Mississippi, 6,442,400 acres, for \$3,646,000.00. After the cession of their lands, under the guidance of government agents, they removed to the Indian Territory.

In January, 1819, the cession of West Tennessee by the Chickasaws was ratified by Congress.

Shelby County was organized on May 1st, 1820, and at that time embraced what is now known as Fayette and Tipton Counties. Russell Bean, the first white child born in Tennessee, was elected patrolman of the County, and he disappears from history from that time forward.

This generation of readers knows a great deal about Andrew Jackson, and something about John Overton, but practically nothing about the Winchesters, who were among the original owners of Memphis, and John C. McLemore, who bought Andrew Jackson's remaining one-eighth interest.

General James Winchester was a Revolutionary soldier and an officer in the War of 1812. He was born in Carroll County, Maryland, February, 1752, and entered the army in 1776. He rendered valiant service in the Revolutionary War, and was taken prisoner, and exchanged after a year's confinement in an English prison ship. He rendered service and was present at a number of the most important battles of the Revolutionary War, and at the surrender of Cornwallis. After the close of the Revolutionary War, he settled in Sumner County, Middle Tennessee, and was elected speaker of the first Senate of the State. In 1812, he entered the service of his country again, as a Brigadier-General, and joined Andrew Jackson, who was then in command at Mobile, only a short time before the Battle of New Orleans, in which battle he fought, and after which he resigned his commission and went to his farm in Sumner County, where he died, July 26, 1826. It was through General James Winchester that William and George Winchester, his brothers, procured their interests in the original site of Memphis from Andrew Jackson.

Our interest in John C. McLemore is accentuated by reason of the fact that he was a nephew, by marriage, of Andrew Jackson, having married a niece of Mrs. Jackson. John C. McLemore was born in North Carolina, and came to Nashville in 1806. He was a land surveyor by profession, and a life-long friend, supporter and adviser of Andrew Jackson. His wife was a daughter of Col. John Donelson; he died in 1864, leaving behind him the record of a long, honorable and useful life.

The limits of this book confine us to matters during the life of Andrew Jackson, who died in 1845, up to which time the history of Memphis was the history of every other small pioneer town, emphasized, however, in its early days by a citizenship that included a good many bad men, such as are to be expected in every river town in pioneer days. Memphis had her full share of troubles of this kind, but finally conquered her outlaws.

This sketch of Memphis, therefore, is necessarily a sketch of its pioneer days, but would not be complete did we not say something about "Old Ike" Rawlings, one of the strongest and most virile

characters in the history of the State. There were three business houses in Memphis at that early date, Winchester and Carr, Henderson and Fern, and Isaac Rawlings, and the rivalry was intense between Isaac Rawlings, "Old Ike," and Winchester and Carr, Winchester being Marcus R. Winchester, the first Mayor of Memphis, one time postmaster and president of the first bank organized in the city. Phelan, who was a member of congress from the Memphis District, and published his "History of Tennessee" in 1888, pays "Old Ike" this tribute:

"This singular and almost grotesque figure made one of the best mayors who ever presided over Memphis, from M. R. Winchester to D. P. Hatton. He was long known as the model mayor. Rawlings was vain, stubborn, self-willed, imperious, impatient of contradiction, conservative to a fault. But he was also honest, clear-minded, law-abiding, determined to be obeyed, and economical; he took the duties of his position in earnest, and rigorously enforced the law, preserved order, looked after the disbursement of the public funds with scrupulous care and was remarkably energetic."

He was elected mayor of Memphis three times, and was a candidate to represent Shelby County in the Constitutional Convention of 1834, but was defeated, as he was a Whig. He was carried in an easy chair to cast his vote for Harrison and Tyler, and when the news came that they were elected he said, "Now, I can die happy," and died soon thereafter.

Davis, in his "Early History of Memphis," says: "To say that Isaac Rawlings made a good mayor would be but an indifferent compliment; he superintended all of the work, and paid out the money as though it was coming from his own pocket." And this is probably the greatest tribute that Davis could have paid him. In this good year of 1920, every intelligent American knows that it is in municipal government that the people of the United States have proven themselves a failure. Our Federal Government is the wonderful success of all ages; our State governments have been conducted, as a rule, wisely and fairly economically; our county governments are controlled largely by farmers who have evinced conservatism in the handling of public money under their control; but it is in the city governments where the most corrupt and audacious influences and conduct have been exhibited, and which have loaded American municipalities down with hundreds of millions of bonded debts that they will never pay while time lasts.

The worst exhibition of American character has been in the government of cities. Fraud, graft, thieving, double-dealing, trickery, every species of dishonesty, treachery and perjury, are all exhibited in municipal government. American cities are accustomed to get probably fifty to seventy-five per cent in actual value for the money that they spend. Municipal officers do not treat public money with anything even approximating the care in its expenditure that they treat their own. It may be that human nature is built that way and that they cannot help it, but we hope not. And so it is that when Davis says that "Old Ike" Rawlings paid out the money of the struggling municipality of Memphis as if it were his own, he puts "Old Ike" on an elevation upon which very few public officials in America deserve to stand. If, by recalling "Old Ike's" record the author can incite any public official whatever to more conscientious handling of public money, he will feel that by this one service alone this book has not been written in vain.

As something of a counterpart of "Old Ike", the opportunity is here afforded to say that Colonel John S. VanGilder, who was elected Mayor of the City of Knoxville three times, and held that office in 1870, 1871 and 1872, deserved the same great tribute paid by Davis to "Old Ike." Colonel VanGilder, while he was mayor, handled and paid out the money of the City of Knoxville and otherwise conserved the city's interests with the same care and business efficiency that he did his own, which in a long, active, business life in Knoxville, achieved for him the highest standing as a banker, public official, business man and gentleman.

Virtues like those of "Old Ike" are rare at this day, and his crowning virtue of official fidelity and perfect honor, make a great object lesson for the City of Memphis. Memphis would honor itself, and confer valuable instruction upon its voting population, and instill a grand lesson into the minds of its school children, if its citizenship, in some prominent place in the city, would erect a monument to "Old Ike" and inscribe upon it words indicating that official honor and integrity were the guides of his life, and that his record was one the modern city was proud of, and wanted its citizens to emulate and follow. Abstract moral lessons are all well enough; academic teaching of official honesty and integrity amount to something; but the way by which mankind is most deeply impressed with the beauty and nobility of correct principles is by seeing them carried out in the life of some citizen who has held public position. We repeat, Memphis would honor



itself and elevate its citizenship by making "Old Ike" the exemplar of personal and official fidelity in the city's public affairs.

A like hint might be given to the City of Knoxville, the metropolis of East Tennessee, and the strong, great character of John S. VanGilder might be held up to this and all other generations of Knoxville citizens as a type of man worthy of being cited as an example to the municipality. Knoxville's record, here and there, has been marked with things John S. VanGilder never would have done or tolerated in others. He is a shining example of fidelity to the city in the spending of its money, as also, of those old-fashioned virtues which constitute the foundation of human character: integrity, lack of dissimulation, truth, candor, kindness and a regard for the rights of others. Colonel VanGilder was an old-fashioned man who narrowly missed being a great man. He exemplified his old-fashioned virtues in all of his actions as mayor of Knoxville; and, as in the case of Memphis and "Old Ike," if the citizens of Knoxville, irrespective of politics, class, wealth or color, would erect a monument to John S. VanGilder as a typical representative of the virtues that a mayor ought to possess, they would do themselves an honor, and would inaugurate a current of thought upon the subject of official fidelity that would work out vastly to the benefit of the municipality.

Davis tells a story that will interest and appeal to millions of American people in reference to Abraham Lincoln. He says that in the summer of 1831, an up-bound steamer on the Mississippi River stopped at Wappanocha, on the opposite side of the river from Memphis, to replenish its stock of wood. A young man who was a passenger left the steamer and went ashore. He asked Colonel Furgason, a surveyor, for work, saying that he had been to New Orleans on a flat boat, and while returning had the misfortune to be robbed of all his money.

Colonel Furgason gave him a job of cutting cord wood, at which he worked until he had a sum that was sufficient to carry him back to Illinois, where his home was. During this period he was an inmate of the Colonel's house. It was just thirty years later that the young man who cut the cord wood was elected President of the United States.

It is hardly necessary to point the moral of the story. It is simple and patent and of immense power. American life sometimes leads from the flat-boat to the Presidency; at other times it

leads, as in the case of Aaron Burr, from the Vice-Presidency to going down to death in poverty in New York City.

JOHN OVERTON TO GEN. JAMES WINCHESTER.

The nine letters following are from John Overton to Gen. James Winchester in reference to the founding and infant days of Memphis.

"Nashville, 25th October, 1818.

"Dear Genl.

"You will see an official account from Genl. Jackson published in the Whig that he had made a Treaty with the Chickasaws and purchased all their claims to land lying within the States of Tennessee and Kentucky. So that the claim to our tracts at the Bluff is also extinguished, and Marcus is there long before this. He has fine weather to explore our land there and will bring us an accurate description of the Bluff tract. If the balance of the Bluff tract is not purchased by Cage before this time, it never will by us, as the price of course will be too high.

"If Cage does not purchase, you must take the earliest measures to procure the consent of Wm. Winchester's heirs to the laying off a town, which consent must be given from under hand & seal, constituting some person as attorney with power to appoint attorneys under their authority to act in the business. So soon as you learn from Cage that no purchase is made, write to your relations that such a course will be necessary; it will prepare them for the measure and some person will go on from us to get the necessary authority to act in due time, hereafter.

"But we must proceed to lay off a town by this time 12 months. I suspect (if) the Country settles as fast as I think it will, we must not let the owners of property on the Bluffs of the Mississippi above us be beforehand in laying off towns, as it might damp the sale of ours.

Resply yours,

Jno. Overton.

"P. S. In the yarn sent to me by the Factory there was a deficiency of  $6\frac{1}{2}$  cwts. J. O."

JOHN OVERTON TO GEN. JAMES WINCHESTER.

"Dec.———1818.

"Dear Sir:

"Genl. Jackson and myself purchased the Chickasaw Bluff tract about the year 1796. I have retained my part of it ever since. I never knew and in what manner the Genl. disposed of his part. Latterly I have inquired of him, and he tells me that he never made Saml Donelson a deed as he believes, as said Donelson was in debt to him, nor did he ever make any contract to that effect, that he recollects. Hence it seems clear that you and the heirs of your Brother William have only one eighth of

the interest in the Chickasaw Bluff tract of 5000 acres, that I own one-half of which there is no dispute, that you and the heirs of your brother William have only an eighth of the interest in the Chickasaw Bluff tract of 5000 acres—that I own one-half, of which there is no dispute—that you and the heirs of William Winchester, each an eighth part & Jackson a fourth (sic—obviously an inadvertent repetition).

“It is very important that something should be done as quick as possible, in relation to the laying off a town at the Bluff as towns are now the fashion, and other sites above may come in competition with it.

“I would therefore recommend, that you immediately apprise your relations, the heirs of Mr. William Winchester of the importance of uniting our views, that they will constitute an agent here to act for them, making provision for the death of such agent, so that the purchasers of lots may not be injured or subject to injury. They should give a power of attorney, authorizing A. B. to unite in making deeds for town lots, that death as to (any) of the heirs shall not annul the power; and (in) case of the death of the said A. B. then (?) shall succeed; and in case of his death C. D. shall succeed, and have all the powers and authorities of the said A. B. the attorney, originally appointed. In this way, no injury will arise to purchasers of lots by the death of any of those interested in the land, which so frequently produces injury, and discourages purchasing town lots. (The) rest of the proprietors, viz: vest similar powers in the same person or persons, to make deeds in case of death.

“I beg that you will communicate these things to the heirs of William Winchester as quick as possible, if they do not think proper to join in laying off the town, we will apply to the Court and get a partition made, setting aside the (ir) part to itself; and Winchester, Jackson and Overton will proceed to lay off a town on the part laid off, and set apart to them. This not being the interest of the heirs of Wm. Winchester, I expect they will unite with us, and send out the necessary papers to lay off said town, constituting an agent, (or) agents, in case of death, and with a provision (ex) pressly that death in any of the parties conce (rned) shall not annul said power.

“I am resply,

Your m o b s.

“Genl. Winchester.

Jno. Overton.”

JOHN OVERTON TO GEN. JAMES WINCHESTER.

“Nashville, June 12th, 1822.

“Dear Genl.

“I suspect there will be a strong effort made to take the Court house from the Bluff. It is the unceasing object of my attention. McLemore I hope will take the place of Jackson, a most important acquisition, as he, from his habits of activity

knowledge of men & things, as well as his situation as to land matters, will be enabled to get our town and interest a little ahead in that quarter. A subject that requires the most particular attention shortly, or we shall be run ashore. I see no other way, Genl, than to be liberal in donations to the county, say, let the owners of Ramsey tract and Rice's, give each 25 acres, joining the line to be sold out in lots, and appropriated to the use of the County building Court house, etc. This alone can fix things there and without it, the plan may be kept under for 50 years. Such a step would greatly enhance the balance of the property, fully to the amount of the donation; beside we, in that case, would derive some benefit during our lives, otherwise it will be an eating moth, having a thousand petty adverse interests to contend with. Think of these things and let me know your opinion, for I have formed no decisive one as yet; it is only my impression that I state. Consider too, until such a step as this, or something like it is taken; some one of us will constantly be obliged to keep guard at the legislature, to keep the courthouse from going away, a fatiguing, expensive, and disagreeable business, which falls to my lot, as it did last Session, & will the next Session. Beside all the labor of correspondence, instructions, etc., it is too much for me to attend to this too. We must put an end to it somehow, and if we can do it by present sacrifice, to result in future benefit, it seems to me we ought not to hesitate.

"Respy yr friend

"Jno. Overton.

"My respects to Mrs. Winchester & family.  
"Genl. Winchester."

J. O.

JOHN OVERTON TO GEN. JAMES WINCHESTER.

"Nashville 13th March 1823.

"Dear Genl.

"W. Cage tells me that as they came up there was no wood for steam boats at the the mouth of Wolf river. I was grieved at this, as I had particularly urged Marcus to be attentive to keeping a constant supply of wood for steam boats. If you travel a high road, will you not call at a Tavern where the tavern keeper receives you at the door before you get down, makes you easy in his house and furnishes you with everything you want? I say, yes you will and everybody else too!—until at length the tavern keeper's house can't hold his guests, and he gets his neighbor, or encourages him, to come and build a house beside him, to accommodate the wants of the numerous passengers passing. This is the beginning of every village on leading roads, and some of the greatest towns have grown out of villages. So, it is, on the river Mississippi, which has the same effect as a great road. Sir, let me beg of you to write to your son, seriously, on this subject, and everything connected, with (accommodation the most polite) to the passengers of the river. It is impossible for me to detail



to you the important bearings of these things on the growth of our interest in that quarter, soon it must be pushed, by liberality of the owners and the most assiduous attention of the first settlers or the critical moment slips. Write to Marcus & Carr I beg of you.

"Yr friend

"Genl. Jas. Winchester.

Jno. Overton."

JOHN OVERTON TO GEN. JAMES WINCHESTER.

"Nashville—Apr. 4th, 1823.

"Dear Sir:—

"From some recent hints given it might have been perceived that I viewed our prospects respecting Memphis in a gloomy way, and that it might be necessary for me or one of the owners to go immediately to the spot. On my honor I tell you unless I go there immediately and adopt some bold, liberal and decisive measure, the plan (as to its being of consequence or value is gone forever). I have consequently watched the opposition made to it, have attended to our Legislature every Session on that ground, and must go to the whole of next Session (3rd Monday in Sept.) as the affairs of Memphis, whether it shall be a decent little town in our day (say in 20 or 30 years) or a mere harbor for a few drunken boatmen (beside those now there). This is the question to be tried at our next Session and those opposed to Memphis, wishing to take the Courthouse away (which will be its ruin) are numerous and active. My health is weak, very weak, this spring, but if alive will be active and confidently believe my judgment of men, matters and things is superior to all of them put together, this may seem arrogant but 40 years experience has given me this confidence. I have full power to act for Jackson, and Marcus has for you. On the ground I shall decide and act, as it is not in my character to be indecisive.

"I repeat without immediate prompt attention and action we are to be put down; and we must expect to make temporary sacrifices to secure permanent advantages. To err is but human. I may do so possibly but if I do, our interest being in common, and mine doubly yours, will suffer accordingly, but I have no fear.

"I should be glad to see you as I cannot start from here sooner than Monday week. By letter it would be impossible to detail to you so as to give you a full view. So by return mail drop me a line, if you do not come down.

"Resply.

(Signed) "Jno. Overton.

"P. S. Marcus & Carr are securely selling their goods, with them whether it is a town in their day or not, is not so material. Lawrence is in the wood surveying. It is not from them I learn things."

JOHN OVERTON TO GEN. JAMES WINCHESTER.

"Nashville, April 13th, 1823.

"Dear Sir:—

"On Wednesday morning early I start by the steam boat Nashville to Memphis. As I intimated in my last, events are developing themselves, showing clearly that all our prospects are lost unless something is done; and nothing will do unless I go myself.

"Every effort is making to take the Court from that place, and fix it elsewhere. Believing as I do that everything as to the growth of the place depends on keeping the Court, I shall use every reasonable means to preserve it. Should Memphis be put back in that way it may never survive so fatal a blow. In all human probability it never would, as some other place would take the lead, and keep it; witness Nashville, and every other town in whose neighborhood as good cities may be found. It but illy suits me to go as I am in bad health. Unless I go now, I cannot before next Session of the Legislature when all would be lost; and all the plans I have hitherto adopted by attending the Legislature be defeated.

"Tell Mr. Roberts he had better get the suit with Ring disputing the land, depending at Lebanon, continued.

"Your friend,

(Signed) "Jno. Overton.

"Genl. Jas. Winchester."

JOHN OVERTON TO GEN. JAMES WINCHESTER.

"Nashville 1st Nov., 1823.

"Dear Sir:

"I am just from Murfreesboro for the sixth time, and my business there, the fixing the Courthouse in Shelby County.

The petition, praying that it may be left to a vote of the people, meets with strenuous opposition from the Big Creek people in that County. I fear that it will be impossible to get a law passed to that effect, but if you think best I think a law can be procured for three commissioners to fix the site, without confining it to the centre, if those commissioners shall think proper. In this case much will depend on the comrs. They will be naturally inclined to the centre, if a good spring can be found, but I think there can not. Lawrence will be here by the 15th this month, and I have a thought, if I can, to keep back the proceedings in the Legislature until he comes.

"But in case you should approve of Commissioners, I have to state that Maj. Fentress, Speaker of the H. R. and Maj. Abram Maury will be two of them. Much depends on the third Com. in this case, and the Legislature will not be disposed to appoint any person except some prominent Member of the Legislature. What is your opinion of Genl. Hall, your Senator?

Are you and him on friendly terms and is he as well disposed towards you? He is my choice if you know of no particular reason. He knows that you are one of the proprietors.

"This business is the most arduous I ever engaged in. Drop me a line by return of mail, or sooner if you can. If Hall should refuse to serve I do not know what we should do, suggest some person.

"Yrs. Respt.

"Jno. Overton.

"Genl. Winchester."

JOHN OVERTON TO GEN. JAMES WINCHESTER.

"Nashville Nov. 23rd, 1823.

"Dear Sir:

"Enclosed is a copy of the Act which I procured to be passed, under difficulties and opposition, such as I never experienced in all my life. You will see by the date of the Act when it passed. From the commencement of the Session, I was all my time at Murfreesboro, and had to encounter a strong petition against it from the people on Big Creek beside the opposition of the Senator and Representative from that quarter. The last three nights before it passed I did not sleep three hours of a night, and such was the fatigue and exposure that I have been laid up four days with the rheumatism in my back, shoulders, etc. I am just getting up, but still scarcely able to move.

"It was on the last reading of the bill before I was able to get in the 4th Section, having with great difficulty got the bill so amended as not to confine the Commissioners in the selection of a site to three miles of the centre. To this there was great opposition, as it had in former acts been usual in that country to confine the selection of the site of counties for Courthouse towns to three miles of the centre. For such extraordinary exertions, believing that no other man could have accomplished the object, I must be compensated, in part by the rest of the proprietors, and shall accordingly make a charge, to be accounted for in the final adjustment of our accounts. The opposition had an agent on the spot violently opposing our election by the people, supported by their petition, and as many lies as a fruitful imagination could well devise, and as an election was unusual thing, dark suspicion of unfairness & hung for a long time over our part of the business, which required herculean labor, and all the influence I possessed to dissipate it. And there was no other possible mode of getting over these difficulties but to give the Coms. a controlling power over the election. Though I seemed to concede this, it was what I wished, for two reasons, viz: 1st, I knew or believed that if we could carry the election in our favor, that these commissioners nor any other disinterested that could be appointed, would not deviate from the voice of the people, or a majority, so that everything with us depends on the event of the election. 2nd, if we

succeed in the election and the Coms. act upon it, and they confirm what is done by a majority, it will have a powerful effect to quiet the opposition upon which the growth & prosperity of the town will very much depend.

"I have written Marcus how to deport himself in every point, and I would submit to you whether we had not best forward by the first boat from 100 to 200 gallons of whiskey to Marcus, as in this article it will be necessary to be liberal. Probably new whiskey with you can be got low, there is none of any (good) in our neighborhood. Write me immediately on this subject. If you think it cannot be procured soon and sent down, write to Marcus to purchase it from the river as quick as possible, and that I will replace it.

McLemore, who is now one of the owners, must attend this election, write to him urging him to do so, and he must be allowed for his services. Consider my age and infirmities, and the exertions I have employed from the first stage (the Indian treaty etc.) you will think it reasonable.

"Resply, Yrs.

(Signed) "Jno. Overton.

"Genl. Jas. Winchester.

"(Postscript). How wd it do to give the County every other lot in the town, instead of the 50 acres?"

JOHN OVERTON TO GEN. JAMES WINCHESTER.

"October 1st, 1825.

"Dear Genl.

"Last night I returned to his place from the Western District, to which place I went in company with General Jackson & his lady. Mrs. Jackson went to the neighborhood of Jackson in Madison County, to visit her only two surviving sisters.

"The General was invited to partake of a public dinner at Paris in Henry County, which detained us a week longer than I expected, and kept me from being here on the 29th as I expected. You will therefore have to give Mr. Bledsoe another notice, so that I may attend, which I will do on being informed of the time.

I would very much wish that you would spend a day at my house or a week if convenient, in order that we may talk over your law business, particularly the suit with Walton.

The Donelson suit I am master of, I am not sure that I am of the other. At all events it would be a great service to the cause to talk it over, examining each point critically. This is the universal practice with lawyers & their clients. Writing is not sufficient. At all times you know me well enough to be convinced that every exertion will be made on my part.

"I transmitted you a deed for your interest in the Ramsey tract. Have you received it? If so please acknowledge the receipt of it by letter, and as the deed discharges the obligation



you hold of mine, it is nothing but right that you should deliver up that obligation to me, sending it by mail or safe private conveyance as soon as you can. Being in years, life is uncertain, it is my wish that no obligations should be out, in case of death. I presume you omitted to send it when you last wrote to me. I therefore expect to hear from you on this subject, being the only obligations I have out in the world.

Present me to Mr. & Mrs. Breedlove, of whose polite attention, when at Orleans I retain a due sense. As usual

"Yrs. Respty.

"Jno. Overton.

"Genl. J. Winchester."





**GENERAL SAM HOUSTON**  
From oil painting in the State Capitol, Austin, Texas.

## CHAPTER 8.

## Sam Houston—Chronology.

- 1793 March 2—Born Rockbridge County, Virginia.
- 1806 His father died, leaving a widow, six sons and three daughters.
- 1806 (Probably) Came with his mother and family to Blount County, Tennessee.
- 1813 Enlisted 39th Regiment Tennessee Regulars.
- 1814 Joined, with his regiment, Jackson's Army in the Creek Campaign.
- 1814 August 27th—Fought under Jackson at the Battle of the Horseshoe, and was wounded three times—once with an arrow, in the thigh, and twice with balls in the shoulder.
- 1814 Returned to his mother's home to recover from wounds.
- 1815 Made First Lieutenant, 1st Regiment in the regular army.
- 1817 Assigned to Adjutant-General's office in Nashville.
- 1817 Appointed Sub-agent to the Cherokees under General Return J. Meigs.
- 1818 May 18th—Resigned his position as First Lieutenant in the Army.
- 1818 Began studying law at Nashville.
- 1818 Admitted to the bar and opened an office at Lebanon, Tennessee.
- 1819 Appointed Adjutant-General of Tennessee.
- 1819 Elected Prosecuting Attorney for Davidson County, Tennessee, when he removed to Nashville.
- 1821 Elected Major-General Tennessee Militia.
- 1823 Elected a Member of Congress from the Ninth Tennessee District.
- 1825 Elected to Congress for a second term.
- 1827 Elected Governor of Tennessee by a majority of 12,000 over Newton Cannon and Willie Blount.
- 1829 January—Married Miss Eliza Allen of Sumner County.



- 1829    April 16—Resigned as Governor. .
- 1830    Accompanied delegation of Cherokees to Washington.
- 1832    Had personal difficulty with Congressman Stansberry of Ohio.
- 1832    December 10th—Entered Texas.
- 1834    Elected Commander-in-Chief of the Provisional Army of Texas.
- 1836    February—The Massacre at the Alamo.
- 1836    Re-elected Commander-in-Chief.
- 1836    Massacre at Goliad.
- 1836    April 21st—Battle of San Jacinto.
- 1836    September 1st—Elected first President of the Republic of Texas.
- 1840    May 9th—Married to Miss Margaret Moffette Lea.
- 1841    Elected a second time President of the Republic of Texas.
- 1845    October 14—Texas became a part of the United States.
- 1846    Elected to the United States Senate.
- 1853    Elected second term to United States Senate.
- 1859    Elected Governor of Texas.
- 1861    Resigned as Governor of Texas.
- 1862    July 26th—Died, aged seventy years.

## CHAPTER 9.

### Sam Houston—History.

Sam Houston was born in Rockbridge County, Virginia, March 2, 1793, and was of Scotch-Irish descent. His father, Samuel Houston, saw service in the Revolutionary War in General Daniel Morgan's brigade, and at the close of the Revolution was appointed Major and Assistant Inspector General of frontier troops. He died in 1806, leaving a widow with six sons and three daughters. Samuel Houston was a man of large frame and fine presence, like his son, the hero of San Jacinto.

Sam Houston's mother was of large physique and great strength of character. Nothing could possibly illustrate her character better than that after her husband's death, and when Sam Houston was thirteen years of age, she determined to sell out her land in Virginia, and to cross the Alleghany Mountains and settle in Blount County, Tennessee, which at that time was the furthestmost outpost of civilization and on the dividing line between the territory of the red and the white man. At this time, with all of the modern facilities of travel, it is hard to conceive of a woman in 1806, with nine children, undertaking a journey of two hundred miles through the wilderness from Rockbridge County, Virginia, to Blount County, Tennessee. The modern reader could desire nothing better than a detailed statement of that wonderful woman's journey and how she accomplished it. Sam Houston must have inherited enough of his unlimited capacity for hardships from his mother alone, to say nothing of his father, whose great passion was military life, and who did his part in the American War for Independence. After diligent search we have been unable to find the date that Mrs. Houston started from Rockbridge County, Virginia, or when she arrived in Blount County, Tennessee; nor can we find why she selected the spot for a home at what is now called Brick Mill in Blount County, some eight miles from Maryville, the county seat; but

here she settled, and the usual frontier cabin home was built and the family proceeded to enter upon the customary round of frontier life. We would like very much to know what the inducement was to Mrs. Houston to come to Blount County from Virginia, and above everything, we would like to see a picture of the woman who undertook that journey and successfully accomplished it, and who gave Sam Houston to the world.

Before leaving Virginia Houston received the rudiments of education, and he is credited with, by some means, securing a copy of Pope's translation of the *Iliad*, which appealed to his imagination and excited that spirit of adventure in him which was so great. There were events in Houston's own life which equaled those of Homer's *Iliad*.

The Little Tennessee River was the dividing line between the white settlers and the Cherokees, and, following the bent of his nature for adventure, Houston left his family and the work of clerking in a country store, to which he had been put, and took up his abode with the Cherokees, and became a favorite with the chief, John Jolly. Here he was found by his family after a search and implored to go home, which he refused to do, and remained with the Cherokees. He acquired the Cherokee language, and wore their dress, and in his habits of life was an Indian. He is credited with having made the reply when his family found him, and tried to persuade him to return home, that he preferred measuring deer tracks to measuring tape, and that they might leave him where he was; and he remained with the Cherokees until he was eighteen years old. From time to time he would return to the white settlements for things that he needed and then go back to his Indian life. He got in debt and, seeing no way to pay out, he returned to Maryville, the county seat of Blount County, where he had clerked in the store, and opened a school. It would not be difficult to conclude that Sam Houston's school would not be of a very high standard, nor that the range of studies would not be very wide; but he seems to have been remarkably successful, and that, too, in spite of the fact that he raised the price of tuition from six to eight dollars per year, one-third payable in corn, one-third in cash, and one-third in cotton goods, such as his hunting shirts were made of. The school paid his debts, and when that was done he quit teaching, and himself attended for a period the Academy at Maryville.

The life of Houston and his family in Blount County, Tennessee, has never been as fully known as the world always likes in reference to the early, struggling days of one who develops into a great man. Now that his fame is established, every additional fact about him becomes of general interest, so we present a letter to the author from Major Will A. McTeer, whose ancestors were soldiers in the Revolution, and he himself, a Major in the Federal army during the Civil War. He is a practicing lawyer at Maryville, Tenn., despite his advanced years, and sent the author the following letter about Houston and others of the early days.

MAJOR WILL A. McTEER TO THE AUTHOR.

"Maryville, Tenn., July 17, 1919.

"Hon. S. G. Heiskell,

"Knoxville, Tenn.

"Dear Sir:—I promised to send you some information which had come to me in regard to Gen. Sam Houston.

"It was told me by the late Charles C. W. Norwood, who was born March 27, 1793, and died March 26, 1888. Mr. Norwood was a private in the Company commanded by Captain Jehu Stephens, known as Mounted Gunmen, of which company my grandfather was first sergeant, and I had the original roll in my grandfather's handwriting, furnishing a copy to Mr. Norwood when he was a very old man. He frequently talked with me about the days of his youth, especially of the military experiences, as all soldiers seeing service are fond of doing. You will see by the above dates that Norwood and Houston were born the same year. In boyhood they were then neighbors growing up in what was regarded as near each other, the Houston place and the Norwood home being about three miles apart, as well as I can guess at the distance.

"The country was then very thinly settled, so according to Mr. Norwood he and 'Sam' became cronies. He told of Houston's financial embarrassment almost exactly as you give in your book, and said that he was greatly embarrassed and troubled over it, for they imprisoned in those days for debt. In his distress he came to Norwood and asked what he could do, and whether he could give him some help.

"Norwood said he told him that there was an easy way of relief, that they were then raising troops, and paying a bounty, and that he could enlist, and the bounty would relieve him of his debts.

"He said Houston acted on his advice, received the bounty, and paid his debts; so, Mr. Norwood contended that he started 'Sam Houston' on his military career. The old Norwood house was used for many years as an inn for the entertainment of travelers in the days of the stage coach, being on the main road and



a general line of travel. The old house is still standing and now used as a residence.

"There is a lady living here in town, Mrs. Kinnick, who was born and raised in the neighborhood of the old Houston home place, some ten miles from Maryville. She had an uncle who has long since passed away, and on an occasion she was with him when passing a large flowing spring, the uncle remarked that when a boy Sam Houston drank from that spring, and that he played in many a romp around there with Houston. I told her that I wanted to take her there and let her show me the spring, and she promised to do so. A German named Fritz Berkemire now owns the place. I think it is not far from Binfield, but will make inquiry further, and have thought of suggesting to you a trip there if we could reach it. Some time ago I had some letters from Texas making inquiry as to the grave of Mrs. Houston, the General's mother. It was suggested that perhaps it was in the old burying grounds here at Maryville, or possibly at Bakers Creek, which is one of the oldest burying grounds in that end of the county. I have made diligent search in the grounds here and had a friend to make a like search at Bakers Creek, but no traces have been found of the grave. I have since understood that there is on the old Houston place a private burying place as was sometimes the case in the olden times. I am anxious to go on that account, and see whether any trace can be found there.

"Some time ago I was looking over some old court records, and found the following of date, Saturday, 29th September, 1810:

"Ordered by Court that John B. Cusack be fined Ten Dollars and Samuel Houston Five Dollars for committing a contempt to this Court in their view in disorderly, riotously, wantonly, with an assembly of militia annoying the court with the noise of a Drum, and with force preventing the Sheriff and Officer of the Court in the discharge of their duty, and with force and arms disturbing the Good order of said Court and abusing their Sheriff and demeaning themselves against the peace and dignity of the State.'

"Following immediately after the above entry is another as to John B. Cusack alone:

"Ordered by Court that John B. Cusack be fined Twenty Dollars for committing a contempt of this Court in their view in a disorderly manner with an assembly of Militia, annoying the Court with noise of a Drum and disregarding the commands of the Sheriff.'

"My first impression was that these dates showed the time of enlistment for service in the war of 1812, but it appears to be in 1810, too early for the service. John B. Cusack was one of the early settlers of Maryville, the records showing that he owned considerable of the Maryville lots, and one of our principal streets was named for him when the town was established.

"Yours, very truly,

"WILL A. McTEER."

## MRS. THOMAS J. WALLACE.

Mrs. Thomas J. Wallace, of Franklin, Tennessee, whose paternal grandfather was General William Wallace, an officer in the Revolutionary War, and maternal grandfather Frederick S. Heiskell, elsewhere referred to in this book as the founder of the Knoxville Register in 1815, wrote and read in 1913 a paper on Sam Houston before the Tennessee Historical Society at Nashville, and also before Old Glory Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution, at Franklin, of which she is a member.

Mrs. Wallace never saw Sam Houston, but she writes from information obtained directly from her father, Judge Jesse G. Wallace, who was well acquainted with him, and therefore, what she says can be taken as absolutely authentic, as from a first-hand witness. I quote a part of Mrs. Wallace's paper:

"In Maryville was located an Academy, afterwards called the South-Western Theological Seminary, and later on changed to Maryville College; and so it was only a step from civilization to the heart of a Cherokee band. My grandfather, General William Wallace, was one of the Directors of this institution, and also its Treasurer for a number of years. He married one of the widow Houston's daughters, Mary Houston, who first married my great-uncle, Matthew Wallace, and after his death she married my grandfather. My father, who was the late Judge Jesse G. Wallace, of Franklin, Tennessee, always called her 'Aunt Polly,' as, by marriage, she was first his aunt, and then his stepmother.

"At the time of my father's death he had in his possession a letter which Governor Houston wrote to my grandfather thanking him, in tones of tenderest affection, for the great devotion that had been given his sister.

"Although no Houston blood ran in my father's veins, there were few people who could have given as accurately as he the early part of Sam Houston's career. It was his custom to make marginal notes upon any incorrect historical statement he read concerning Houston. One thing that is often quoted and generally believed my father always said was not true, that is, that Sam Houston was adopted by an Indian.

"As I have shown, the mountains were in easy reach of the Houston home, and as Sam possessed a roaming disposition, and an iron constitution, with wonderful skill in whatever he undertook, what more natural than that he should spend much time in the pursuit of those sports so dear to his heart?

"He was adored by the Indians in general, and by one chief in particular, who offered to adopt him, and called him 'Coloneh' the Wanderer, which seems prophetic of Houston's erratic future. From start to finish, the Indians appealed to Sam Houston to

such a degree that it might more correctly be said that he adopted the Indians. The Houstons had a store in Maryville in which they endeavored to interest their brother Sam, but he, athirst for adventure, found 'measuring tape too tame' for him; he said he 'preferred measuring deer tracks.'

"My father was as fluent in their vernacular as was Houston, himself. I can remember the salutations: 'Ocee, Senolli'—'Howdy-do, White-Man,' 'Ocee Cherokee'—'Howdy-do, Cherokee;' and that my mother once gave a friendly squaw a bonnet to get rid of her, when she was begging for my baby sister.

"So it was in this vicinity that Sam Houston grew up—tall and handsome, shrewd and sagacious, witty and winning. While his character was not altogether symmetrical, it was strong and magnetic, and he was absolutely without petty vices. His faults were on as broad and generous a plan as his virtues; he did his own thinking, and whatever he pretended to be, that thing he was.

"With sinews like iron he whipped his man if necessary, disdaining a quarrel, and was afraid of nothing. His reputation for bravery was so well established that he could refuse to fight a duel without being called a coward. He fought one on Kentucky soil with General White in which both escaped with their lives, but ever afterwards he numbered and filed them, telling Number 14 he must await his turn.

"Before leaving Virginia Houston had learned to read and write, and he received further schooling at the Maryville Academy, when Dr. Isaac Anderson was president of the school. Dr. Isaac Anderson said that often 'I had determined to whip Sam Houston, but he would come up with such a pretty dish of excuses that I could not do it.'

"In 1813 he enlisted in the army, and in the battle of the Horseshoe in Alabama he received some severe wounds, and also won the notice of General Jackson for his bravery. At the close of day he was left for dead on the battlefield. My great-uncle, John Wallace, who had enlisted with him, fell by his side, mortally wounded. But here the tough fiber of Sam Houston's constitution asserted itself; although he was never the same physically as before, he managed to pull through a number of years and tough places afterwards with apparent ease.

"I have heard my father tell of an incident in this connection which happened when Houston was President of Texas, and had come back on a visit to Maryville, Tennessee. While surrounded by admiring friends and relatives grown confidential over reminiscences, one presumed to make some unfavorable comment upon his first wife's treatment of him. Raising himself from a sofa, the old warrior, with flashing eyes, roared: 'Whoever dares to say a word against Eliza shall pay for it.'

"On May 9, 1840, a marriage license was issued to 'Samuel Houston, of Texas, and Margaret Moffette Lea, of Marion, Alabama.' The record is signed by J. M. Nave, Clerk of the

County Court of Perry. Houston was nothing if not romantic, so there is quite a spice of romance attending this marriage also. Professor Burleson, President of the Baptist Female Seminary at Waco, Texas, tells of his accompanying the hero of Jacinto, when he came to New Orleans for expert medical treatment of a wound received on this famous battlefield. The news of the President's—General Houston's—coming had been spread, and as his steamboat came up to her moorings a great throng had collected to do him homage. A bevy of school girls were there to welcome him. Among them was the beautiful Margaret Lea, who had been sent from Marion, Alabama, to New Orleans, to finish her education. As the crowd surged about Houston, Marion Lea said:

"'I am going to catch the old hero, see if I don't,' and she made good her boast.

"Of course she was introduced, and her flattering words repeated. Houston was forty-seven years old, and very susceptible to a young girl's notice. Thus the acquaintanceship, begun that day in New Orleans, resulted in that May wedding in the Lea home, in Marion, Alabama. The old home stands today as a type of ante-bellum grandeur, for the Leas were the flower of Southern families. Professor Burleson, along with many others came with the General from Texas to attend the wedding.

"Mrs. Sample, now eighty years old (1913), who formerly lived in Huntsville, recently said she had often visited the General's daughters. His restless spirit must have shown itself even in his devotional exercises, as Mrs. Sample says that as 'Houston sat in church he carved most beautiful little baskets and trinkets from cherry and peach stones'—many of them he had given her.

"There is no doubt that this marriage was a very happy one. Several bright children were born. One son, Temple Houston, was a writer of note. A daughter had considerable literary ability, and once wrote for one of our Nashville papers under a nom de plume.

"When I was a young girl one of the daughters visited my aunt, Mrs. Temple Bicknell, who lived in Columbia, Tennessee, and was much admired and toasted."

#### HOUSTON'S ENLISTMENT IN THE ARMY.

The United States began taking enlistments for the war of 1812, and Houston began the life of a soldier in defense of his country. The writers of his history differ as to where he enlisted, some putting it at Maryville, Tennessee, and others at Kingston, Tennessee, which was then known as Southwest Point, but the clear and absolute statement of Colonel Willoughby Williams ought to settle the question. Colonel Williams was born in 1798 and published some reminiscences beginning with the year 1809,



which form a very valuable contribution to early Tennessee history. He was living in Nashville in 1880 with mind and memory unimpaired by age, at the time Nashville celebrated the one hundredth anniversary of its being founded. He was a most intimate personal friend of Houston, and they knew each other at Kingston from the time that Williams was thirteen and Houston eighteen years of age. Colonel Williams gave a very interesting sketch of Sam Houston, with details such as no one else among all those who have written of Houston's early history, has ever been able to give; and coming from an authoritative source such as Colonel Williams, it may be accepted as authentic upon every point. He says:

"My earliest recollections of General Houston date back to 1811, at Kingston, Roane County, Tennessee. He was a clerk at the time in the store of Mr. Sheffy. My mother in her widowhood was living about three miles from Kingston. I was thirteen years of age, and Mr. Houston was five years my senior. The line of the Cherokee country was about three miles south of Kingston, the Holston River being the boundary. The Indian trade being much valued, his services were highly appreciated from the fact that he spoke with fluency the Cherokee language. He was especially kind to me, and much of my time was spent in his company. He remained in the capacity of clerk until after the declaration of the War of 1812. At that time the United States were recruiting troops at Kingston for the war. Lieutenant William Arnold of the 39th regiment of regulars was sent to Kingston on recruiting service. The whole population had got the war fever and intense interest prevailed.

"The manner of enlisting at that day was to parade the streets with drum and fife, with the sergeant in command. Silver dollars were placed on the head of the drum and as a token of enlistment the volunteer stepped up and took a dollar, which was his bounty; he was then forthwith marched to the barracks and uniformed. The late Robert H. McEwen, of Nashville, cousin of General Houston, and myself, were standing together on the street and saw Houston take his dollar from the drum and enlist as a private in the year 1813. He was taken immediately to the barracks, dressed as a soldier, and appointed the same day as a sergeant. Soon after this Lieutenant Arnold received thirty-nine soldiers, and was ordered to send them forth to join the troops marching to the Creek war under the command of Colonel John Williams, who commanded this regiment of regulars in person at the battle of the Horseshoe, and afterwards became a distinguished Senator in Congress from Tennessee. Soon after Houston left Kingston his friends applied to President Madison for his promotion, who commissioned him an ensign. The

commission was promptly sent and reached him before the battle of the Horseshoe.

"At that battle he mounted the Indian defenses with colors in hand, and was wounded by a barbed arrow in the thigh. A soldier whom he ordered to extract it by main force made several ineffectual efforts, and only succeeded after a threat by Houston to kill him unless he pulled it out. He was carried back suffering intensely from the wound which was much lacerated. His indomitable will led him immediately back into the fight when he was soon wounded by two balls in his right shoulder. His intrepid spirit displayed upon this occasion won for him the lasting regard of General Jackson. Disabled from further service, he was sent back to Kingston with the sick and wounded. Robert H. McEwen and myself met him some distance from Kingston on a litter supported by two horses. He was greatly emaciated, suffering at the same time from wounds and the measles. We took him to the house of his relative, 'Squire John McEwen, brother of R. H. McEwen, where he remained for some time, and from thence he went to the house of his mother in Blount County. After this battle he received the appointment of Lieutenant for his gallantry. After the restoration of peace he was appointed sub-Agent of the Cherokee Nation, under Return J. Meigs, who was Agent, the agency being on the bank of the Hiwassee, near where the railroad between Knoxville and Chattanooga crosses the spot where the remains of Governor McMinn and Return J. Meigs lie buried, both having been agents of the Indian nation."

The Creek War came on, and the massacre by the Indians at Fort Mims, Alabama, occurred August 10th, 1813, and this was followed by the defeat of the Indians by General Jackson at Talladega and Taluschatchee, but neither of these defeats crushed the Indian nation, and General Jackson determined to wage an exterminating campaign, and to make a final assault on the Creeks at the Horseshoe. The Horseshoe is so called because of the circular bend which the Tallapoosa River makes, and thereby encloses about one hundred acres of land in a circular peninsula. About seven hundred Indians had taken a stand at the Horseshoe, and built strong, heavy breast-works across the neck of the peninsula. These breast-works consisted of pine logs set upright in the ground, and constituted a very formidable protection to the Indians on the inside, especially as Jackson had no guns except two small field pieces, the calibre of which was so light that they made no impression on the pine logs. It was necessary, therefore, that the breastworks should be scaled by a dangerous charge of Jackson's soldiers, and the risk taken of their being shot down while going over the breast-works by the Indians on the inside.

Jackson got to the Horseshoe on August 27, 1814, and began operations in the forenoon with fire from his four-and six-pounder cannon, which was without effect. When the Indians saw that their breast-works were proof against the cannon, they yelled and whooped with contempt at the assault made upon them, and replied through portholes in the logs.

General John Coffee, who was the Murat of Jackson's army and a great military character by nature and instinct, went two miles down the Tallapoosa below the Horseshoe, and crossed and came back opposite the Indian fortifications. But he had no means of recrossing that point until some friendly Indians who were in his ranks swam to the other side of the river where the Creeks had tied their canoes to the banks, and brought a number of the canoes to General Coffee; and by these canoes he transported a part of his force across the river; and the Indians, not expecting assault upon the river side, had left no protecting force there. Coffee's men began to burn the wigwams and houses, and soon the roll of smoke and the sight of the blaze warned the Creeks that they were assaulted from the rear also; and the roll of the smoke and the sight of the blaze was also notice to Jackson that Coffee was across the stream; and then came the assault of Jackson's men by leaping over the breastworks. Sam Houston was one of the first to mount to the top of the breastworks, and there received a barbed arrow in his thigh. He sprang down to the inside with the men who had followed, and drove the Indians back from the palisade, and began a hand-to-hand battle with the Creeks. Houston called upon a lieutenant to pull the arrow out, which he twice attempted to do, and failed, and upon demanding that he try a third time, the lieutenant succeeded in extracting the arrow, but it left a bad and bloody wound. Recrossing the breastworks in order to have the blood staunchd, he was seen by Jackson, who ordered him to the rear, but he did not remain there; as soon as he could, without being seen by Jackson, he returned to the combat on the inside of the breastworks. The Creeks fought with all the fury of despair, and never in all their history did the Red man in America, whether in combats with the French, the English, the Americans or the Spaniards, so show the utter fearlessness of his nature.

The Creeks were outnumbered nearly three to one, and Jackson's men were the better armed, the Creeks fighting both with guns and with bows and arrows, but this made no difference.

They ran up no white flag. They asked no quarter. They never for a moment ceased to fight, and combat finally became a mere slaughter, until the greater part of the entire Creek force lay upon the ground, either dead or wounded, except a small band who had taken refuge in a ravine bordering on the river, which was covered over with logs, and which was impregnable to assault except from the river front. The fight had continued into the afternoon, beginning at about ten o'clock in the morning, and extended over the hundred acre enclosure. In order to exterminate the Creeks in the ravine, and complete his victory, Jackson called for volunteers to make an assault upon the ravine, and Houston, wounded as he was, came forward, and called upon his men to follow him but none came. It was then that he received two musket shots in his shoulder, which rendered his upper right arm helpless, and which compelled him to retire. Jackson succeeded in getting the logs across the ravine on fire, and the warriors were shot down, as they escaped from the flames.

We cannot understand why, in his report of the battle, Jackson made no mention of the heroic conduct of Houston. Military history abounds in all nations with acts of supreme heroism, and in the course of ages millions of men have died, a willing sacrifice in battle; men have walked into the very jaws of death without a tremor; but when Houston volunteered to lead the assault upon the ravine, and no one followed him, and he was shot twice by gun fire, he rendered himself in the military history of Tennessee eligible to the fame of the immortals. His courage when he leaped to the top of the breastworks and received the arrow in the thigh was of the same desperate character. We could wish that Jackson's report had carried with it Houston's name. After the battle was over he was given up, as being beyond help, but lived through the night, and on the next day was conveyed by horse litter to Fort Williams, and from there was taken to Ten Islands, and General Dougherty, who led the East Tennessee troops in the fight, had him conveyed by horse litter the hundreds of miles through the wilderness that had to be crossed before his mother's cabin in Blount County was reached. It took two months to get to her cabin door, and she said she would not have recognized him except by his eyes. He was next removed to Knoxville for medical treatment, where his recovery was slow.

His next movement, even in his weakened] condition, [was to start on horseback to Washington. He finally returned to Knox-



ville, after the battle of New Orleans; and was appointed Lieutenant, and assigned to the First Regiment of Infantry, and went to New Orleans. He was unfit for active military duty, and was assigned to the Adjutant General's office in Nashville, where he worked until November, 1817, about which time he was appointed sub-agent under General Return J. Meigs to handle the matters of the Cherokees. His former life with that tribe made him very useful to the Government, and his duties led him finally to the City of Washington, with some Cherokees, on matters connected with the boundaries of their reservations. Houston was dressed in the garb of an Indian when he appeared before John C. Calhoun, Secretary of War, who took exceptions to his manner of dress. Charges had been preferred against Houston, connected with his duties with the Indians; but he, in his turn, took exception to the investigation put afloat by the Secretary of War, and resigned from the army in 1818, where he had served for five years. Naturally highstrung, impatient, bold, and fearless, it is probable that Calhoun's rebuke to Houston would not have been sufficient to cause a man of less fiery temper to resign from the army, but Houston was a fiery man, and with it all, independent, self-reliant, and honorable in his conduct.

Thomas H. Benton paid him this tribute in the United States Senate:

"Houston was appointed an ensign in the army of the United States during the late war with Great Britain, and served in the Creek campaign under the banner of Jackson. I was the Lieutenant-Colonel of the regiment to which he belonged, and the first field officer to whom he reported. I then marked in him the same soldierly and gentlemanly qualities which have since distinguished his eventful career; frank, generous and brave, ready to do or suffer whatever the obligations of civil or military duty imposed, and always prompt to answer the call of honor, patriotism or friendship."

Houston's next move was to study law, which he did for six months in Nashville, and was admitted to the bar, and settled at Lebanon, Tennessee, where he was very kindly treated by Isaac Golladay, the postmaster, and an echo of his life at Lebanon is found in a statement of a son of Isaac Golladay, found in Williams' "Sam Houston and the War of Independence in Texas:"

"I was traveling in Texas in 1853. Arrived at the town of Huntsville, Walker County, on Sunday at about eleven o'clock. The good people of the town and vicinity were passing on to

the church as I rode up to the hotel. I was very sick; had a high fever on me when I dismounted. I told the landlord I was very sick and wanted a room; he assigned me a room and was very kind in his attentions. I took a bed immediately, and while talking to him, asked him in what part of the State General Houston lived. He replied, 'He lives about one and a half miles from town, and his family and he have just passed, going to church in their carriage.' To this I said, 'Please keep on the lookout, and when he returns from church let him know that a Golladay of Tennessee is lying sick here.' After the church hour was over, say twelve or one o'clock, a large, portly, elegant-looking man came walking into my room and to my bedside. I knew from the description that I had had of him, that it was General Houston, although I had never seen him. I called him by name. He asked me if I was the son of his old friend, Isaac Golladay, of Lebanon, Tennessee. I replied I was. He then asked me which one. I told him I was Frederick. He said he knew my elder brothers, but he had left Lebanon before I was born, but added, 'If you are the son of Isaac Golladay I recognize you as the son of an old and true friend. I went to Lebanon, where your father resided, a poor young man; your father furnished me an office for the practice of law; credited me in his store for clothes; let me have the letters, which then cost twenty-five cents postage, from the office of which he was postmaster; invited me to his house, and recommended me to all the good people of his large general acquaintance.' He then said, 'You must go out to my house. I will come in my carriage for you in the evening.' I replied with thanks that I was too sick to go, but he insisted on coming for me the next morning, to which I consented. Early the next morning he came for me; being better, I went out to his house with him. He placed me in a room in his yard, saying that Mrs. H. was confined to her room with an infant at that time. My fever rose and kept me confined. He sent for a physician. I was sick there for about ten days or two weeks. He made a servant-man stay and sleep in the office with me, to wait on me all the while, but would often come and see me, and spend much of his time with me. One night, especially, while I was sick, the doctor had left orders for my medicine to be given me during the night, and my feet bathed with warm water. He stayed all night with me. He had the vessel of warm water brought, pulled off his coat, rolled up his sleeves, to wash my feet. I objected, the servant being present. He replied, 'My Master washed His disciples' feet, and I would follow His glorious example,' and insisted that he should do so. During the time which he spent with me in my sick room, he gave me much of his early history."

On entering upon his profession in Tennessee, Houston naturally became a strong supporter of Andrew Jackson, and so continued to the end of his life.

In the city of Houston, Texas, lives Franklin Williams, a grandson of Sam Houston, whose testimony as to the lifelong friendship between Andrew Jackson and his grandfather will interest every one who admires those two great men, and hence is reproduced a letter of Mr. Williams to the author:

"Houston, Texas, June 26, 1917.

"Dear Sir:

"I beg to acknowledge receipt of the pamphlet descriptive of the 'Hermitage' for which accept my sincere thanks. It is indeed interesting, and I shall prize it highly. I am always interested in anything that has to do with Andrew Jackson, for my grandfather, General Houston, loved him above all men.

"When stricken with his last illness, General Jackson sent to Texas for General Houston, asking that he come to him, and Houston made the arduous journey over-land, arriving at the Hermitage the day after his (Jackson's) death. Among my most prized possessions, I have several letters from Jackson to Houston (in his own handwriting) which show the close bond of friendship existing between them.

"I hope that the day is not far distant when I will have the pleasure of visiting this home of one of America's greatest men. I never see a picture of Andrew Jackson but I think of those lines of Shakespeare,

'See, what a grace was seated on this brow:  
Hyperion's curls; the front of Jove himself;  
An eye like Mars to threaten and command;  
A station like the herald Mercury,  
New-lighted on a heaven-kissing hill,  
A combination and a form indeed,  
Where every god did seem to set his seal,  
To give the world assurance of a man.'

"Again thanking you for your kind thoughtfulness, I beg to remain,

Yours very truly,

"FRANKLIN WILLIAMS."

In 1819 Houston was appointed Adjutant General of the State of Tennessee, and in the same year was elected Prosecuting Attorney for Davidson County.

In 1821 he was elected Major-General of the Tennessee militia, and in 1823 was elected to Congress, and served two terms, or four years.

It was during his Congressional life that he fought a duel with General William White, just across the Tennessee line, in Kentucky, on September 23, 1826. The cause leading up to

the duel was the appointment of Colonel Irwin as postmaster at Nashville, Tennessee, which Houston objected to, and Colonel Irwin's cause was taken up by General White, which led to the duel. Houston was untouched, and General White was dangerously shot through the side, but finally recovered.

This was the only duel that Houston ever fought, though he received other challenges. We wonder why, in that day, when the duel was the recognized method of settling personal differences, that he did not lose caste and be branded as a coward, but he never did.

#### HOUSTON'S SPEECH AT TELLICO.

The National Banner and Nashville Whig of August 10, 1827, quotes from Heiskell & Brown's Knoxville Register the following account of a dinner given to Gen. Houston at Tellico and his speech on his duel, in response to a toast.

"GENERAL HOUSTON—At Tellico, in East Tennessee, Gen. Houston was lately honored by an invitation to a public dinner which he attended, and at which he was complimented by the following toast:

*"Our distinguished guest—Riveted to the affections of a grateful people, by a Coalition attack upon his independent purity, basely subsidizing the authority of the Executive of Kentucky, claiming his arrest and trial for the vile purpose of morally stabbing his political existence.*

"Having been thus noticed, the Knoxville Register furnishes the following account of the General's speech in reply:

"General Houston arose and made a most forcible and impressive reply to the sentiment contained in this toast, and it is to be regretted that we are unable to give it in his own words. He said in substance, that the transaction alluded to was one which he could never suffer his mind to recur to without mingled sensations of pain and thankfulness. It gave him pain to think it had been his misfortune to be compelled to engage in single combat with any individual. He felt thankful to that Providence which had enabled him to save his person, and his honor without doing a lasting injury to a fellow creature. He said he always had been, and still was, opposed to the practice of dueling. He had passed through the army without ever being necessitated to an act that would sanction such practice, and had hoped to pass through the walks of civil and political life 'following peace,' and practicing, 'good will towards all men;' but the present Administration of the Federal Government and some of their partisans, had directed otherwise. The Postmaster at Nashville resigned, and about 650 persons had recommended as his successor a young man who had been long an assistant in the office and every way qualified to do its duties. This recommenda-



tion was supported by the recommendation of ten out of eleven of your Members of Congress. These recommendations were disregarded, and a man appointed with but very few recommendations in his favor, but he was a partisan of those in power. He, as representing the district, felt indignant at their public manifestation of disregard to the will of the people, and had complained, as he felt it his duty to do, in strong terms. The executive himself had communicated, or caused to be done, his statement to the successful applicant. Upon his return home, instead of the greeting of all his constituents, he found a challenge ready, for what he had said in discharge of a public duty. The object was to disqualify him, if he accepted it, to degrade and disgrace him, if he would not. How was the challenge delivered? Not in his room; not in secret. Even dueling, gentlemen, has its laws of honor. The challenge was delivered in the public square in view of the multitude, and in company with the gentleman who had attended as a witness, he had some words which produced a challenge from him. With that gentleman he had always been on friendly terms, against him he had no ill will, but with him he must risk his life in mortal combat, or be degraded, driven out of the country. This was an alternative he could not agree to. He had risked his life in defense of his country's honor, he must do the same in defense of his own. You have heard the rest. Thank God my adversary was injured no worse. But here the matter, it seems, was not to rest. Houston shall not be Governor, is the decree of those in power and their minions. A witness is sent from Tennessee to Kentucky, an indictment is there framed and a grand jury procured to find a true bill, and I am proclaimed a felon. Yes! a felon! Under a belief no free man will agree to have a felon for his Governor, and with a view to its being generally known, it is published in their favorite prints 'The Focus,' and the 'Whig and Banner.'

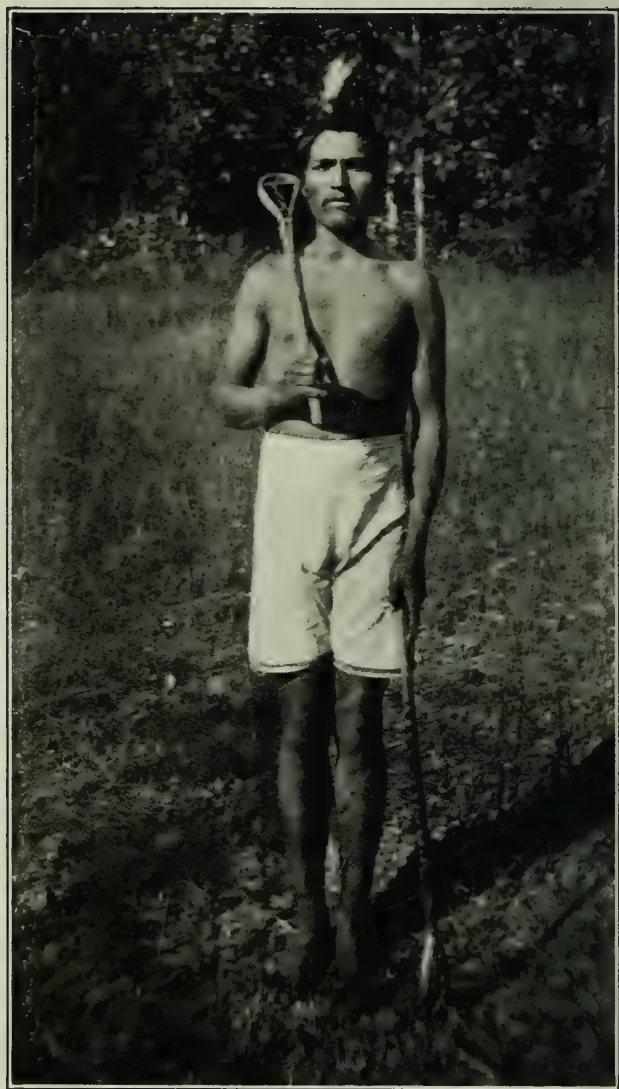
"If my fellow citizens think me in the light of a horse-thief, a felon, they ought not to vote for me; but if they view me as acting involuntarily, from a necessity imposed by others, I hope they will vote for me, and should I be favored with a majority, I will be Governor of Tennessee, the decree of the Federal administration and their minions to the contrary notwithstanding; because the statute incapacitating me is unconstitutional.

"I beg leave to conclude by offering the following sentiment:

"The citizens of Monroe County—May they be as prosperous and happy as they are benevolent and patriotic."

Houston's next promotion in the politics of Tennessee was in 1827, when he was elected Governor. He was a candidate for a second term, when the people of the State were astounded to learn that he had resigned as Governor on April 16, 1829, and was going to leave the State. This event constitutes the dividing line in Houston's life, and was fraught with momentous conse-





A CHEROKEE BALL PLAYER

quences to him. The cause of it is simple enough, when the character of Houston is really understood.

Houston had married Miss Eliza Allen, of Sumner County, who was about seventeen years younger than he, and it is practically certain that it was not a marriage of affection on Miss Allen's part, but one of ambition, furthered by her parents, as he was then Governor of Tennessee. Houston said about the separation:

"Eliza stands acquitted by me. I have received her as a virtuous, chaste wife, and as such, I pray God, I may ever regard her, and I trust I ever shall. She was cold to me, and I thought, did not love me."

Houston's superlative vanity was wounded to the quick. The proof is conclusive that there was nothing wrong between him and his wife, except that it was not a marriage of affection on Mrs. Houston's part. Neither of them ever made a charge against the other; no criticism escaped their lips; and for this dignified and becoming silence, the generations that have succeeded them accord them both profound respect.

The separation produced immense excitement in Nashville and Tennessee, and Houston was bitterly denounced, especially by his political enemies, and he left the State, and went to his old friends, the Cherokee Indians in Arkansas, where Chief John Jolly still lived, the head of the tribe, and who received the ex-Governor of Tennessee with cordiality and hospitality. There Houston made his home for from two to three years, and until, with an understanding with General Jackson, he went to Texas, which was then on the verge of a revolution against Mexico, and there enlisted in the cause of Texan independence.

Many persons have wondered what the procedure was by which Houston, after he resigned as Governor, became one of the Cherokee Nation. It appears that Chief John Jolly appointed a Special Committee to admit Houston to citizenship in the Cherokee Nation, but a question was raised as to the regularity of this, and it was determined that a formal resolution should be passed to place his admittance to citizenship beyond question, and the following was the resolution.:

#### CHEROKEES ADOPT SAM HOUSTON.

"Resolved by the National Committee and Council in General Council convened, that in consideration of his former acquaintance with and services rendered to the Cherokees and his present disposition to improve their condition and benefit their circum-



stances, and our confidence in his integrity and honor, if he should remain among us, we do solemnly, firmly and irrevocably grant to Samuel Houston forever all the rights, privileges and immunities of a citizen of the Cherokee Nation.

“WALTER WEBBER,  
President of Committee.  
WILLIAM THORNTON,  
Clerk of Committee.  
AARON PRICE,  
Speaker of Council.  
JOHN BROWN,  
Clerk of Council.

“Tah-lon-tee-skee, October 31, 1831.

Approved: “JOHN JOLLY.”

Shortly after Houston resigned as Governor he received a very sympathetic letter from Andrew Jackson, a part of which is given:

ANDREW JACKSON TO SAM HOUSTON.

“My affliction was great, and as much as I could well bear, when I parted from you on the 18th of January last. I then viewed you as on the brink of happiness and rejoiced. About to be united in marriage to a beautiful young lady, of accomplished manners, and of respectable connections, and of your own selection—you, the Governor of the State and holding the affections of the people—these were your prospects when I shook you by the hands and bade you farewell! You can well judge my astonishment and grief in receiving a letter from you dated at Little Rock A. T. conveying the sad intelligence that you were then a private citizen, an exile from your country. What reverse of fortune! How unstable are human affairs!”

It is difficult, so far removed from the time of Governor Houston's separation from his wife, to understand how the public became so interested in the matter as to take a prominent, passionate, and denunciatory part in it.

The supposition is that Houston's political and personal enemies thought they saw an opportunity to crush him, and took full advantage of it. At any rate, it did crush him, politically, in Tennessee. But he lived to fulfill a destiny which, in its unlimited benefactions upon the American people, was little, if any, short of the grand service rendered America by Andrew Jackson himself. So that we, of our day, can look with a very tolerant eye upon Governor Houston's separation from his wife; and it will not be very difficult for the student of history to conclude that the cause of the separation was that the marriage was not one of affection on the part of Mrs. Houston; that Governor

Houston found this out about three months after the marriage, and with that monumental vanity he always exhibited, he was wounded to the quick, and in a fit of desperation resolved to throw to the winds the success and eminence he had achieved, and go back to a life of nature among the Cherokees.

On March 31st, 1832, Congressman William Stansberry, of Ohio, in a speech on the floor of the House of Representatives, reflected upon Houston in connection with a proposed contract for Indian rations, and Houston excepted to the language of the Congressman, and addressed him a note, asking if his speech had been correctly reported. To this Stansberry replied that he did not recognize the right of Houston to put such a question to him. Houston at once declared his intention to whip Stansberry on sight, of which threat Stansberry was duly informed, and armed himself with a pistol for an expected attack. Houston carried nothing except a hickory cane, and the encounter took place on April 13, on the street in Washington, when neither party was expecting it right at the time. As they came together Houston asked him if his name was Stansberry. On being told that he was, Houston replied, "You are a damn rascal," and struck him with the stick, knocked him down, and beat him severely. As Stansberry lay on the ground, he pulled the pistol and snapped it at Houston, but it did not go off, whereupon Houston stopped beating him, and walked away.

Stansberry addressed a letter to the Speaker of the House of Representatives, stating that he had been beaten by Governor Houston for words used in a debate, and the Speaker laid the information before the House of Representatives, and a resolution was passed that the Sergeant-at-Arms bring Houston before the House. James K. Polk, then a member of Congress, and other of Jackson's friends, opposed this resolution, but proposed that a Committee of Inquiry be first appointed to get at the facts of the case; but the resolution passed by a majority of more than five to one, and Houston was arrested and brought before the House for trial. He was allowed time to procure counsel and witnesses, and Francis Scott Key became his counsel. Of course the matter took an intensely political turn, and Houston had to face not only the opposition itself arising out of the fight with Stansberry, but also the hostility to General Jackson and his administration. The trial dragged along for a month and finally resulted that he be reprimanded by the Speaker, which the Speaker

executed by a little preliminary speech, in which the reason for the reprimand was stated, and he executed the command of the House in these words:

"In obedience to the command of the House I reprimand you accordingly."

President Jackson warmly backed up Houston, and, as usual, spoke his mind in a very plain way. He said:

"After a few more examples of the same kind members of Congress would learn to keep a civil tongue in their heads."

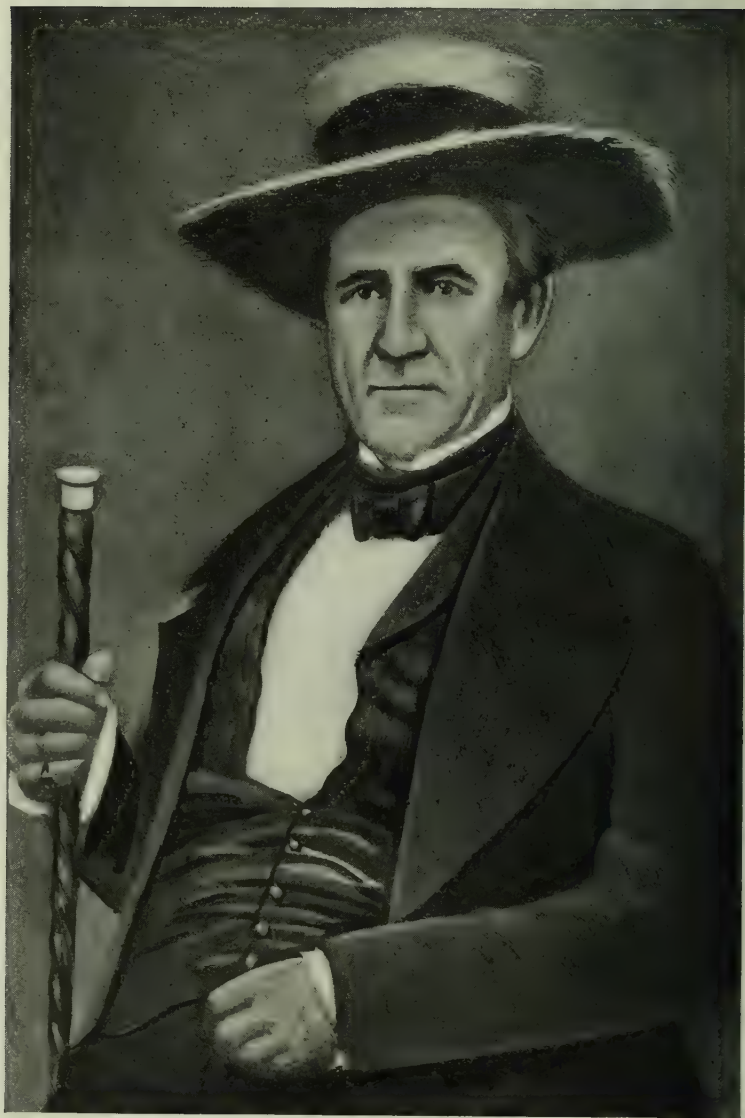
But Stansberry and his friends and Jackson's enemies did not let the matter drop with a reprimand. Houston had been a member of Congress, and all ex-Congressmen are entitled to the privileges of the floor, and a motion was made that Houston be denied this privilege, but was defeated by a vote of ninety to one hundred and five. A committee was appointed, and Congressman Stansberry was a member of it, to investigate whether there was any fraud upon Houston's part in connection with the contract with the Indians, and Houston was duly acquitted.

The next step against him was the prosecution in the Courts for the assault, and he was convicted and sentenced to pay a fine of five hundred dollars, which President Jackson took very little time to remit, and that ended the suit.

Houston lost no friends by the assault on Stansberry for the reason, that Stansberry's charge on the floor of the House was without basis in fact. Houston was guilty of no fraud connected with the contract, and at that day personal combat was a very common, not to say usual, way to decide difficulties. Houston was only armed with a hickory stick and Stansberry had a pistol, and Houston whipped him, and the sympathy of the day was with Houston. This brings up a very frequently disputed question whether there is any justification for the rule that a member of Congress shall not be held responsible for slanderous statements made in the course of debate. Congressmen are politicians, and politicians are not always truthful or honest, and the average citizen on the outside fails to see any real, substantial reason why a congressman shall be permitted to slander a citizen in the course of debate, and not be taken to task for it in any way whatever. It would seem that there is very considerable weight in the view of the average citizen.







GENERAL SAM HOUSTON

## CHAPTER 10.

## Jackson, Houston and Texas.

Houston entered Texas December 10th, 1832, and that entry was big with events not only for himself, but for Texas and the people of the United States. He went there to take part in the Texas Revolution, with the advice and consent of Andrew Jackson, and these two had in mind at that early date the annexation of the empire of Texas to the American Union—Texas with its 268,684 miles of territory, and with resources since exhibited by actual development, almost beyond computation. It is doubtless true that it was in the minds of many men that sooner or later Texas might become a part of the United States. The white settlers in it were mostly from the South, and many of them from Tennessee, and they were generally in sympathy with General Jackson and his administration. In looking about over the highways and byways of history, we are led to inquire whether two men ever did more for their country than Jackson and Houston did for the United States in leading the movement to add Texas to the American Union. While it is true that Jackson has all the name and fame that his great achievements demand, history has not done Sam Houston justice; and one of the objects of introducing his life into this book with Jackson, is to show that Houston's achievement in Texas was phenomenally great, and that whatever one may think of his weaknesses, like his vanity and his drinking, in spite of these, he is entitled to be ranked among the great men of America; and that, in actual results achieved, which are beyond historical question, he deserves to rank as one of the great benefactors of the American people. He was the liberator of Texas, and has always been so regarded by that great State. There are spots on the sun, but that great luminary is still the source of light; there are spots on Houston, but he is still a great man. We were never able to see the justice or logic of minimizing and discounting a great man's achievements on account of some

personal fault or mistake or weakness. The proper estimate of a man who is great in spite of blunders, faults and weaknesses is, that he is the greater because he rises superior to such drawbacks and accomplishes great things. During the Civil War it was currently understood that Ulysses S. Grant, who led the Union forces, was accustomed to get drunk, yet, in one of the greatest contests the world ever saw, Grant led his forces to ultimate victory. It is the simple truth to say that every man mankind is accustomed to call great, had his weak points, his traits that were subject to criticism; but the world, with both justice and logic, has not permitted great deeds to be entirely overshadowed by defects of character or mistakes of judgment, however far its appreciation of merits may fall short of what is legitimately due. Houston has failed to receive his due, but in this latter day he is gradually coming into his own, and profoundly convinced as we are that his achievement in bringing about the independence of Texas and its annexation, is one of the great events in the history of America, hope that this contribution to his fame will be only one of many that will finally place him as a patriot and a public benefactor little, if any, below Andrew Jackson himself.

Texas, at that time, had a population of white people estimated at about twenty thousand, and the State was a Mexican province, and treated by the Mexicans as such.

Stephen F. Austin was called by Houston "The Father of Texas," and he deserved the honor because of his continued efforts in introducing white population into the State. It is undoubtedly true that the Texas of that date contained many refugees of the criminal classes from the United States, but it also contained sturdy, strong, law-abiding pioneers, in whom hospitality was born, and kindness between man and man an impulse of the heart. Like all pioneers, their life was simple and devoid of luxuries. They lived in a large measure on venison, bear meat and other game, and instead of a mill, ground their corn in a hollowed log. They traveled into Texas on horseback and came with ox teams for a thousand miles. It sounds strange in our ears at this time that a man would start to Texas and might lay over and raise a crop of corn, and, with that as a means of support, resume his journey. In physical health, strength and courage, they were among the best types of manhood. They

belonged to the Daniel Boone class, and were like early settlers of Tennessee who came upon the Watauga and the Cumberland, and there laid the foundation of the future Volunteer State.

Alfred M. Williams, who wrote a *Life of Houston*, gives the Reverend C. N. Morrell as authority for the statement that Houston had expressed a purpose to one Deacon McIntosh of Nashville, as early as 1830, of his intention to establish a "two-horse republic" in Texas, and to be its first President. There was evidently an idea among the settlers that a conflict would come between them and Mexico sooner or later, and in 1832 at a meeting it was proposed to invite General Sam Houston or General William Carroll of Tennessee to take the lead in any movement that might arise. That Houston went to Texas with authority from President Jackson to make treaties with the Comanche and other Indians is beyond question. And it is equally beyond question that there was an understanding between him and General Jackson that he was to examine into, and to report to Jackson the conditions prevailing, and the feeling of the pioneers in reference to seceding from Mexico, and becoming annexed to the United States. He carried with him a passport.

Alfred M. Williams tells a story that is worth repeating in reference to Houston's journey into Texas, which we quote:

"There are various stories told of the incidents of Houston's departure from the Indian Territory and journey to Texas. One, told by Major Elias Rector—known in the Southwest as 'The Fine Arkansas Gentleman,' is that Houston, Major Arnold Harris and himself, traveled together through southeastern Arkansas. Houston was mounted on a little Indian pony very disproportionate to his stature. The constant subject of Houston's conversation was the ignoble appearance he would make on such an animal, and he earnestly appealed to Harris to exchange his fine large horse for it. Said he—

" 'This d—d bob-tailed pony is a disgrace. He is continually fighting flies, and has no means of protecting himself, and his kicks and contortions render his rider ridiculous. I shall be the laughter of all Mexico. I require a steed with his natural weapon, a flowing tail, that he may defend himself against his enemies as his master has done. Harris, you must trade.'

"The terms of the exchange were finally made, and Houston recovered his dignity and good humor as the possessor of the broom-tailed mare. When they came to part, Rector took a razor from his saddlebags and presented it to Houston. Houston said—

" 'Major Rector, this is apparently a gift of little value, but it is an inestimable testimony of the friendship which has lasted



many years, and proved steadfast under the blasts of calumny and injustice. Good-by. God bless you. When next you see this razor, it shall be shaving the President of a Republic.' "

As stated, Houston entered Texas on December 10, 1832, and on February 13, 1833, he addressed a letter to General Jackson which is a document of the highest importance, and should be read by every one interested in the life of either Houston or Jackson. In two months and three days after he put his foot on Texas soil he was reporting to the President of the United States the conditions which he went there to investigate.

LETTER OF HOUSTON TO GENERAL JACKSON.

"Natchitoches, La., February 13, 1833.

"General Jackson:

"Dear Sir—Having been as far as Bexar, in the province of Texas, where I had an interview with the Comanche Indians, I am in possession of some information which will doubtless be interesting to you, and may be calculated to forward your views, if you should entertain any, touching the acquisition of Texas by the United States government. That such a measure is desired by nineteen twentieths of the population of the province, I cannot doubt. They are now without laws to govern or protect them. Mexico is involved in civil war. The Federal Constitution has never been in operation. The government is essentially despotic and must be so for years to come. The rulers have not honesty and the people have not intelligence. The people of Texas are determined to form a State government and separate from Coahuila, and unless Mexico is soon restored to order, and the constitution revived and re-enacted, the province of Texas will remain separate from the Confederacy of Mexico. She has already beaten and repelled all the troops of Mexico from her soil, nor will she permit them to return. Her want of money, taken in connection with the course which Texas *must and will adopt*, will render the transfer of Texas to some power inevitable, and, if the United States does not press for it, England will most assuredly obtain it by some means. Now is a very important crisis for Texas. As relates to her future prosperity and safety, as well as the relations which it is to bear to the United States, it is now in the most favorable attitude, perhaps, which it can be, to obtain it on fair terms. England is pressing her suit for it, but its citizens will resist, if any transfer is made of them to any power but the United States. I have traveled nearly five hundred miles across Texas, and am now enabled to judge pretty correctly of the soil and resources of the country, and have no hesitancy in pronouncing it the finest country, for its extent, upon the globe; for the greater portion of it is richer and more healthy than West Tennessee. There can be no doubt that the country east of the river Grand of the North, would

sustain a population of ten millions of souls. My opinion is that Texas, by her members in Convention, will, by the 1st of April, declare all that country as Texas proper, and form a State Constitution. I expect to be present at the Convention, and will apprise you of the course adopted as soon as the members have taken final action. It is probable that I may make Texas my abiding place. In adopting this course, I will never forget the country of my birth. I will notify from this point the Commissioners of the Indians at Fort Gibson of my success, which will reach you through the War Department. I have, with much pride and inexpressible satisfaction, seen your proclamation, touching the nullifiers of the South and their 'peaceful remedies.' God grant that you may save the Union. It does seem to me that it is reserved for you, and you alone, to render to millions so great a blessing. I hear all voices commend your course, even in Texas, where is felt the greatest interest for the preservation of the Republic. Permit me to tender you my sincere thanks, felicitations, and most earnest solicitation for your health and happiness, and your future glory, connected with the prosperity of the Union.

"Your friend and obedient servant,

"SAM HOUSTON."

It is unnecessary in this sketch of Houston's life to give the details of the war of Independence in Texas. It is sufficient to say that events leading up to the war succeeded each other rapidly and that the demand by the Mexicans upon the town of Gonzales for a six-pounder cannon which the town had, and the refusal to give it up, constituted the first overt act in a course of events which resulted in making Texas a free and independent State. The Mexicans determined to take the cannon by force. Both parties drew up for battle, but the six-pounder was used by the Texans and the Mexicans fled, and this started the Revolution. Meetings were held in various parts of Texas; committees were organized; men were gotten together; armies were provided; and Sam Houston was elected Commander-in-Chief and at once began organizing his force. Stephen F. Austin made an appeal to all the citizens of Texas to join in the movement. The Battle of Concepcion soon followed, where the number of Mexican troops was estimated at four hundred, of whom sixty-seven were killed, and forty wounded. Combats of varying degrees of importance and varying fatality on the respective sides, went on from time to time, with the general result that the marksmanship of the Texans with their rifles was so superior to that of the Mexicans, that the smaller number of the Texans was thereby made up and compensated for, and this marksmanship was what finally won the independence of the State.

On November 7, 1824, at a meeting of delegates to form a provisional government, a report was adopted provisionally declaring the independence of Texas from Mexico, and a constitution for the provisional government was adopted November 13th, 1824. Sam Houston was elected Commander-in-Chief of the Army under its provisional government. As events proceeded, disorganization and conflict between officials entered, and affairs were in a bad way, and Santa Anna, the leader of the Mexicans seeing this, naturally began to consolidate his forces in Mexico, and to start in on the work of crushing all opposition to Mexican authorities in Texas. A band of Texans had taken possession of the Alamo, a mission church which had been founded by the Franciscan Friars. The walls of the church were of stone, and five feet thick. The garrison at the Alamo was under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel William Barrett Travis, who was a lawyer by profession, and a native of North Carolina. The garrison consisted of one hundred and forty-five men and had fourteen pieces of artillery. Colonel Travis not foreseeing the direful fortune that was in store for him and his men, had failed to lay in a supply of corn, and, altogether, he had less than one hundred bushels. Ranking next to Travis was Colonel James Bowie, from whom the Bowie knife takes its name. Colonel Bowie was a native of Georgia, and at one time fought a duel on a sand bar in the Mississippi River, where he was shot down, but drew his knife and slew his assailant.

Santa Anna, with a force of men many times larger than the force in the Alamo, erected batteries, and trained them on the rock walls of the church. Ammunition, like provisions, with the Texans, was very limited in quantity, and but for this it is probable that the Alamo could have held out and the slaughter of its inmates prevented.

Colonel Travis among the heroes of history ranks with Leonidas at Thermopyle. The Greek has no advantage of the Texan in the hall of historical fame. Each gave all that he had for the cause he was fighting for—each gave his life.

Colonel Travis sent out an appeal for help which has the ring of a clarion call.

“TO THE PEOPLE OF TEXAS AND ALL AMERICANS IN THE WORLD.”

“Commandency of the Alamo,  
“Bexar, February 24, 1836.

“Fellow-Citizens and Patriots:

“I am besieged by a thousand or more of the Mexicans under Santa Anna. I have sustained a continued bombardment for

twenty-four hours and have not lost a man. The enemy have demanded a surrender at discretion; otherwise the garrison is to be put to the sword if the place is taken. I have answered the summons with a cannon shot, and our flag still waves proudly from the walls. *I shall never surrender or retreat.* Then I call on you in the name of liberty, of patriotism, and of everything dear to the American character, to come to our aid with all dispatch. The enemy are receiving reinforcements daily, and will no doubt increase to three or four thousand in four or five days. Though this call may be neglected, I am determined to sustain myself as long as possible and die like a soldier who never forgets what is due to his own honor and that of his country. Victory or death!

W. Barrett Travis,

"Lieutenant-Colonel Commanding.

"P. S. The Lord is on our side. When the army appeared in sight we had not three bushels of corn. We have since found in deserted houses eighty or ninety bushels, and got into the walls twenty or thirty beeves."

This appeal is among the State archives of Texas in the Capitol at Austin.

Getting no response and no help, on the 3rd of March Colonel Travis made his last appeal for assistance:

#### COLONEL TRAVIS' LAST APPEAL.

"I am still here, and in fine spirits and well-to-do. With 145 men, I have held the place against a force variously estimated from between 1,500 to 6,000, and I shall continue to hold it until I get relief from my countrymen, or I will perish in its defense. We have had a shower of bombs and cannon balls continually falling among us the whole time; yet none of us have fallen. We have been miraculously preserved. . . . Again, I feel confident that the determined spirit and desperate courage heretofore exhibited by my men will not fail them in the last struggle, and, although they may be sacrificed to the vengeance of a Gothic enemy, the victory will cost that enemy so dear it will be worse than a defeat. . . . A blood-red flag waves from the church of Bexar and in the camp above us, in token that the war is one of vengeance against rebels. . . . These threats have had no influence upon my men but to make all fight with desperation, and with that high-souled courage which characterizes the patriot who is willing to die in defense of his country, liberty and his honor; God and Texas; victory or death!"

On Sunday morning, March 6th, Santa Anna began what was to be a final and successful assault upon the Alamo. He had twenty-five hundred men who were supplied not only with guns and ammunition, but with axes and every facility for making



an entrance into a fortified place, like the Alamo Church. The Mexicans made the assault by storm, and gained an entrance, after which their work was soon over. It became a contest of clubbed rifles and bowie knives. Colonel Travis and David Crockett fell. Colonel Travis was shot while in the act of firing his pistols. The battle was over at an early hour in the morning and Santa Anna ordered that the bodies of the dead Texans be gathered together, piled with wood and dry brush and burned, and the bones were left unburied. Later on, the bones were collected together, placed in a coffin, and buried with military honors. The loss of the Mexicans is uncertain, but has been placed as high as five hundred. No one was spared by the Mexicans except Mrs. Alsbury, Mrs. Dickenson and her child, a negro servant of Colonel Travis and a Mexican woman. Five men who had hidden themselves and were discovered, were brought into the presence of Santa Anna, who ordered their execution, and it was carried out.

On March 1st, 1835, a convention was called of the citizens of Texas to consider total separation from Mexico, and on March 2, 1835, a Declaration of Independence was adopted and set out the charges made by the people of Texas against Mexico. It said: "The necessity of self-preservation, therefore, now decrees our external political separation.

"We, therefore, the delegates, with plenary powers of the people of Texas, in solemn convention assembled, appealing to a candid world for the necessities of our condition, do hereby resolve and declare that our political connection with the Mexican nation has forever ended, and that the people of Texas do now constitute a free, sovereign, and independent Republic, and are fully invested with all the rights and attributes which properly belong to independent nations; and, conscious of the rectitude of our intentions, we fearlessly and confidently commit the issue to the Supreme Arbiter of the destinies of nations."

Sam Houston was re-elected Commander-in-Chief of the army, and D. G. Burnett was elected President of the provisional government of the new Republic.

Unspeakable as was Santa Anna's conduct in having executed the five men found in hiding at the Alamo, after all their companions had been killed, and infamous as was the Mexican character there exhibited, there was worse to come at Goliad, where Colonel Fannin was in command of the forces in the town. After bloody fighting for a period long enough for scores of men to be

killed, Colonel Fannin and his men realized that they would not be able to hold the town. There were about forty of the men who were disabled, but their comrades refused to abandon them, and continued their defense. Finally, conditions were such as to make a surrender necessary, if safe terms could be secured from the Mexican commander. Accordingly a surrender was made, and the terms agreed upon by which the Texans were to be treated as prisoners, according to the usages of surrendered prisoners in war; but the terms of a capitulation did not bind the conscience of the Mexican commander, and all of the prisoners were executed, and thus there was added the butchery of Goliad to the butchery of the Alamo. Three hundred and twenty men were massacred by the Mexicans.

But the time was near at hand when Mexican power in Texas was to be a thing of the past, and when the butcheries of the Texans were to be avenged at San Jacinto, and Texas declared an independent Republic.

The engagement commonly called the Battle of San Jacinto can hardly be called a battle at all; it was more of a butchery by the Texans of the Mexican army. The generalship of Houston had been a masterly retreat until he found conditions for a successful battle just as he wanted them, and these conditions combined to his satisfaction at San Jacinto, and here he decided to fight. In order that there might be no opportunity for either army to retreat, Houston ordered the bridge leading to the battlefield to be cut down by Deaf Smith, one of his soldiers from New York, who was one of the most fearless and gallant men in his army. After the bridge was destroyed, Deaf Smith, under instructions, rode along the line of the army, loudly announcing: "You must fight for your lives—Vince's bridge has been cut down." Of course, the army knew that this meant a fight to the death, and they accepted it as such. April 21st, 1836, was the day of the battle.

Houston had seven hundred and forty-three men, and the Mexicans about fourteen hundred, of whom six hundred and thirty were killed and more than two hundred wounded, and the rest taken prisoner. Large quantities of booty were taken, consisting of Mexican sabres, pistols, and small arms, besides several hundred horses and mules, and other military equipment. Twelve thousand dollars in silver was also taken, which was distributed

among the soldiers of the army, Houston refusing to take any part of it, whatever.

Santa Anna was taken while attempting to escape in disguise, and was brought into the presence of Houston, who held him as a prisoner. The reader will wonder why Houston did not order the immediate execution of Santa Anna when he was captured, and every instinct of human nature demands that this should have been done. There is only one reason given by Houston that could justify him in allowing the monster to still cumber the ground, and that was that the execution of Santa Anna would lead to the execution by the Mexicans of every person in their possession taken from the Texan forces.

Houston, himself, was shot in the ankle, and incapacitated for further service, and in taking his leave of his army he addressed them this message:

GENERAL HOUSTON TO HIS ARMY.

"Headquarters, San Jacinto, May 5, 1836.

"Comrades:—Circumstances connected with the battle of the 21st render our separation for the present unavoidable. I need not express to you the many painful sensations which that separation inflicts upon me. I am solaced, however, by the hope that we shall soon be reunited in the cause of liberty. Brigadier-General Rusk is appointed to command the army for the present. I confide in his valor, his patriotism, his wisdom. His conduct in the battle of San Jacinto was sufficient to secure your confidence and regard.

"The enemy, although retreating, are still within the limits of Texas; their situation being known to you, you cannot be taken by surprise. Discipline and subordination will render you invincible. Your valor and heroism have proved you unrivaled. Let not contempt for the enemy throw you off your guard. Vigilance is the first duty of the soldier, and glory the proudest reward of his toils.

"You have patiently endured privations, hardships, and difficulties unappalled; you have encountered two to one of the enemy against you, and borne yourselves in the onset and conflict of battle in a manner unknown in the annals of modern warfare. While an enemy to independence remains in Texas your work is incomplete; but when liberty is firmly established by your patience and your valor, it will be fame enough to say, 'I was a member of the army of San Jacinto.'

"In taking leave of my brave comrades in arms, I cannot suppress the expression of that pride which I so justly feel in having had the honor to command them in person, nor will I withhold the

tribute of my warmest admiration and gratitude for the promptness with which my orders were executed, and union maintained through the army. At parting my heart embraces you with gratitude and affection.

"SAM HOUSTON, Commander-in-Chief."

Political controversy followed Houston all his life, and afterwards, when he became a candidate for official position, the charge was made against him of cowardice, and that he fought the battle of San Jacinto because his men demanded that he fight, that they would get another commander if he did not. The reader will decide that this charge is without foundation in fact, and, in his mind, the destruction of Vince's Bridge will settle that question. If Houston was a coward, it is impossible to imagine him ordering Deaf Smith to destroy that bridge, the destruction of which meant that one army or the other would be wiped off the map of Texas. It was a fight of annihilation of one force or the other. Cowardly men do not make those kinds of movements.

Houston was finally taken to New Orleans for medical treatment and his recovery was slow.

The next turn of events in Texas was the proclamation issued by Provisional President Burnett on the 23rd of July, 1836, for an election to be held September 1st, for a President and Congress, by which Texas was to become permanently independent. Sam Houston was a candidate for President and received 4,374 votes, Henry Smith 745 votes, and Stephen G. Austin, 587 votes. Mirabeau B. Lamar was elected Vice President. The voters were practically unanimous in favor of annexation to the United States. Congress met October 3, 1836, and President Houston assumed his office October 22, 1836, and so he who had liberated Texas at the battle of San Jacinto, became the first President of the new permanent Republic.

This new Republic knocked several times at the doors of the United States before it was admitted into the Union. Its admission took a political turn, connected with the question of slavery. It was very evident that Texas would become a great cotton-growing State, and, out of its territory it was possible to carve four or five States. The anti-slavery sentiment in the United States fought its admission, and it was delayed until October 14, 1845, when the "Lone Star State" ceased to be the Republic of Texas.



Under the constitution of the Republic of Texas, the President could not hold two terms in succession, so that when Houston's first term expired, Mirabeau B. Lamar was elected President and served one term. Lamar assumed the office December 8, 1838.

At the expiration of Lamar's term, Houston was again a candidate for President, and received 7,415 votes, and David G. Burnett, 3,616 votes, so Houston for the second time assumed the office on December 16, 1841.

Houston's second wife, whom he married May 9th, 1840, was Miss Margaret Moffette Lea, of Marion, Alabama, as stated in Mrs. Wallace's paper. He was then forty-seven years of age, and Miss Lea, twenty-one. This young lady accomplished that which many women set out to accomplish when they marry, namely, to reform a husband. In the course of time her influence was strong enough to cause Houston to abandon the habits of drinking and swearing to which he had been addicted all his life.

A remarkable thing, one that the reader will wonder at, is that Houston's management of the finances of the Republic of Texas during his two terms as President were highly successful, and exhibited a capacity that no one, prior to his presidential terms, would have suspected him of possessing. He developed into a safe, strong, able, far-sighted and clear-headed financier in the handling of the Republic's monetary affairs, and this, too, when he never cared for money on his personal account, and died a poor man, with only a little home to leave to his wife and children. During his long and successful career, if he had been disposed to be corrupt, he had opportunities to acquire wealth. His death in practical poverty is one of the greatest tributes to his great character, and this, with his perfect personal and official integrity, will be a substantial influence toward leading history to place him among the great men of America.

Sam Houston and Thomas J. Rusk were the first Senators from the new State of Texas in the Congress of the United States, and Houston was sworn in as a Senator March 30, 1846, and at the end of his term he was re-elected in January, 1853.

The agitation leading up to the war between the States began to manifest itself, and became a political issue in all State elections. Houston took the Union side of the controversy in Texas, and became a candidate for Governor, and was elected in 1859, receiving





Tomb of General Sam Houston, Huntsville, Texas.

36,257 votes, and his competitor, Runnels, 27,500 votes, and he was inaugurated as Governor on December 21, 1859. But the sentiment of Texas was in favor of seceding from the Union, and although in sentiment Houston was opposed to secession, he, like scores of the most prominent men in the South, who, opposed to secession, but holding their obligations to their States paramount, Houston announced that he would go with Texas; one of his sons became a soldier in the Confederate Army, and Houston ceased his opposition to the secession movement.

He resigned the office of Governor on March 21, 1861, and died on July 26th, 1863, age seventy years, at his home in Huntsville, Texas, and he was there buried. His will was dated April 2, 1863.

The Legislature of Texas paid Mrs. Houston the sum of \$1,700 the salary that he would have received, had he filled out his term of Governor.

#### TEXAS—AN UNDIVIDED UNIT.

The Honorable Joseph W. Bailey was a member of Congress from the Gainesville District in Texas for ten years, following which he was a United States Senator from Texas for twelve years. In January, 1906, he delivered a speech in the Senate upon the subject of "Texas—An Undivided Unit," and the following paragraphs from it may be taken as the sentiment of the people of that largest of American States:

"But, Mr. President, while from her proud eminence today Texas looks upon a future as bright with promise as ever beckoned a people to follow where fate and fortune lead, it is not so much the promise of the future as it is the memory of the glorious past which appeals to her against division. She could partition her fertile valleys and broad prairies, she could apportion her thriving towns and growing cities, she could distribute her splendid population and wonderful resources, but she could not divide the fadeless glories of those days that are past and gone. To which of her daughters, Sir, could she assign, without irreparable injustice to all the others, the priceless inheritance of the Alamo, Goliad, and San Jacinto? To which could she bequeath the fame of Houston, Austin, Fannin, Bowie and Crockett? Sir, the fame of these men, and their less illustrious but not less worthy comrades, cannot be severed. Their names are written upon the tablets of her grateful memory so that all time shall not efface them. The story of their mighty deeds, which rescued Texas from the condition of a despised and oppressed Mexican province and made her a free and independent Republic, still rouses the blood of her men like the sound of a trumpet, and we would not forfeit the right to repeat it to our children for many additional seats in this august assembly.



"The world has never seen a sublimer courage or a more unselfish patriotism than that which illuminates almost every page in the early history of Texas. Students may know more about other battlefields, but none is consecrated with the blood of braver men than those who fell at Goliad. Historians may not record it as one of the decisive battles of the world, but the victory of the Texans at San Jacinto is destined to exert a greater influence upon the happiness of the human race than all the conflicts that established or subverted the petty kindgoms of the ancient world. Poets may not yet have immortalized it with their enduring verse, but the Alamo is more resplendent with her heroic sacrifice than was Thermopylae itself, because while 'Thermopylae had its messenger of defeat, the Alamo had none.'

"Mr. President, if I may be permitted to borrow Webster's well-known apostrophe to Liberty and Union, I would say of Texas: She is one and inseparable, now and forever."

#### IN STATUARY HALL, CAPITOL, WASHINGTON.

By Act of Congress July 2d, 1864, the President of the United States was authorized:

"To invite each and all of the States to provide and furnish statues in marble or bronze, not exceeding two in number, for each State, of deceased persons who have been citizens thereof, and illustrious for their historic renown or from distinguished civic or military service, such as each State shall determine to be worthy of this national commemoration, and when so furnished, the same shall be placed in the old Hall of the House of Representatives in the Capitol of the United States, which is hereby set apart, or so much thereof as may be necessary, as National Statuary Hall for the purposes herein indicated."

On March 25, 1904, Representative Burleson, of Texas, offered House Concurrent Resolution Number 53, granting the privilege of placing in Statuary Hall of the Capitol the statues made by the sculptor Elizabeth Ney of Texas, of Sam Houston and Steven F. Austin, both of whom were citizens of Texas, said resolution being pursuant to the Act of 1864.

On January 20th, 1905, Representative Cooper, of Texas, presented a resolution that the exercises appropriate to the reception and acceptance from the State of Texas of the statues of Sam Houston and Stephen F. Austin placed in Statuary Hall in the Capitol, be made the special order for Saturday, the 25th of February, at 3 o'clock P. M., and on that date the exercises were held and speeches made by eleven representatives, seven from Texas, two from Tennessee, one from Arkansas and one from Missouri.

The Representative Clark of Missouri, making an address, was the present Speaker Champ Clark of the House of Representatives, and the Representatives from Tennessee were the Honorable Henry R. Gibson, of Knoxville, and the Honorable James D. Richardson, of Mrufreesboro. The addresses of the Tennessee representatives were as eulogistic and inspiring as those made by the members from Texas. While it is true that Houston's greatest achievements were made in the Lone Star State, the Volunteer State made him Governor, and bestowed other high honors on him, and has a very strong claim to call him one of her sons.

Representative Gibson said in part: "Mr. Speaker: Whenever and wherever there is an assemblage of people to do homage to the name of Sam Houston, Tennessee enters her appearance and claims the right to tender her tribute to his name, and deposit her wreath in his honor. Tennessee received Houston to her bosom while he was yet in his infancy and trained him up to manhood, and bestowed her honors upon him, fitting him to perform the part of the star actor on that grand Texan stage where his audience was the whole world, and his triumphs established, first, an independent nation, and afterwards added another star to the great American constellation and a new page of glory to the grand volume of human freedom. \* \* \* \* \*

"Having seen Houston when I was a boy, I feel constrained to say that the marble statue of him we are this day accepting, while probably picturing him in his youth, does not do full justice to the magnificent physique he possessed when in after days he became the hero of two nations. Houston was a man of majestic proportions, and wherever he went, he never failed to impress all beholders with the conviction that he was one of the giants of the earth. His appearance is thus described by one who heard him speak at Galveston a few days before Texas joined the Confederacy:

"There he stood, an old man of seventy years, on a platform ten feet above the heads of the thousands assembled to hear him, where every eye could scan his magnificent form six feet three inches high, straight as an arrow, with deep-set and penetrating eyes, looking out from heavy and thundering eyebrows, a high, open forehead, with something of the infinite intellectual thereon, crowned with white locks partly erect, and a voice of the deep basso tone, which shook and commanded the soul of the hearer; added to all this, a powerful manner, made up of deliberation, self-possession and restrained majestic action, leaving the hearer impressed with the feeling that more of his power was hidden than revealed."

Representative Richardson said in part: "This was the first instance in our history that a State has been admitted as such without having first gone through a probationary term as a territory. This accession to our territory was under President Polk's Administration, and it was characterized by him as a bloodless achievement. He said no army of force had been raised by the United States to produce the result; that the sword had no part in the victory; that we had not sought to extend our territorial possessions by conquest, or our republican institutions over a reluctant people. It was the deliberate homage of each people to the great principles of our confederate union. If we consider the extent of the territory involved in the annexation, its prospective influence on America, the means by which it has been accomplished, springing purely from the choice of the people themselves to share the blessings of our Union, the history of the world may be challenged to furnish a parallel."

In 1860 when the Constitution—Union—Party met in Baltimore the contest for the Presidential nomination was between John Bell of Tennessee and Sam Houston, of Texas. The Tennessee delegation, with the exception of Colonel A. S. Colyar, of Nashville, were for Mr. Bell, Col. Colyar being for Sam Houston on the ground that, in his opinion, he could be elected, and John Bell could not. The Texas delegation and the delegation from New York were unanimously for Houston, and the race was close. Bell's friends put up Gustavus A. Henry, known as the Eagle Orator of Tennessee, and his speech for the "Union, the Constitution, and Enforcement of the Laws" was a great effort. Col. Colyar says, in his "Life of Jackson," that "it carried the Convention off its feet." The vote was taken, and on the deciding ballot, Bell received sixty-eight and one-half votes, and Houston fifty-seven, giving Bell a majority of eleven and one-half votes.

#### COLONEL BROWNLOW'S REMINISCENCES.

Colonel John B. Brownlow, of Knoxville, who is a mine of information and reminiscences that would prove invaluable to history writers if put in available printed form, and whose mind in his seventy-ninth year is as clear and accurate as at fifty, can look back to the age of fourteen when he met and talked with General Sam Houston in Knoxville, and can also give a conversation he had about Houston with Judge John V. Wright,

the Democratic nominee for Governor of Tennessee in the year 1880, when the Democratic party split on the State debt question.

From the attractive way Colonel Brownlow as a boy said handsome things to General Houston about the battle of San Jacinto, we are led to conclude that even at that early age the Colonel had the skill and address of a veteran diplomat and courtier, who knew how to penetrate the armor even of great men with flattering words. Referring to his call on Houston and his conversation with Judge Wright, he says:

"About 1853 General Sam Houston was on his way from his home in Texas to take his seat in the Senate at Washington, and stopped in Knoxville on his way to visit his sister who lived in Maryville, who was the wife of General William Wallace of Blount County. Hearing that he was in Knoxville at the old Lamar House, corner of Cumberland and Gay Streets, where the Bijou Theatre now stands, I called at once to see him. He was in the corner room on the second floor. It was a big room, and the same room in which Andrew Jackson received the people, and later General Felix K. Zollicoffer and General John C. Breckenridge occupied this same room. I found eight or ten gentlemen there, including, I remember distinctly, the Honorable William G. Swan, later a member of the Confederate Congress, and Columbus Powell. I knocked on the door—at that time I had never had a visiting card—I was but fourteen years old—and he said 'Come in.' In response to the 'Come in' I walked in and General Houston arose. I remember Mr. Swan made a start to introduce me to Houston, but he, with a smile, asked me to take a seat. I asked pardon for interrupting, but he insisted that I take a seat. I said:

" 'Excuse me, General Houston, for interrupting in this way, but as soon as I heard you were here, I wanted to see you. It will be a source of pleasure to me in future to remember that I had the honor of shaking hands with the hero of San Jacinto.'

"The gentlemen present smiled at that, and the old General smiled and said: 'Then you have read of San Jacinto?'

"I said, 'General Houston, any Tennessee boy who is as old as I am, who has not read of San Jacinto, ought to be ashamed of himself.' They all laughed heartily at that. I said: 'General, that was one of the greatest battles ever fought in the world!'

"He spoke deprecatingly, and said: 'There have been a great many battles fought, my son, where there were a hundred times as many people engaged as in that.'

" 'Yes,' I said, 'there were more men in Napoleon's battles, and in the battles of the Revolution, and in the War of 1812, but you made such a clean job of it, General. You killed every Greaser you did not capture, and won the independence of Texas. You only had a few men, and Santa Anna had thousands, and



you captured every Greaser you did not kill, including Santa Anna; you came mighty near wiping them out.'

"I started to leave then, and he gave me a very cordial invitation if I ever was in Texas to be his guest, to call and see him, which I told him I certainly would do."

"The Honorable John V. Wright, who was a member of the United States Congress in 1855-1861, and a member of the Confederate Congress during the war, and the Democratic nominee for Governor of Tennessee in 1880 when Hawkins was elected, and whose father had served in the same regiment with Houston at the battle of the Horseshoe, where Houston was three times wounded, was in Washington on the day that Stephen A. Douglas introduced his bill to repeal the Missouri Compromise, and told me that on that evening he called to see General Houston, anxious to hear his opinion of Douglas' action, and found in Houston's room the correspondents of several metropolitan papers of the country, who had called for the same purpose he had. Judge Wright said that Houston was excitedly walking the floor, cursing Douglas as an unprincipled little demagogue who had opened Pandora's box, out of which untold evils would be flooded upon the country; that to be President of the United States he would see the country deluged with blood from one end to the other; that he had introduced that bill, thinking it would promote his chances as a Presidential aspirant, but he had overreached himself in his vaulting ambition. 'Now,' Houston said, 'I make a prediction. You will remember, gentlemen, that in 1848 Martin Van Buren was the anti-slavery candidate for the Presidency, and received three hundred thousand votes; on account of the passage of the compromise measures of Mr. Clay in 1850, the anti-slavery vote of the country cast for John P. Hale of New Hampshire was just one-half of that, one hundred and fifty thousand. Now, I predict that the next House of Representatives to be elected next year (1855) will be Republican, or very close, and that the next Republican candidate for President, if not elected, will come very near it; and I also predict that the Democratic party at the next election (1856) will not dare nominate Douglas, nor any man who favored this repeal, because he cannot carry the North, and they can't nominate any man who opposed the repeal, because he cannot carry the cotton States, but they will nominate some damned fellow who had nothing to do with this agitation.'

"Sure enough, as Houston predicted, they nominated a man who had nothing to do with it, James Buchanan, who was the Minister of the United States at London. All of his predictions came true. New York gave an immense majority for Fremont, who would have been elected, could he have carried Pennsylvania. Pennsylvania gave Buchanan five thousand plurality, he being a native of that state. It was a triangular contest. Millard Fillmore, ex-President, was the nominee of the American party, with

Andrew J. Donelson, a nephew of Mrs. Andrew Jackson, and formerly Secretary to General Jackson, for Vice-president.

"I remember the letter Honorable Horace Maynard wrote to my father, that he had been sure that Fremont would carry Pennsylvania, but a few days before the election the manufacturers, the merchants, the bankers, and the business men of the Whig party, seeing that the contest was really between Fremont and Buchanan in sufficient numbers old Whigs voted for Buchanan to elect him, because they feared if Fremont were elected we would have Civil War, and business would be destroyed."

#### JUDGE NORMAN KITTRELL ON SAM HOUSTON.

Contemporary estimates of Houston are the most desirable, and if this generation were so fortunate as to find still living, one who personally knew him, and especially who knew him well, such person's opinion would interest us profoundly; and, fortunately, we have two estimates from personal acquaintances of Houston.

William E. Curtis, correspondent of the *Chicago Record-Herald*, in 1911 procured from Judge Norman Kittrell of Texas his reminiscences of the first President of the Lone Star State. Mr. Curtis published these reminiscences in the *Chicago Record-Herald*. Of all the pen pictures made of Sam Houston, we know of none that are more life-like, and which depict the real man—not Houston the hero of San Jacinto—not Houston scaling the breastworks at the Horseshoe—but Houston with all of his gallantry and vanity and dress and humor and kindness in his contact with his fellowmen.

Judge Kittrell says: "He was the first and only man I had ever seen who had been in battle, or commanded an army, and my father taught me to respect and honor him. I recall how, as a boy in knee trousers, I gazed upon him with awe and veneration; my father and he lived as near neighbors; my mother and Mrs. Houston were educated at the same institution, and married in the same town, and she always greeted him with the utmost cordiality. It seems to me that I can see him now, as he used to come down the walk under the cedars from the front gate to our house, walking as erectly as if his age were one score, instead of more than three score years. As he drew near the front door, he would remove his broad-brimmed fur hat, and lay it on his left arm. He carried his buggy whip in his left hand, and as he ascended the steps my mother would meet him. Extending his right hand, on which were usually two or three seal rings, he would take my mother's hand,

and bending with chivalric courtesy and dignity until his lips almost touched her finger tips, would say, with his characteristic deliberation and distinctness:

“ ‘My lady, I am charmed to meet you again. It is always a pleasure to meet you, and become a guest in your hospitable house. Mrs. Houston bade me bring you assurance of her love.’

“His manner and bearing were the very impersonation of courtly grace, yet there were many who believed, and, perhaps, there are those who think so yet, that he was a boor and a lout, unfamiliar with the requirements of refined society and good breeding.”

“He was an able man, a man of intellectual power; a man endowed with the elements of successful leadership, and with the ability to persuade and convince, and command confidence. He was a man of majestic and impressive appearance—one upon whom God had written in lines that all men could read: ‘Behold a man.’ It has been said of him, as it has been said of another, that had he been cast ashore on an island in midocean, the inhabitants would have chosen him chief.

“Few men have been so hated, and so beloved; so bitterly assailed, and so warmly defended. If he unduly cherished hate for his enemies, he also loved his friends deeply. His was an intense nature. He was a man of strong convictions; his convictions were his own, and were not for sale for votes or office. He had no political weather gauge to detect the varying winds of public sentiment. He belonged to himself, essentially; he knew no boss, he followed no leader—he led.

“He was responsive to the tenderest, the sweetest, purest influences that can affect human character or conduct. There was never a more devoted or considerate husband, and the wife who said she married him because he won her heart, and would be proud to be the instrument of his reform, found him so amenable to the influences of her refinement, culture, wifely devotion, and consecrated Christian character, that he put aside forever the intoxicating cup.

“In pursuance to a resolution of Congress, he, then Governor Houston, was arrested and brought before the bar of the House of Representatives, the trial, interrupted by the regular business, lasting more than a month. The historical account of the proceeding, and that given by General Houston, very nearly correspond. I regret that it is not possible to reproduce the tone and manner of the old man as he gave his version to my father, but his inimitable voice, and humor, mingled with his unfailing dignity, elude reproduction.

“ ‘Well, my friend,’ he said, ‘they were trying me for about a month, but I did not pay much attention to the proceedings, as I had been assured that when the evidence was all in, I would be allowed to appear before the House in person in my own behalf, if I so desired. So I prepared myself, at least in the matter of

costume, for that day when it should arrive. I had my tailor make a coat of the finest material, reaching almost to my knees, trousers in harmony in color, and the latest style in cut, with a white satin vest to match, and I was ready with a garb befitting the occasion.

"One afternoon I was notified that I would be permitted to speak in my own defense the next morning. When I awoke before day, I took a cup of coffee, but it refused to stick. I took another, but it would not stay with me, for, to tell you the truth, my friend, I had been very drunk. After something like an hour had passed, I took another cup of coffee, and it stuck; I said, "I am all right," and I proceeded to array myself in my splendid apparel. While I had been a member of Congress, a whole lot of those fellows had never seen me. They had heard of me as an Indian fighter and frontiersman. As they had been told that I wore often the costume of a savage, they verily expected me to come clothed in the skins of wild beasts, and to see a barbarian, who, for a brief time, was a sojourner in the midst of civilized people; but when I appeared, arrayed in the most skilful product of the sartorial art, bowing to an acquaintance first upon this side, then upon that, as I moved down the Hall, upon my word, a hum of admiration filled the hall. I proceeded to speak in my own defense, and, turning to one member who had been especially officious and offensive in his zeal against me, I said, "And darest thou, thou whited sepulcher, to asperse the name and fame of Sam Houston?" They convicted me, of course, and condemned me to be reprimanded by the Speaker. The Speaker said, "Governor Houston, I am directed by the vote of the House to reprimand you; consider yourself reprimanded." He bowed and I bowed and the farce was over."

"There was a twinkle of triumph in the eyes of the old man as he remembered not only how lightly the House of Representatives of the United States had dealt with him, but that it had declined to deny him the privilege of the floor, to which he was entitled as an ex-member."

#### HENRY WATTERSON ON SAM HOUSTON.

Henry Watterson, of the Louisville Courier-Journal, has probably a wider acquaintance with public men than any other citizen ever had, either in this or preceding generations of the Republic. He has been thrown in contact with public men, questions, and affairs, all of a long life, and was living in Washington at the time of the annexation of Texas to the United States. He has said this about Houston:

"I was but a child when Texas came into the Union, but I grew up at Washington with a Texas surrounding, and under Texan influences, and I absorbed the story of the Lone Star from those who had made it; listened to the heroic legend from the heroes themselves; heard all the inside history of the trans-



actions which preceded and led to the final annexation from original sources; and, to me at least, the theme is yet an inspiration.

"Nor is it without its application to contemporary affairs, and therefore a certain instruction, not irrelevant or uncurrent. It throws some light upon the present situation; though of course the bee in our bonnet in those old days was the institution of African slavery, which colored all our politics. We were not a world power, as we now are. We were still a bucolic republic, the democratic party the expansionist of the period, the whigs the obstructives; manifest destiny being the cue, because it pointed southward, and promised more slave States. Truly it is a universal lesson in human nature whose ox happens to be gored. John Tyler thought he would win great glory by bringing in Texas, just as Theodore Roosevelt thought about taking a short cut, via Panama, to the Isthmian canal. What was it Burns said about 'the best laid plans o' mice and men?' for Tyler went the limit, and I have half a mind to believe Roosevelt is already beginning to be sick of his bargain with little Vanilla Bean and the rest of them.

"However, that sounds like politics, and we are, you and I, dear reader, talking sense, not politics.

"Houston was easily the genius, the master spirit, of the Texan epic. He has received scant justice from the farrago of stuff and make-believe which passes for history. His life may well be called a romance. A God-like man in personal appearance, and Governor of Tennessee when five or six and thirty, he had married an exceptionally lovely young girl, and all seemed well with him, when, without a word, he disappeared, leaving behind him his newly wedded wife, and his resignation as Governor. The earth seemed to have swallowed him. Many years afterwards his deserted wife applied to the Legislature of Tennessee for her divorce, and, there being some opposition, a letter came from the faraway Indian country saying, 'I will return to Nashville and have the heart's blood of the man who utters a word against the honor of Mrs. Houston, who should be promptly given the divorce she seeks.' There was a hero for you!

"After the victory of San Jacinto, where Santa Anna, the Mexican president, had been made a prisoner, Houston discovered a plot among some of the more reckless of his men to kill him. He sent for the ringleader of this plot, whom he knew to be a brave and an honest man. 'John,' he said, 'I am in constant dread lest something happens to Santa Anna. Of course, he deserves a thousand deaths, but if harm comes to him it will discredit Texas in the eyes of mankind, and disgrace us all. I have sent for you because I know you to be a patriot, good and true, and I am going to put the prisoner in your hands for safe-keeping. I want you to pick your own escort, and I shall hold you answerable for the consequences.' Houston's knowledge of human nature was consummate. No harm came to Santa Anna.

The very men who guarded his person as they would have guarded their own lives and honor were those who had banded together to kill him.

"Houston's sole purpose from the beginning was to bring Texas into the American union. He pretended to be looking to England, who he cordially detested, but the understanding between him and Gen. Jackson, like their personal friendship, was perfect. Van Buren, the Free Soldier, stood aloof. Even Jackson who made him President, could not dictate the policy of his administration in this regard. Public sentiment in the United States, oddly enough, even in the South was divided, the Whigs standing out against annexation. It was reserved at last for Tyler to turn the trick. Many years after, when Houston, then a senator in congress, was making a red-hot Democratic speech in Boston, an Irishman interrupted to ask if, whilst he was president of Texas, he had not proposed to sell out to England. 'My friend,' said Houston, 'when a wee lamb is denied suck by a strange ewe the wise shepherd sends for the dog, and the old ewe complies at once. England was my dog.'

"Gen. Houston stood six feet six, not an ounce of superfluous flesh. No more attractive stump speaker ever faced a multitude, and he could speak to twenty thousand, his voice as clear as a bell, his power of illustration and his humor hardly inferior to that of Lincoln. He was a ready debater, too. Iverson of Georgia twitted him upon his defeat for re-election after his vote against the Kansas-Nebraska bill, the provoking cause of our subsequent Illiad of Woes, saying Texas had put her foot upon him. Houston's response was a gem of its kind: 'The Senator from Georgia', he said, 'pronounces me dead, and declares that Texas has put her foot upon me. It may be so; and, if it be so, it recalls a fable of Aesop, which tells how a lion lay dead in the forest, and a certain animal came and kicked the dead lion. In courtesy to the south, and in deference to the Senator from Georgia, I will not mention the name of this animal that came and kicked the lion.'

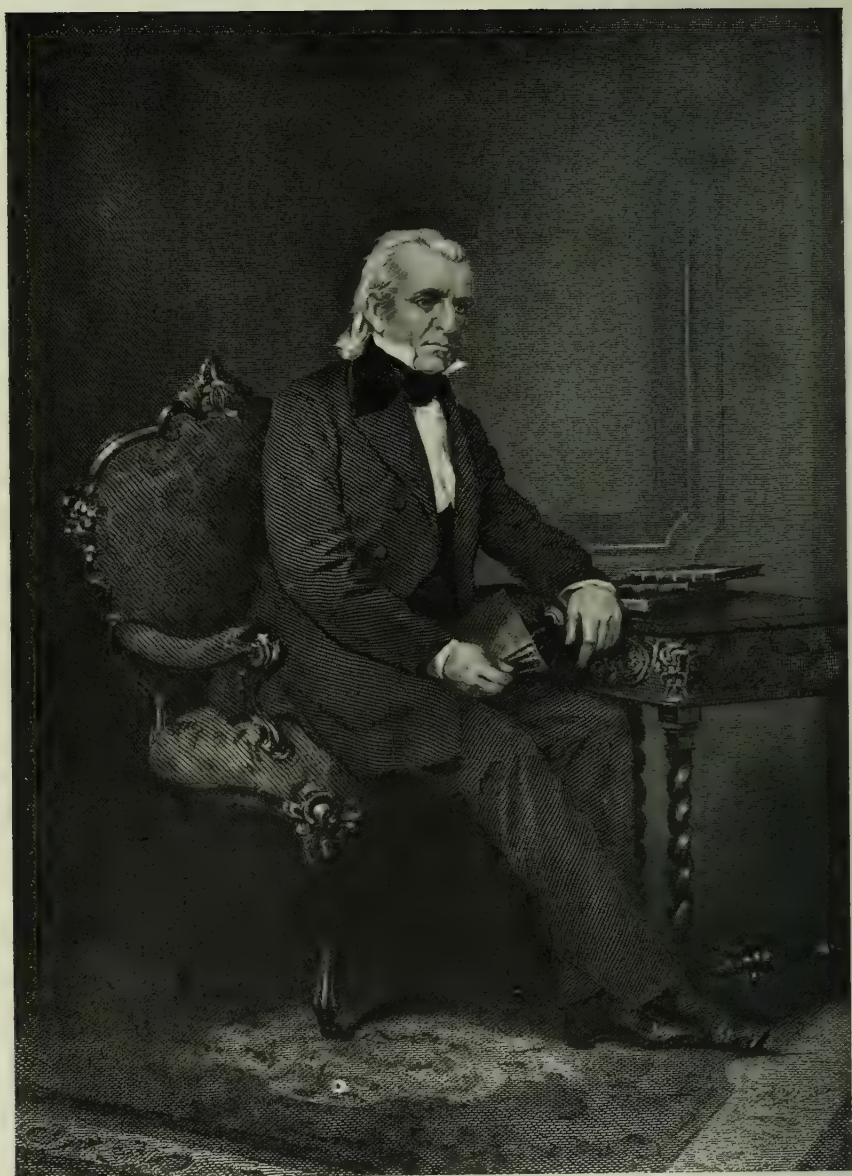
"Houston went home and declared himself an independent candidate for governor of Texas, stood upon his record, appealed to his people, and was elected by an overwhelming majority. In 1861 he opposed secession. They ousted him from office, and he died during the war, loving the South, but having neither belief in the confederacy nor hope of any successful termination of the war except on the side of the Union. In life they called him vain and vainglorious. He was certainly glorious. He nursed a suspicion that he would be president of the United States. Once driving along the avenue past Lafayette square, the wind blew his hat off and carried it to the door of the Whitehouse. He thought it an omen. His attire was a little bizarre. His habits were frugal, abstemious and democratic. He told the drollest stories. He liked a mixed audience of a summer after-

noon about the tavern door. He whittled bits of wood into various forms and presented them to his lady friends. Around his apartment in Willard Hotel cards were posted on which was printed, 'My bed-time is 9 o'clock, precisely.' His second marriage had been felicitous and fruitful, and, whatever had been his errors, or mischances of his early life, his latter was all it could or should have been."

We have said that Houston has not received justice at the hands of history. It is very interesting to attempt to surmise what his place in history would have been if, instead of being a Southern man, he had been a Northern man, and if instead of bringing a slave territory like Texas into the Union, he had brought a free territory like Canada. If the latter event had occurred, statues of Sam Houston would have been erected a half century ago in every important city in the North, and England would have classed him in greatness with Lord Nelson, the Duke of Wellington, and Cecil Rhodes, the founder of the South African Republic. The South does not write history and has never done so. The North does write history, and always from its own standpoint. The acquisition of Texas is many times more valuable to the United States than Canada could ever be, yet it has been left for the State of Texas alone to preserve his memory in a manner in any degree commensurate with the vast and far-reaching achievement he accomplished for the American people.







FROM NATIONAL PORTRAIT GALLERY, NEW YORK, 1861.

**HONORABLE JAMES K. POLK**

## CHAPTER 11.

### James Knox Polk, Sarah Childress Polk—Chronology.

#### JAMES KNOX POLK.

- 1795 Born November 2, Mecklenburg, County, North Carolina.
- 1806 Came with his father and family to Tennessee.
- 1818 June—Graduated University of North Carolina.
- 1819 Entered the office of Felix Grundy to study law.
- 1820 Admitted to the bar.
- 1822 Chief Clerk of the House in the Legislature.
- 1823 Elected a member of the Legislature.
- 1824 Assisted in electing Jackson to the United States Senate.
- 1824 January 1, Married Miss Sarah Childress.
- 1825 Elected to the lower House of Congress, and continued in that body by successive elections for fourteen years.
- 1835 Elected Speaker of the Twenty-Fourth Congress, defeating John Bell.
- 1837 Re-elected Speaker, Twenty-Fifth Congress, again defeating John Bell.
- 1839 Elected Governor of Tennessee.
- 1841 Defeated for Governor by James C. Jones.
- 1843 Again defeated for Governor by James C. Jones.
- 1844 Elected President of the United States.
- 1845 March 4—Inaugurated eleventh President of the United States.
- 1847 Made Doctor of Laws by University of North Carolina.
- 1849 March 3d—Retired from the office of President.
- 1849 June 15—Died.

#### SARAH CHILDRESS POLK.

- 1803 September 4—Born in Rutherford County, Tennessee.
- 1815 Attended a private school in Nashville.
- 1818 Went to school, Moravian Female Academy, Salem, North Carolina.

- 1849     Moved with her husband to their new home in Nashville.
- 1887     April 16—Received George Bancroft, historian, at her residence.
- 1887     October—Received President and Mrs. Grover Cleveland at her residence.
- 1891     August 14—Died at Nashville.
- 1891     August 14—Flags on State and Federal buildings in Nashville placed at half mast.

## CHAPTER 12.

## James Knox Polk and Wife Sarah Childress Polk.

The politics of the United States were practically controlled by Andrew Jackson from the time of his first candidacy for President in 1825, down to his death in 1845, a period of twenty years. The influences which he set in motion, and the line of political action he laid down, continued through the administration of James Buchanan. Jackson was the cause of Sam Houston going to Texas, the ultimate result of his visit there being its annexation to the United States; Jackson was also the cause of the nomination of James K. Polk for President, and prior to that nomination he had been Polk's lifelong friend and supporter; in fact, Polk grew up and developed in State and National politics always with the cordial backing and unvarying support of the hero of New Orleans. Throughout his term as Governor of Tennessee, and his occupation of the White House as President, he had Jackson's warm friendship, and that undivided sympathy and regard that was exhibited always and everywhere. It was a bitter day for Jackson when Polk lost Tennessee in the Presidential election, but it was a glad day for him when he came to retrospect and see the policies of Polk's administration cordially approved by the Democratic party of the United States.

James Knox Polk was a native of Mecklenburg County, North Carolina, and was born November 2, 1795. He was the oldest of six sons and four daughters. His mother's family name was Knox, and he was named for James Knox, his mother's father. His father was Samuel Polk, and, in North Carolina, before coming to Tennessee, his father owned a farm, and appears to have been an industrious, self-reliant farmer. The Name "Polk" is a corruption of "Pollock."

After the Revolutionary War, the tide of emigration flowed strongly to the region west of the Alleghany Mountains, and Samuel Polk with his family crossed the mountains and moved into



what is now Maury County, Tennessee, in 1806. Samuel Polk was a surveyor as well as a farmer.

The early years of James Knox Polk were spent in working on his father's farm, but he was not of a strong constitution, and was put to clerking in a store, and from this he was allowed to change and go to the Murfreesboro Academy; and, between two and three years, he prepared himself to enter the sophomore class of the University of North Carolina. He was a fine student, and graduated in June, 1818, when he was twenty-three years old. In 1847 his alma mater bestowed on him the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws.

Never robust in health, Mr. Polk in the next year after his graduation, entered the law office of Felix Grundy, at Nashville, where Andrew Jackson was accustomed to call from time to time, he then living at the Hermitage, about twelve miles from Nashville. Polk was fortunate in thus early being thrown with Jackson, and a friendship grew up between them that was never broken. For any one in that day desiring political promotion, it would have been difficult to possess two friends more capable of advancing one's political fortunes than Andrew Jackson and Felix Grundy, and Polk had both of them as friends.

In the latter part of 1820 Polk was admitted to the bar, and entered upon the practice with as fine prospects as any young man could possibly have at that day, and he took full advantage of every advantage that came to him.

In 1822 he was Chief Clerk of the State House of Representatives, and in 1823 he was elected a member of that body. In 1824 he assisted in nominating and electing Jackson to the United States Senate.

Polk appears, all of his life, to have entertained strong hostility to dueling, and that, too, when Jackson and all of the leading men of the State, who were his personal friends, recognized the code of honor as a proper way of settling personal difficulties. It took a man of pronounced convictions and the strongest moral courage to stand up and openly oppose as Polk did, and there is no evidence that it ever had any adverse effect upon his political fortunes.

His promotion to the world of national politics came in 1825 when he was elected to Congress, and he continued a member of that body for fourteen years, by seven successive elections. In Congress, as in practicing law, and in everything else he under-

took or was connected with, Polk was thorough, studious, book-loving, methodical, conscientious and firm in arriving at conclusions, and a member of Congress of that type will not have to wait very long for recognition. Polk's type of Congressman is the most valuable that appears in the capitol at Washington. In 1827 he was a member of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, in 1832 on Ways and Means and in 1833 Chairman of Ways and Means.

When Andrew Stevenson resigned as Speaker of Congress in 1834, John Bell of Tennessee, was chosen in his place on the tenth ballot. He held the Speakership until December 7th, 1835, when the Twenty-fourth Congress assembled and Bell was again a candidate for Speaker, and was opposed by James K. Polk, who was elected on the first ballot, receiving 132 votes, 84 votes for Bell, 9 votes scattering. Bell had supported Judge White for President, and this brought on a quarrel in Tennessee politics that had the most strenuous effects, not only then, but for years afterwards, among Democrats.

When the Twenty-Fifth Congress assembled on September 4, 1837, James K. Polk and John Bell were again rival candidates for Speaker, and Polk received 116 votes, Bell 103, with 5 scattering. Speaker Polk held the office for two years, and until the expiration of the Twenty-Fifth Congress, when, after midnight on March 3, 1839, a motion was made that a vote of thanks be extended to the Speaker, which brought on a warm debate, and John Bell, Henry A. Wise of Virginia, and Sergeant S. Prentiss of Mississippi voted against the motion. We, in our day, think that we have had some hot politics, but if the historians who tell the political story of the days when the Whig party was to be reckoned with in the United States—a period of about twenty years, from 1835 to 1855—correctly state the facts, there can be no comparison between those days and ours; especially in Tennessee politics. Furor and turbulence that must have meant practical insanity characterized elections, not only in Tennessee but throughout the country.

#### POLK'S FAREWELL, TO THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

In adjourning the House on the 4th of March, 1839, and terminating forever his connections with the body, of which he had been so long a member, Mr. Polk delivered a farewell address of more than ordinary length, but characterized by deep feeling:

"When I look back to the period," said he, "when I first took my seat in this House, and then look around me for those who were my associates here, I find but few, very few, remaining. But five members who were here with me fourteen years ago, continue to be members of this body. My service here has been constant and laborious. I can perhaps say what but few others, if any, can, that I have not failed to attend the daily sittings of this House a single day since I have been a member of it, save on a single occasion, when prevented for a short time by indisposition. In my intercourse with the members of this body, when I occupied a place upon the floor, though occasionally engaged in debates upon interesting public questions, and of an exciting character, it is a source of unmingled gratification to me to recur to the fact, that on no occasion was there the slightest personal or unpleasant collision with any of its members. Maintaining, and at all times expressing, my own opinions firmly, the same right was fully conceded to others. For four years past, the station I have occupied, and a sense of propriety, in the divided and unusually exciting state of public opinion and feeling, which has existed both in this House and the country, have precluded me from participating in your debates. Other duties have been assigned me.

"The high office of Speaker, to which it has been twice the pleasure of the House to elevate me, has been at all times one of labor and high responsibility. It has been my duty to decide more questions of parliamentary law and order, many of them of a complex and difficult character, arising often in the midst of high excitement, in the course of our proceedings, than had been decided, it is believed, by all my predecessors, from the foundation of the government. This House has uniformly sustained me, without distinction of the political parties of which it has been composed. I return them my thanks for their constant support in the discharge of the duties I have had to perform.

"But, gentlemen, my acknowledgments are especially due to the majority of this House for the high and flattering evidence they have given me, of their approbation of my conduct as the presiding officer of the House, by the resolution you have pleased to pass. I regard it as of infinitely more value than if it had been the common matter-of-course, and customary resolution, which, in the courtesy usually prevailing between the presiding officer and the members of any deliberative assembly, is always passed at the close of their deliberations. I regard this as the highest and most valued testimonial I have ever received from this House; because I know that the circumstances under which it has passed have made it matter of substance, and not of mere form. I shall bear it in grateful remembrance to the latest hour of my life.

"I trust this high office may in future times be filled, as doubtless it will be, by abler men. It cannot, I know, be filled by any

one who will devote himself with more zeal and untiring industry to do his whole duty, than I have done."

James Schouler had this to say about him in his history of the United States, at the period when Polk retired from Congress:

"Polk now took his leave of the Legislature, having served in the House for fourteen consecutive years; he left the impression of an able man, pure of morals, industrious in the Committee room, skilful as a parliamentary tactician and presiding officer, but intensely partisan and narrow. Taken up presently for Governor of Tennessee by the party of the administration, he was chosen, served for two years, and lost his re-election. Fidelity to Jackson was his passport from that defeat to a more exalted distinction.

"No one in the House now imagined, not even Polk himself, under what distinguished surroundings this retiring Speaker of the House would next take up his abode at the national capital."

This reluctant praise from Schouler serves to show what Polk's real merits and ability were. With the exception of James A. Garfield and William McKinley, who served in Congress for years before they were elected President, Polk was best equipped for the duties of President of any ever elected to that office, and in efficiency and ability he was the equal of either Garfield or McKinley. His great characteristic was that he was devoid of trickery or deception—whatever he professed to be, he was. Having been a loyal Democrat all of his life, and having received the highest honors from that party, when he became President, he was a Democrat still, and he proceeded to carry out the platform and wishes of the party that elected him. His Congressional training gave him a thorough insight into all the branches of the government and fitted him for selecting wise policies. When once a line of conduct or policy was agreed upon, Polk carried it out. He was one of the best administrators, and controlled his own cabinet, and that, too, when it contained some of the ablest men in the nation. He was not given to soft talk or flattering phrases; his utterances were clear, plain and strong, by which no man could be honestly deceived. Above everything, he had the Jackson quality of loyalty to friends, and he was never Pharisee enough to profess to love his political enemies.

The Democrats of Tennessee nominated Polk for Governor in August 1839, and he was elected and served a term of two years; but in 1841 and 1843 the Whigs had a slight majority in the State and



he was defeated in both of those years for Governor by James C. Jones, commonly known as "Lean Jimmy" Jones. The Polk-Jones campaigns for Governor are looked back upon by old Whigs and historians as the most rabid, tumultuous, aggressive, unrelenting gubernatorial campaigns ever held in the State. Things had been going badly with the Whigs up to 1841, when they discovered James C. Jones, who was born in Davidson County in 1809, and married young. He was elected to the Legislature in 1839, and attracted the attention of the Whigs to himself at a Whig meeting in Nashville in 1840. Harrison had been nominated for President, and Jones was put upon the Whig electoral ticket, and made speeches for Harrison and Tyler. He made his reputation as a stump speaker among the Whigs in this campaign, and at the next nomination for Governor, he was nominated, and the State was roused from one end to the other. Except upon the theory that Jones was a comedian it is difficult to see how he so thoroughly stirred up the voters and brought the Whigs out winner in two gubernatorial campaigns. All of the writers of that day tell that he would hold up before his audience a coon skin, and would stroke it and smooth it down, and remark, "Did you ever see such fine fur," and the audience would roar with laughter. This phenomenal humor seems to have been a great vote-getter. He appears to have been without many scruples in making statements misrepresenting his competitor, and the comedian element in him showed on every stump where he and Polk spoke together. Polk himself was a very able stump speaker, and is credited with inventing the art of stump speaking in Tennessee, but he was no match for Jones in Jones' particular kind of oratory, and he was defeated in two successive races for Governor. The joy of the Whigs knew no limit. They burned with enthusiasm, and the coon skin candidate was the hero of Whiggery for four years in Tennessee, and was afterwards sent to the United States Senate. There is no explanation of this remarkable political condition, except that Jones put on the platform, through his talent as a comedian, an irresistible free show, and one that appealed with great effect to the voters; and, the State being nearly equally divided, and Jones stirring up the Whigs as nobody else could, Polk had to go down in defeat.

The National Democratic Convention met in Baltimore in 1844 and the annexation of Texas was the leading issue. Martin Van Buren was the strongest candidate for the nomination, but he was opposed to annexation, and could not get the requisite number of

votes. Polk was in favor of it and was taken up as a compromise candidate. On the eighth ballot his name was placed before the convention, and received some votes; on the ninth ballot he was easily nominated. George M. Dallas was placed upon the ticket with him for Vice-president. He was elected and inaugurated March 4th, 1845, and served the full term of four years, or until March 4, 1849. He appointed in his Cabinet: James Buchanan of Pennsylvania, Secretary of State; Robert J. Walker of Mississippi, Secretary of the Treasury; William M. Marcy of New York, Secretary of War; George Bancroft of Massachusetts, Secretary of the Navy, but he was later sent to the Court of St. James, and John Y. Mason of Virginia, placed in his stead; Cave Thompson of Tennessee, Postmaster General; Nathan Clifford of Maine, Attorney-General; Private Secretary, his nephew, James Knox Walker.

In his first annual message President Polk called the attention of Congress to the importance of annexing Texas to the United States. The slavery question became one of the dominating issues during his administration, and Polk took the Southern view of that question.

His administration not only annexed Texas to the Union, but took in New Mexico, Arizona, California and Oregon. His administration was pre-eminently satisfactory to the Democratic party, and may be put down as one of the most brilliant in results in the history of the country. It settled with England the Oregon boundary question.

On March 5, 1849, Mr. and Mrs. Polk started on their trip homeward by a route that took in quite a number of Southern cities which had sent a request to President and Mrs. Polk to be their guests. They were accompanied by the Honorable Robert J. Walker, ex-Secretary of the Treasury, and other personal friends. They went by Fredericksburg, Richmond, Petersburg, Wilmington, Charleston, Savannah, Columbus and New Orleans, and thence to Nashville.

On June 15th, 1849, President Polk died in Nashville of the cholera, and his remains were interred in the old City Cemetery. A monument was afterward designed by William Strickland, who was the architect of the Statehouse of Tennessee, and erected in front of the Polk residence in the City of Nashville. The monument is a square, open temple, with columns at each corner, and the words: "James K. Polk, Tenth President of the United States.

Born November 2, 1795. Died June 15, 1849," are engraved on the east front. The tomb is under this open temple.

On the east side of the tomb is this inscription: "The mortal remains of James Knox Polk are resting in the vault beneath. He was born in Mecklenburg County, North Carolina, and emigrated with his father, Samuel Polk, to Tennessee in 1806. The beauty of virtue was illustrated in his life; the excellence of Christianity was exemplified in his death."

On the north side are the words: "His life was devoted to public service. He was elected successively to the first places in the State and Federal government—a member of the General Assembly, a Member of Congress, and Chairman of the most important Congressional Committees, Speaker of the House of Representatives, Governor of Tennessee, President of the United States."

On the south side are the words: "By his public policy he defined, established and extended the boundaries of his country. He planted the laws of the American Union on the shores of the Pacific. His influence and his counsels tended to organize the national treasury on the principles of the Constitution, and to apply the rule of freedom to navigation, trade and industry."

These inscriptions were prepared by the Honorable A. O. P. Nicholson, who was United States Senator in 1840 and Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Tennessee in 1870.

The west side of the tomb was left blank for Mrs. Polk at her death, and it was afterwards filled in with these words:

"Asleep in Jesus"

MRS. SARAH CHILDRESS POLK.

wife of

JAMES KNOX POLK.

Born in Rutherford County, Tennessee

September 4, 1803

Died at Polk Place, Nashville, Tennessee,

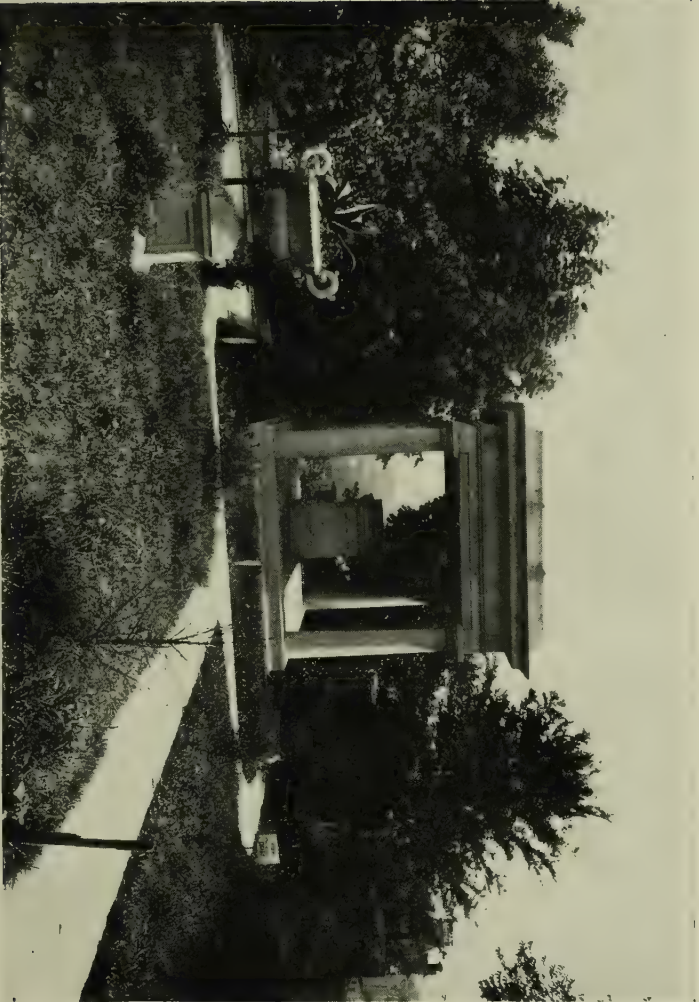
August 14, 1891

"A noble woman and devoted wife

A true friend and sincere Christian."

"Blessed are the dead which died in the Lord."

In his will Mr. Polk gave everything he had to his wife absolutely except Polk Place, which she was to have during her lifetime. Mrs. Polk was named as executrix, without bond, and Judge John Catron, who was appointed by Andrew Jackson to the Supreme Court of the United States, and Major Daniel Graham, executors.



Tomb of President James K. Polk, Capitol Grounds, Nashville, Tennessee.





Reluctant praise wrung from an enemy or adverse historian is absolutely conclusive testimony of merit in the person praised, far beyond what is conceded. We have quoted above, from James Schouler, a New Hampshire historian, and are going to quote him again in his final summary of Polk's merits as a statesman and a President; and if Schouler's reluctant eulogy is not proof that Polk was a great man and performed uncounted service for his country, then we very grossly misjudge Polk's character and achievements, and misinterpret the meaning of Schouler's words. He says:

"The crown jewels which Polk's strong policy bequeathed to his country were of priceless worth—Oregon, and all that splendid spoliation of Mexico, whose chief of hidden treasures was California." \* \* \*

"The strong traits of Polk's administration have already been outlined. It was unquestionably an administration of strong achievements; and all doubts may be dismissed concerning the efficiency of the man who was at the head of it. Bancroft's testimony as a cabinet officer is confirmed by that of Buchanan, who, spontaneously and in private, held Polk up in latter years as a model President in various respects; as one who maintained influence among his counsellors by his great reticence, his disposition to keep himself uncommitted on important points of policy until the time should arrive, and his determination not to have the chieftains of embittered factions with rival ambitions about him, but to keep all working steadily for the glory and success of his administration. He ascribed Polk's success in public measures, more than anything else, to his regard for the vital principle of official unity in action. And this premier has recalled another trait in Polk's management of affairs which he, of all advisers, was the proper one to discern all important questions with foreign nations were drawn to himself as far as possible, so that they should be settled at our capital and under his immediate supervision."

#### JUDGE NATHANIEL BAXTER'S REMINISCENCES OF POLK.

In the *American Historical Magazine*, 1903, are published some reminiscences of James K. Polk by Judge Nathaniel Baxter, a contemporary. Judge Baxter says that he was a law student in Columbia, Tennessee, then with a population of fifteen hundred or two thousand in 1836–1837, at which time the Columbia Bar embraced some of the ablest lawyers in the history of the State. In 1832, or four years before he began to study law, Judge Baxter saw James K. Polk for the first time, and gives the following description of him:

"He was then thirty-seven or eight years old; his person was handsome and attractive. From memory I should guess he was about five feet ten inches, erect in his carriage, symmetrical in form, excellent constitution with unusual muscular strength and activity, with great capacity for physical labor and endurance. I should judge him to have weighed one hundred fifty-five or one hundred sixty pounds. His hair was coal black, complexion a little dark, with a keen pair of steel-gray eyes, set well back in his head. His mouth was handsome and expressive; his lips were neither thick nor thin, but inclined to thin. He never wore a beard. His forehead was rather broad than high. There was no surplus flesh about his face, nor any want of flesh. His chin was well proportioned with his face. The whole face taken together was clear cut, flexible and expressive with aristocratic self-consciousness of superiority to the common mass. He dressed well."

Judge Baxter said this about Mrs. Polk:

"Mrs. Polk was some eight or ten years his junior and had been even less impressed with the scars of time than he had. Though a very handsome woman, she never passed as a belle or a beauty—her ambition never sought or valued that sort of distinction. She was her husband's wife and monopolized his affections as fully as any wife ever did, and with that the measure of her ambition was full. But she had more elements of attractiveness and popularity—more of that nature which draws upon the admiration and sympathy of men and women and made everybody, regardless of party politics, desire her success and happiness in life, than is often found in her sex; and beyond all question much of her husband's success in life was due, or at least was helped on largely by, the kindly feelings and admiration that every one felt for her who had the honor of her acquaintance. I never saw the Whig so vile that he would not have been pleased to see her in the White House if she could have gotten there without her husband."

Judge Baxter moved from Columbia to Nashville and on one occasion as he was going to Nashville in company with Chancellor Cahal, he met Mr. Polk and his wife in their private carriage, and he makes this comment:

"Business called me back to Columbia. As I was returning home again, in company with Chancellor Cahal, whom should we meet on the road, but the ex-President and his wife traveling alone in a private carriage. They were returning from Washington to their home in Columbia. Mrs. Polk looked as natural as life with scarcely a perceptible change in the four years' absence. But Mr. Polk had changed until I scarcely knew him. From a pure black, his hair had become perfectly white. It

did not change to a silver-gray, but milk white. In his face was a senatorial gravity more sedate than when he left Columbia. He looked careworn and tired; but upon meeting old acquaintances from his old home, he brightened up and assumed his quondam cheerfulness. When we parted Senator Cahal said to me, 'You have now seen the difference between the rising and the setting sun. When he left for Washington his escorts were thousands. Now that his power and patronage are gone his faithful wife alone remains by his side, and doubtless he is glad they are gone.' "

#### LIFE OF POLK SHOULD BE WRITTEN.

On April 16th, 1887, George Bancroft arrived in Nashville for the purpose of calling on Mrs. Polk, and of course was shown every courtesy and social attention that his high standing called for. The object of Mr. Bancroft's visit to Mrs. Polk was to get material for his historical work, and he made a limited examination of the letters, papers and manuscripts in Mrs. Polk's possession, and later Mrs. Polk sent them to him at Washington; he had them copied, and returned the originals to her. If these papers are still in existence, there is a mine of historical values in them. In order to fully illustrate the really great achievements of James K. Polk, his life ought to be written by some one having access to all papers and documents available. It is curious that no Life was ever written except one or two transitory campaign books published while he was a candidate for President. A life of Polk would not only immensely redound to his own historical standing but would prove a great tribute to the State of Tennessee.

His administration as President will stand the most critical examination. There is nothing that he said that causes us to think less of him, and his achievements are so great that if he were adjudged by them alone, he would, especially in the vast acquisitions of territory which he succeeded in adding to the United States, be put down as one of the very greatest of Americans.

It is worth keeping in mind that the sons of Tennessee have added more territory to the American Union than representatives of any other State. Andrew Jackson and Sam Houston were the dominating causes that ultimately brought Texas into the Union. James K. Polk's administration gave us New Mexico, Arizona, California, a part of Oregon and a part of Utah. Whose additions of territory can compare with these? The South must learn to write history. If she had learned this lesson years ago,



James K. Polk and Sam Houston would have long since glittered as bright particular stars in the highest firmament of American statesmanship. There is no way to judge a man except by the results of his life and actions. A man may be in character a very great man, and achieve nothing for his country or fellowman; but it is a logical and moral impossibility for a man of small character or calibre to bring about great results; and especially is this true in the theater of national politics where antagonistic forces embodying courage, wealth, cunning, and every human characteristic, good and bad, are to be met and overcome. We repeat that results and achievements are the true tests of statesmanship, and by these tests James K. Polk, Samuel Houston and Andrew Jackson can well afford to be measured.

Polk died childless, which may be one of the reasons why his biography was never written; collaterals naturally do not take the same interest in perpetuating the fame of a relative that direct descendants do.

It is not impossible to ascertain why Polk has never been lifted to the Pantheon of great men. His administration and its far-reaching results were of incalculable interest and benefit to the South. Texas was naturally a great cotton growing State, and the South has always been interested in cotton. The contest over the annexation of Texas and the Mexican War was long, bitter, sectional, and denunciatory, and the history of that contest, like the history of nearly all our political contests, was written by historians in sympathy with the opposition to the South, and southern interests. The most careful and critical reading of the history of Polk's administration written by opposition historians—writers who were strongly Whig, strongly anti-slavery, strongly anti-South—demonstrates that their criticisms are frequently vicious or false or biased or sectional or personal, but with it all, Polk's achievements were so far and away great and unquestionable, as to extract from even unwilling writers praise that they reluctantly gave.

There was nothing of the weakling about him, but with strong will, great and fixed determination, unlimited energy and a persistency that did not stop until the end was accomplished, he, while in these respects not measuring up to "Old Hickory," was not so very far removed from him.

Tennessee has not had the influence in national politics since Buchanan's administration that it had before; it is not necessary

to trace the causes of this, but Tennessee owes it to itself to see that Polk's record is fairly and fully placed before the world; it will exhibit as bright a lustre for Tennessee as for Polk, for the Volunteer State absolutely and in every detail made him what he was. Tennesseans developed him, first in the Legislature, then in Congress, then as Governor, and finally as President. While not born in the State, he came to it as a child, and all that he ever was, and all that he ever accomplished, was through the people of Tennessee.

#### JUDGE TEMPLE ON POLK.

Judge O. P. Temple, deceased, for twelve years Chancellor of the Knoxville Chancery Division, was a Whig before the Civil War, and a Republican after the War. He had a liberal education and fine culture and was the author of three historical works: "The Covenanter, the Cavalier and the Puritan," "East Tennessee and the Civil War" and "Notable Men of Tennessee." He was born in 1820, and died in Knoxville in 1907, and had a very wide acquaintance among the leading public men of his day. He heard James K. Polk make a speech in 1839, and was present at two or three of the joint discussions between Polk and "Lean Jimmy Jones" in their joint canvass for Governor of Tennessee in 1841 and 1843, and sympathized with Jones. In "Notable Men of Tennessee" Judge Temple gives his opinion of Polk on the stump, and it is a carefully considered estimate, and coming as it does from a life-long opponent of the Democratic party, and what Polk stood for and fought for, it must be accepted as one of the most eulogistic statements ever made in reference to Polk and that, too, by one of the most competent judges.

"The desire to know more of Mr. Polk is most natural. But few of this generation ever heard him speak, or ever saw him. He was scarcely of medium height, being not more than five feet seven or eight inches tall. He was slight in body, but trim, straight and graceful. His head was large, with a decidedly intellectual cast, and his eyes were very large, of a brown or hazel color, very striking and handsome, and with a benignant expression. In dress he was faultlessly neat. Indeed, I considered him a very handsome man, at least a very distinguished looking one. Notwithstanding his delicate looking body, he was capable of the greatest physical endurance, as was evident from the almost incredible amount of labor he performed in his three canvasses of the entire State in 1839, 1841 and 1843. His voice was loud

and good, though his intonation was somewhat unusual, but not disagreeable. He spoke with fluency, clearness, earnestness, and rapidity. More, he spoke with elegance, and with great pointedness and power. As a debater, in the presentation and marshaling of facts, he was ingenious, lucid and masterly. This was his strong point. Very seldom has any public speaker been able to present a long array of facts so impressively, and at the same time so attractively and with such irresistible power. Andrew Johnson could not have done so, because he did not possess the charm of manner, the elegance of language, the lucidness of statement, nor the compactness of argument. In a word, Mr. Polk was universally regarded in his day as a very great public speaker and a most skillful debater. Looking back at his canvass of 1839, I very much doubt whether there was a man in the State, on either side, who could have produced such a profound impression on the public mind. As before remarked, after his defeat by Jones, he never seemed to have the position as a man of rare ability that he previously had, and I think in this regard injustice has been done to his memory. It is an acknowledged fact that while he was President, he was master of his own administration, and shaped and guided its policies as he thought best. It was stronger and accomplished more than William Henry Harrison's, or Tyler's, or Taylor's, or Fillmore's, or Pierce's, or Buchanan's, or Hayes', or Arthur's or Benjamin Harrison's, and possibly, even Monroe's. He was, in fact, Prime Minister, as well as President. By a war, brought on by his own act, he added to our dominion a vast territory of incalculable value."

#### SARAH CHILDRESS POLK.

It rarely falls to the fortune of a woman to be not only the most distinguished woman in her State, but the most distinguished in her country, and this fortune fell to Mrs. Sarah Childress Polk. She was born in Rutherford County, Tennessee, September 4, 1803, and died in Nashville August 14, 1891, and was the widow of James K. Polk for forty-two years. Many women could have been the widow of a President of the United States, and that been their only title to distinction or fame, but such was not the case with Mrs. Polk. During the forty-two years of her widowhood, the recognition not only that her husband was James K. Polk, but that her personal virtues were of the loftiest and finest, never ceased to be forthcoming. She was a fine character as well as the widow of an American President, and her memory will continue to be one of the choicest possessions of the people of Tennessee.

Before marriage, she was Miss Sarah Childress, daughter of Joel and Elizabeth Childress, and lived in Rutherford County,

about two miles from Murfreesboro, the county seat, and her early education at her home was as good as was to be had there, which was not of the best. In fact, the thorough or higher education of girls was not considered necessary, but her father appears to have taken the proper view of female education, and he employed the Principal of the Academy at Murfreesboro to give his daughter lessons, and thereby greatly facilitated her progress. When she was twelve years old, she was sent to Nashville to attend a private school. When she was about fifteen years old, she and her sister were sent to the Moravian Female Academy in Salem, North Carolina. The long distance between her home and Salem—several hundred miles—was traveled on horseback, and the two girls were accompanied by a brother, Anderson Childress, and by a colored man servant, who went along to look after their baggage. From Middle Tennessee to Salem at this time would be traveled in less than a day, and it is hard for us to follow a trip on horseback and imagine the various episodes and adventures that must have happened to them. But they accomplished the journey without mishap, and entered upon the life of a large school, which, to them, was entirely new. It is probable that this school was as good as any school for girls in the country at that time. Wealth was not then rated as it is in our day. Immense fortunes did not exist except in very rare instances. The Childress family were well-to-do according to the standard of that time, and had all the social acceptability and distinction of other well to do people of the period.

As far as we can ascertain, James Knox Polk was the first and only suitor Mrs. Polk ever had. He was considered a young man of fine prospects from the start, and presented his case to Miss Childress with such persuasiveness and effect that a marriage followed on Thursday evening, January 1st, 1824. It was a big country wedding, and the young people were tendered social attention in generous profusion. Aaron V. Brown and Lucius J. Polk were two of the attendants. Brown, like Polk, was a graduate of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, and was Polk's partner in the practice of law. He was a member of the Legislature of Tennessee, a member of Congress, and was elected Governor of Tennessee in 1845. In 1857 President Buchanan appointed him Postmaster General.

Mrs. Polk's first trip to Washington was with her husband in 1826, when he was a member of Congress. She and Mr.



Polk were accompanied by Sam Houston, who was also a member of Congress.

In 1842 Mr. and Mrs. Polk had as their guest at Nashville ex-President Martin Van Buren, who also visited General Jackson, at the Hermitage.

After Mr. Polk's election as President, Mrs. Polk accompanied her husband to Washington. They went by steamer from Nashville to Wheeling, and thence by carriage to Cumberland, and there they took the railroad train. At Baltimore they were joined by the Vice President elect, the Honorable George M. Dallas, and the party proceeded to Washington. Mr. Polk was inaugurated President and Mrs. Polk entered upon her duties as Mistress of the White House.

Mrs. Polk was a consistent Presbyterian, and her reign in the White House eliminated card playing and dancing, but in all other respects she did her full part in the social life of the nation's capital.

Ben Perley Poore, who published in book form "Reminiscences of Sixty Years as a Newspaper Correspondent in Washington" in two volumes, and who was not especially friendly to Democrats or Democratic administrations, in his Reminiscences has this to say of Mrs. Polk:

"Mrs. Polk was a strict Presbyterian, and she shunned what she regarded as 'the vanities of the world' whenever it was possible for her to do so. She did not possess the queenly grace of Mrs. Madison, or the warm, hearty, hospitality of Mrs. Tyler, but she presided over the White House with great dignity. She was of medium height in size, with very black hair, dark eyes and complexion, and firm, yet graceful deportment. At the inauguration of her husband she wore a black silk dress, a long black velvet cloak, with a deep cape trimmed with fringe and tassels, and a purple velvet bonnet, trimmed with satin ribbon. Her usual style of dress was rich, but not showy.

"Mrs. Polk would not permit dancing at the White House, but she did all in her power to render the administration popular. One morning a lady found her reading. 'I have many books presented to me by their writers,' said she, 'I try to read them all; at present this is not possible; but this evening, the author of this book dines with the President, and I could not be so unkind as to appear wholly ignorant and unmindful of his gift.'

"At one of her evening receptions, a gentleman remarked: 'Madam, you have a very genteel assemblage tonight.' 'Sir,' replied Mrs. Polk, with perfect good humor, but very significantly, 'I have never seen it otherwise.'"

It was while Mrs. Polk was living in Nashville, in all the long years after the death of her husband, in dignified, cultured retirement, that she appeared at her best, and entered most largely into the affections of the people of Tennessee. There were a number of years when she and Andrew Johnson were the two most distinguished citizens of Tennessee, and when Andrew Johnson died in 1875, Mrs. Polk, down to her death in 1891, had universal recognition as the State's most distinguished citizen; and as such received the most complimentary attention from the leading people of the United States who visited Nashville. The Legislature of Tennessee did her the honor to set apart one day of each session to pay their respects by calling on her. She received invitations to be present at great occasions, all over the country. In order to induce her to visit the Centennial Exposition at Philadelphia in 1876, the Pennsylvania Railroad offered her a palace car to travel in. She was invited by different Presidents to become a guest in the White House. President and Mrs. Hayes visited her in 1877, accompanied by Secretary of State, William M. Evarts.

President and Mrs. Grover Cleveland visited Nashville during Mr. Cleveland's first term as President, and called on Mrs. Polk, and afterwards inspected the tomb of the former President. There were exactly forty years between the time that Mrs. Polk entered the White House in 1845 as its Mistress, and when Mrs. Frances Folsom Cleveland entered it, in 1885.

On July 4, 1888, Mrs. Polk was selected to touch the button which placed the machinery in motion of the Cincinnati Centennial Exposition held to exemplify the progress of Ohio and adjoining States for a century.

In 1882 Congress appropriated a pension of \$5,000.00 a year to Mrs. Polk, and the bill making the appropriation was amended so as to include all living widows of ex-Presidents.

George Bancroft, who was Secretary of the Navy during President Polk's administration, was, until his very last days, a very warm friend of Mrs. Polk, and he wrote her, on her eighty-sixth birthday this letter:

GEORGE BANCROFT TO MRS. POLK.

"Washington, September, 1889.

"My dear Mrs. Polk: Your birthday returns and your friends are happy in your continued good health and enjoyment of life.

As the oldest of them, and as one who, if spared, will in a few days enter his ninetieth year, I congratulate you on your health and vigor. May the coming year be one of perfect health and happiness to you; you hold the affectionate regard of your country, and the esteem and best wishes of a nation minister to your length of days better than all the efforts and care of the men of the healing art can do. There is a constant refreshment of life in enjoying the highest esteem and regard of a free people who elected your husband to be their chief, and who enabled him to fill his years of office with the greatest deeds. Live long, that you may more and more see the astounding results of his administrative genius. Count me as one of the most earnest of your friends—perhaps the truest, as the oldest, of them all.

“Ever with affectionate respect, your devoted friend,  
“GEORGE BANCROFT.”

George Bancroft died January 17, 1891. He was born October 3, 1800. While Secretary of the Navy he established the Naval Academy at Annapolis.

Naturally Mrs. Polk received a great many eulogistic and flattering letters, communications and addresses during the forty-two years she was so distinguished as a citizen of Tennessee, but we doubt if anything was ever said or written to her that received her whole-hearted appreciation like the concluding clause in her husband's will, in these words:

“I have entire confidence that my beloved wife, Sarah Polk, who has been constantly identified with me in all her sympathies and affections, through all the vicissitudes of my public and private life for more than twenty-five years, and who, by her prudence, care and economy has aided in assisting me in acquiring and preserving the property which I own, will, at her death, make a proper and just distribution of what property she may then possess.”

She died at Polk Place in Nashville on August 14, 1891, and was buried beside her husband. The tomb was subsequently moved to the Capitol grounds, where it will probably remain for all time to come.

Frances E. Willard, the founder of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union paid her a tribute in a letter addressed to a relative of Mrs. Polk:

“Evanston, Ill., August 15, 1891.

“Dear Friend:

“A noble Christian and typically American lady of the old school has gone from this world, and a beloved aunt and household comrade has left your historic home. Seeing Mrs. Polk first in 1881, I have omitted no opportunity to do so when in

Nashville since then. The portrait at the White House, placed there by American women, northern and southern, was a beautiful token of our renewed love and good understanding. The Christian example of Mrs. President Polk at the Executive Mansion will brighten the annals of our common country. These lines cannot express the full measure of appreciation and reverence that I have always cherished for your illustrious aunt. Well might the church bells toll for one always loyal to our Lord, and the flags be placed at half mast for a patriot who dignified the name 'American!' May God's blessing be with you all who loved her, and who have lost her out of your lives, is the prayer of,

"Yours in the love of God and of humanity,

“FRANCES E. WILLARD.”



## CHAPTER 13.

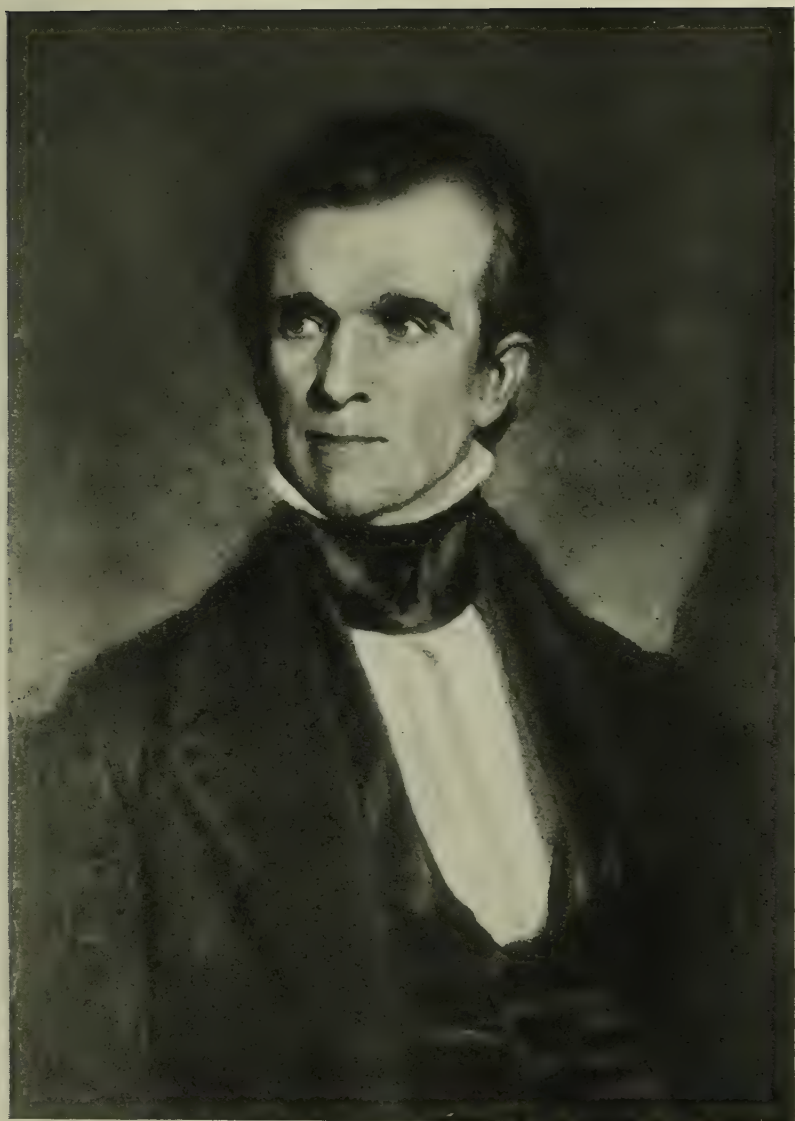
**James Knox Polk, Political History—Nomination  
for the Presidency at Baltimore Convention  
of 1844—Bancroft's Letter on the Nomina-  
tion—Jeremiah George Harris—  
Col. Ezekiel Polk.**

Few persons in Tennessee or elsewhere know that James K. Polk was a candidate for the Democratic nomination for Vice President in 1840, but withdrew on July 4th following the meeting of the National Democratic Convention in Baltimore on May 5th. He was Governor of Tennessee from 1839 to 1841 and in October, 1839, the senate of Tennessee passed a resolution endorsing him as "eminently fitted for the vice-presidency of the United States" and put him in the race for that office. Richard M. Johnson of Kentucky, Rufus King of Alabama, and John Forsyth of Georgia, were also candidates and Johnson was ultimately successful and ran on the ticket with Martin Van Buren, the nominee of the Democratic convention of May 5, and both were crushingly defeated by Harrison and Tyler when the election came around.

Polk's withdrawal from the race for the nomination for vice-president occurred at a 4th of July celebration at Knoxville, Tennessee, in 1840, where large numbers of the Democracy of East Tennessee had met to honor the day. Governor Polk was present by invitation and in his speech declared he would not be a candidate for the vice-presidency, but was a candidate for re-election to the office of Governor.

The Tennessee delegates to the Democratic convention at Baltimore were Felix Grundy, Samuel H. Laughlin, A. Anderson, William Carroll, John C. Rodgers, Jonas E. Thomas, Arthur R. Crozier, Harvey Watterson, H. L. Turney, P. B. Anderson, William Deeny, Newton Clark, James Dortch, Williamson Smith and Abraham McClellan.

The convention decided to make no nomination for vice-



HONORABLE JAMES K. POLK



president and gave the Democratic party and the country at large its reasons for so doing in this resolution:

*"Resolved, That this Convention do present the name of Martin Van Buren to the people as the Democratic candidate for the office of President of the United States, and that we will spare no honorable efforts to secure his election; and*

*"Whereas, Several of the States which have nominated Martin Van Buren as a candidate for the presidency have put in nomination different individuals as candidates for the office of vice-president, thus indicating a diversity of opinion as to the person best entitled to the nomination; and,*

*"Whereas, Some of said States are not represented in this convention; and as all the individuals so nominated have filled the various public trusts confided to them ably and faithfully, and thereby secured for themselves the confidence of their republican fellow citizens; therefore,*

*"Resolved, That the convention deems it expedient at the present time not to choose between the individuals in nomination, but to leave the decision to their republican fellow citizens in the several States, trusting that before the election shall take place their opinions shall become so concentrated as to secure the choice of a vice president by the electoral colleges."*

Samuel H. Laughlin, one of the delegates to the Baltimore convention and a strong supporter of Polk for vice-president, kept a diary and throws some very interesting side lights on Tennessee politics at this period. The paragraphs of April 14th and 15th, quoted below, from his diary, refer to events when he was on his way from his home at McMinnville, Tennessee, to the convention at Baltimore. The paragraph of April 28th refers to events after he arrived at Washington and had consulted with Governor Polk's friends and all had agreed that Polk could not be nominated at the convention.

All the candidates for vice president withdrew before the election leaving the race to Richard M. Johnson of Kentucky.

Samuel H. Laughlin was born in Washington County, Va., May 1, 1796, and was a newspaper man and politician who was in the confidence of the Polk-Jackson organization in Tennessee. Laughlin was in the inner circles of the politics of that day.

In 1835 "The Nashville Union" was established to support the Jackson organization and Laughlin was selected as the editor. At the time the above extracts from his diary were written his home was at McMinnville in Warren County. It is greatly to be regretted that his diary breaks off at the time he



got to Washington and does not give us what would have been exceedingly interesting details of the Baltimore Convention of 1840.

In 1841-42 Laughlin was a member of the State Senate from the senatorial district made up of Warren, Cannon, Coffee and DeKalb Counties. He was one of the "immortal thirteen" who succeeded in blocking the Whig House of Representatives in the election of U. S. Senators, which resulted in Tennessee being without representation in the Senate till 1843.

Laughlin was also a delegate to the next National Democratic Convention and after the nominations had been made he was again put in charge of *The Nashville Union*. When Polk was elected he rewarded him with the appointment of Recorder of the General Land Office of the United States. He died in the City of Washington.

The diary from which the above quotations are taken belongs to Mrs. Jessie Spurlock Harrison of McMinnville, Tennessee, a great granddaughter of Laughlin, who allowed the editor, Mr. St. George L. Sioussat, to publish the same in the *"Tennessee Historical Magazine"* for March, 1916.

"Nashville, Tuesday, April 14, 1840. . . . Messrs. Thomas, Clarke and myself went home with the Governor to tea, and to pay our respects to the time honoured sage of the Hermitage who was at the Governor's house. We found the Ex President in good health and fine spirits; and very deeply impressed with the importance of the nomination of President and Vice President which it was the object of the Baltimore Convention to make. He was clear in the position that the nomination of Col. Johnson, whom he greatly honors as a soldier and a patriot would weaken and distract our party in the south, southwest, and everywhere. That Georgia and Alabama had their own favorites, Forsyth and King, but both preferred Polk to Johnson, and that Virginia and South Carolina would in no event vote for Johnson, and were both Polk States. That Polk would be acceptable to North Carolina, Alabama, South Carolina, Mississippi, Louisiana, Arkansas, and the whole southwest; that Virginia had nominated him unconditionally, and that in the North West he would be as strong or stronger than Johnson. That Massachusetts had nominated Polk, affording a clear indication of the wishes of the whole eastern democracy. That he had been told, but did not credit it, that Mr. Kendall, Col. Benton, and Mr. Poinsett, were averse to Mr. Polk's nomination; that he had reason to believe that Mr. Wright of New York, and Mr. Allen of Ohio were for Polk; that the President stood

entirely aloof, as he ought to do, from all participation in the question; that he had written his views freely and fully to Col. Benton, Mr. Wright, Mr. Kendall and others.

"Nashville, Wednesday, April 15, 1840. . . . "Again saw Col. Polk, and read his last letters from Mr. Grundy, Mr. Cave Johnson, and Mr. Hubbard (David) Gen. A. Anderson and others. Heard his views at large, and his determination. He was advised that it was a project at Washington, (into which I fear our friends have been persuaded to unite if true) to make no nomination of Vice President at Baltimore, and let the states and the people unite upon candidates, and if no election is made by the Electoral Colleges, that the Senate will make a choice, which will ensure Gov. Polk's election anyhow. I do not approve of this, if it can possibly be avoided, because it may lead to the sacrifice of Col. Polk, and can have no other effect than to (perhaps) strengthen Mr. Van Buren whose election is safe any how; and because Gov. Polk ought not, and declares he will not, after the manner and example of Judge White in 1836, be run as a sectional candidate, to promote the personal prospects of any man, when he cannot be elected himself, and is not or may not be the choice of a majority of his own party. He declared to us, that in the event of Johnson's nomination, he would earnestly support him; but, if no nomination was made, and states enough did not forthwith take him up, for which reasonable time might be allowed, to elect him, or place him foremost on the democratic list before the Senate, that he would forthwith withdraw his name, and take the field in support of Col. Johnson, or the strongest democratic candidate who may be brought out by the states or the people.

"Washington, Tuesday, April 28, 1840. . . . "Not having slept last night I got some coffee for breakfast, and lounged about the House of Representatives all day. The same scene described in yesterday's journal continued all day till the adjournment late in the evening. Saw Gen. Anderson and Gov. Clay about the business of the Baltimore Convention. All were now agreed that Gov. Polk could not be nominated, that Johnson could not without New Uork, and that best way, if possible, was to make no nomination. This matter was in treaty between Mr. Grundy and Mr. Wright. Talked with Mr. D. Hubbard and Mr. A. V. Brown on the subject, pressed the matter in every form. Went to bed early and slept most soundly."

On May 27th, after the Democratic Convention had nominated Van Buren for President and had refused to make a nomination for vice president, Governor Polk addressed the following letter to Senator Felix Grundy at Washington.

## POLK TO FELIX GRUNDY.

"Nashville May 27, 1840.

"Dear Sir:

"The national democratic convention held at Baltimore, after nominating with perfect unanimity the present chief magistrate, for re-election to the station which he has filled with so much honor to himself and advantage to the country, having declined making a nomination for the vice presidency, it becomes proper, in my judgment, that I should distinctly declare the position which I occupy before the country, in reference to the use which has been made of my name in connection with that office.

"Having been unexpectedly placed in nomination by a portion of my republican fellow citizens, in some of the states, it was my unalterable determination, often expressed to my friends, from the day that my name first appeared in connection with the vice presidency, to be governed by the wishes of the majority of the political party, to which I have been ardently attached during my whole life, whenever the preference of that majority should be ascertained in any satisfactory mode; and in no possible contingency to yield my own consent to the use of my name as a candidate by a minority of my own political friends.

"If, as at one time anticipated, a full convention of the democratic party representing all the states, had assembled and made a nomination that would have been conclusive, none would have been more cheerful to abide by the nomination thus made, or to give the nominee (had the choice fallen on another) a more cordial and hearty support than myself. It appears, however, that several of the states were unrepresented in the convention, and the selections of the democratic candidate for the vice presidency was left open for the separate action of the republican party of the several states.

"I entirely concur with the convention, in the hope expressed by that body, that 'before the election shall take place,' the 'opinions' of the republican party 'shall become so concentrated, as to secure the choice of a vice president by the electoral colleges.'

"In times like these, when powerful combinations of various sectional interests, are acting in extraordinary concert with our old opponents, the federalists, and their allies the abolitionists, against the cherished principles of our republican institutions personal and sectional preferences, between men of the same political principles, are of no importance. The ancient enemies of our long cherished principles, with their new recruits and reinforcements, are to be met. The pillars, upon which permanently rest our national independence, and our beautiful fabric of separate state sovereignties, are to be defended. And as these considerations are, to my judgment, infinitely more important to the country than the elevation of any individual

citizen to this, or any other office, I trust I may be permitted to express my sincere desire, should the further use of my name, in connection with the vice presidency, be found to interpose the slightest obstacle to the entire and cordial union of the democratic party, that it may be promptly withdrawn by my friends from before the public. I can have no desire to be a party to a contest in which I may be thrown into apparent collision with political friends whom I esteem, and with whom I have acted for a long series of years, and especially if such a position shall have a tendency to weaken the sympathies of the whole republican party, and hazard the safety and continued ascendancy of their cardinal principles.

"The present struggle is a fierce one, and it becomes the duty of every republican to defend his post manfully. If, in my public career, I have heretofore, evinced any becoming ardor and zeal in the maintenance of our principles that ardor is unabated, that zeal is undiminished; and, although my position may be that of an individual citizen in the ranks of my party, I shall be found faithfully acting with my political friends, and, upon all suitable and proper occasions, resolutely exercising my rights as a freeman in maintaining the republican principles of our fathers, and carrying them successfully through the 'ordeal of the popular sufferage.' I, am, with high regard your obedient servant,

"JAMES K. POLK.

"Hon. Felix Grundy, Washington City."

JACKSON TO EDITOR GALLATIN UNION.

"Hermitage, Aug. 24, 1840.

"Sir: Your letter of the 22d instant, reached me to-day. You remark that on many occasions this summer we have heard it charged from the stump, that our talented governor, James K. Polk, received from me, some years since, a certificate to his willingness to defend his person; and that 'on a late occasion, a gentleman by the name of Peyton stated that Mr. Wise had said to Colonel Polk, when speaker of the house of representatives, 'you are a damned little petty tyrant; I mean this personally; pocket it,' and that I had endeavored to rescue the speaker from disgrace by giving him a certificate that his conduct was not improper or pusillanimous, and now desire to know from me whether there is any foundation in truth, for such statements.

"I answer that there is not the slightest authority for such statements. Col. Polk never in his life applied to me for a certificate, nor did I ever suppose or believe, that one was required by him from me or any one else, to sustain his personal character.

"I recollect that when Wise assailed him as speaker of the house of representatives, using probably the expressions you have quoted, I spoke of Wise's conduct as did every citizen who had



any respect for the character of the house, in strong terms of disapprobation. And concurred with others in the opinion that the speaker, in treating such blackquardism with contempt, pursued the course which was most consistent with the dignity of the house, and a just self-respect. But the idea of my giving Col. Polk a certificate, or having applied for, or obtained one, is entirely unwarranted, and could only have been suggested by a mind capable of falsehood, and of applying the vulgar language you have quoted to the speaker of the house for the performance of his duties. I am, very respectfully your ob't servant,

"ANDREW JACKSON."

POLK TO S. M. GATES.

"Nashville, Tenn., Oct. 2, 1840.

"To the Hon. S. M. Gates, member of congress from the state of New York:

"Sir: I have received through the post office a communication, under your official frank as a member of congress, containing certain proceedings of a body of men styling themselves 'a convention of the friends of the negro, assembled from various parts of the world, convened for the purpose of promoting the immediate, entire and universal abolition of slavery and the slave trade.' This convention, it appears, was holden at London, in the month of June last. The envelope covering the communication, which comes to me under your frank, is postmarked at the city of New York, is sealed with a stamp, bearing a pictorial representation of a person in an imploring attitude, and encircled with the words, 'British and foreign anti-slavery society.' The communication itself contains an 'appeal to the governor of Tennessee to employ all the influence and power with which Divine Providence has entrusted him, to secure immediate and unconditional liberty to the slave.'

"The fact is indisputable that you have lent your official frank to this self-styled 'world's convention of abolitionists,' as a means of enabling them to send their infamous publications in manuscript through the United States' mails free of expense, and the presumption, therefore, is, that you countenance and approve the proceedings which you aid them to circulate. In a postscript to the communication bearing your frank, I am requested to acknowledge its receipt in a letter addressed to the 'president of the convention at London.' This request I shall disregard. I cannot recognize, by any act of mine, official or otherwise the right of foreigners to make an attempt in itself so impertinent and impudent, to intermeddle or interfere with the domestic institutions of this state. But, you sir, are an American citizen, and by the part you have borne, have made yourself equally criminal and responsible with the foreign agitators and fanatics with whose proceedings you have identified yourself. Were it not for the official station which you occupy, I am free to declare,

that I should treat the part which you have borne in this dark transaction with the scorn and contempt which I entertain for the proceedings themselves, and which I am sure all patriotic citizens, ardently attached to the union, and desiring its preservation, will pronounce upon your conduct.

"It is to be regretted that the affected and hypocritical philanthropy of British and other foreign abolitionists, with whom your official frank identifies you, had not been reserved for the suffering subjects of their own dominions, whose unremitting toil even in seasons of profound peace, is in many instances, scarcely rewarded with the means of procuring wholesome food and decent raiment. Unacquainted as the convention, whose proceedings you endorse and circulate by your frank, seems to have been with the peaceable relation of master and slave in the United States, and their advice is as worthless as it is gratuitous.

"The foreigner, in extenuation of his crime, may plead ignorance of our form of government, but from you, sir, his American aider and abetter, no such plea is admissible. He may be actuated by a desire to produce insurrection in the heart of a rival nation. But what apology have you, sir, for lending your official privilege as a member of congress to aid him in an attempt to produce anarchy and confusion in one of the constituent sovereignties of your own government? Have you seriously reflected upon the dangers of the crusade in which you are engaged, a crusade in alliance with foreigners, which not only threatens the peace and harmony of the union, but may endanger its existence if the wicked agitation to which you give your countenance, is persisted in? Are you so deliberately reckless of consequences as to be willing to lend and abet foreigners in proceedings calculated, if not designed, to excite sectional jealousies and heart burnings, to divide the states by geographical lines, to array one section against another; and that, too at the imminent peril of producing domestic insurrection, and a servile war? Have you yet to be informed that slavery existed in the colonies long before independence was achieved! Have you yet to learn that at the adoption of the constitution, the adjustment of the slave question presented one of the chief difficulties to the formation of the union which had to be encountered, and that it was ultimately settled upon principles of mutual concession and compromise? Would you disturb the fundamental compact upon which the union of the states rests? But I will not argue the question. It is not one which is debatable.

"It is matter of sincere regret that any American citizen should be guilty of such high treason to the first principles upon which the states became united. Your official frank covering these proceedings stands up in judgment against you, as a witness whose testimony is not to be impeached.

"The only further notice which I shall take of these nefarious proceedings of foreigners, with whom you stand associated,

will be to expose them to the indignant reprobation of the people of Tennessee.

"JAMES K. POLK."

POLK TO A CINCINNATI COMMITTEE.

"Columbia, Tennessee, April 22, 1844.

"Gentlemen:—Your letter of the 30th ult., which you have done me the honor to address to me, reached my residence during my absence from home, and was not received until yesterday. Accompanying your letter you transmit to me, as you state, 'a copy of the proceedings of a very large meeting of the citizens of Cincinnati, assembled on the 29th ult., to express their settled opposition to the annexation of Texas to the United States.' You request from me an explicit expression of opinion upon this question of annexation. Having at no time entertained opinions upon public subjects which I was unwilling to avow, it gives me pleasure to comply with the request. I have no hesitation in declaring, that I am in favor of the immediate annexation of Texas to the territory and government of the United States. I entertain no doubts as to the power or expediency of the reannexation. The proof is fair and satisfactory to my own mind, that Texas once constituted a part of the territory of the United States, the title to which I regard to have been indisputable as that to any portion of our territory. At the time the negotiation was opened with a view to acquire the Floridas, and the settlement of other questions, and pending that negotiation, the Spanish Government itself was satisfied of the validity of our title, and was ready to recognize a line far west of the Sabine as the true western boundary of Louisiana, as defined by the treaty of 1803 with France, under which Louisiana was acquired. This negotiation, which had at first opened at Madrid, was broken off and transferred to Washington, where it was resumed, and resulted in the treaty with Florida, by which the Sabine was fixed on as the western boundary of Louisiana. From the ratification of the treaty of 1803 with France, until the treaty of 1819, with Spain, the territory now constituting the Republic of Texas, belonged to the United States. In 1819 the Florida treaty was concluded at Washington, by Mr. John Q. Adams, the Secretary of State, on the part of the United States, and Don Luis de Onís on the part of Spain; and by that treaty this territory lying west of the Sabine, and constituting Texas, was ceded by the United States to Spain. The Rio del Norte, or some more western boundary than the Sabine, could have been obtained, had it been insisted upon by the American Secretary of State, and by increasing the consideration paid for the Floridas. In my judgment, the country west of the Sabine, now called Texas, was most unwisely ceded away. It is a part of the great valley of the Mississippi, directly connected by its navigable waters with the Mississippi river; and having once been a part of our Union, it should never have been dismembered from it. The Government and

people of Texas, it is understood, not only give their consent, but are anxiously desirous to be reunited to the United States. If the application of Texas for a reunion and admission into our Confederacy, shall be rejected by the United States, there is imminent danger that she will become a dependency if not a colony of Great Britain, an event which no American patriot, anxious for the safety and prosperity of this country, could permit to occur without the most strenuous resistance. Let Texas be reannexed, and the authority and laws of the United States be established and maintained within her limits, as also in the Oregon Territory, and let the fixed policy of our Government be, not to permit Great Britain, or any other foreign power to plant a colony or hold dominion over any portion of the people or territory of either.

"These are my opinions; and without deeming it necessary to extend this letter, by assigning the many reasons which influence me in the conclusions to which I come, I regret to be compelled to differ so widely from the views expressed by yourselves, and the meeting of citizens of Cincinnati whom you represent. Differing, however, with you and with them as I do, it was due to frankness that I should be thus explicit in the declaration of my opinions.

"I am, with great respect,

"Your obedient servant,

"JAMES K. POLK.

"To Messrs. S. P. Chase, Thomas Heaton, &c., &c., Committee Cincinnati."

In 1844 Polk was again a candidate for the Democratic nomination for Vice-president at the convention which met in Baltimore on May 27th, but both he and his friends foresaw the possibility of the convention being compelled to take up a compromise man for President, and they were on the alert in that contingency to bring it about that Polk would be that compromise man. Conventions in Tennessee, Arkansas and Mississippi endorsed Polk for Vice-president.

The Convention of 1844 and the issue it raised on the immediate annexation of Texas forever crushed the presidential aspirations of Henry Clay, rendered Martin Van Buren a negligible factor in presidential politics, and made James K. Polk, President of the United States. Every candidate before the Convention was in favor of the immediate annexation of Texas, except Van Buren, and that alone rendered Van Buren's nomination impossible. In addition there was bitter antagonism between Lewis Cass of Michigan and Van Buren, each preferring almost anybody else to the other for the nomination, and this antagonism



eliminated them both. Polk had some very able politicians looking after his interests, and they judged the situation in advance precisely as it terminated.

#### THE NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION.

The National Democratic party met in Odd Fellow's Hall, Baltimore, Monday, May 27, 1844, at twelve o'clock. The outlook for the Democracy was not good. The party had been defeated by Harrison and Tyler in the last presidential election and Tyler was a candidate for the presidency again. The annexation of Texas was the issue on which northern and southern Democrats were divided and it was everywhere known that Martin Van Buren was opposed to the immediate annexation of Texas, and would have at least a majority voting strength in the Democratic convention. Many Democratic leaders doubted even the possibility of the convention making a nomination at all, and the student who studies the situation of the Democratic party of that day is forced to the conclusion that no nomination could have been made except in the way it was done, and no nominee of the convention could have been successful except James K. Polk. Our judgment in review is generally much better than in forecast. For sometime after Polk received his nomination the outlook for the election was not bright.

The personnel of the convention we judge to be high, from this description by the Baltimore Sun at that time:

"In their united capacity they presented as respectable and dignified a body as we have ever seen convened on a similar or any other occasion. The familiar faces of honorable gentlemen, whose talents, elevated position and popular character have made their names and fame household words throughout the country, were encountered at every glance by the eye practiced in the political world; while others composing the assembly maintained in all appearance that dignified character which to the observer pervaded the whole."

Hendrick B. Wright was elected temporary chairman and William F. Ritchie, son of the veteran editor of the Richmond Enquirer, temporary secretary.

After prayer had been offered the convention met its first stumbling block in a motion to adopt the two-thirds rule in making the nomination for president. This motion was, however, withdrawn until a permanent organization could be effected.

The first move in that direction was the appointment of a committee on credentials, as follows: Maine, Mr. Stetson; New Hampshire, Gov. Hubbard; Massachusetts, Mr. Bancroft; Vermont, Mr. Hunt; Rhode Island, Mr. Below; Connecticut, Mr. Towson; New York, Mr. H. K. Smith; New Jersey, Mr. P. B. Kennedy; Pennsylvania, Mr. J. Bredin; Maryland, Gen. B. C. Howard; Delaware, Mr. J. N. Sutton; Virginia, Mr. W. H. Roane; North Carolina, Mr. John Hill; South Carolina, vacancy; Alabama, Mr. Shields; Mississippi, Hon. R. J. Walker; Louisiana, Mr. Leonard; Tennessee, Hon. Cave Johnson; Kentucky, Hon. J. W. Tibbatts; Ohio, T. W. Bartley; Indiana, Mr. Wright; Illinois, Mr. J. Dunlap; Missouri, Mr. T. M. Price; Michigan, Mr. R. S. Wilson; Georgia, Mr. F. H. Cone; Arkansas, Mr. Fulton.

South Carolina was not represented in the convention.

A committee on permanent organization was appointed as follows: Maine, Mr. N. Clifford; N. Hampshire, Mr. J. Eaton; Massachusetts, Mr. Abbott; Vermont, Mr. E. B. Norris; Rhode Island, Mr. H. Willard; Connecticut, Mr. N. Billings; New York, Mr. E. Corning; New Jersey, Mr. J. M. Hartshorne; Pennsylvania, Mr. J. R. Shannon; Maryland, Mr. P. F. Thomas; Delaware, Mr. W. H. Ross; Virginia, Gen'l. Chapman; N. Carolina, Mr. Blount; Georgia, Hon. W. T. Colquit; Alabama, Mr. P. Williams; Mississippi, Mr. Thompson; Louisiana, Mr. Leonard; Tennessee, Mr. A. V. Brown; Kentucky, Mr. Richard French; Arkansas, Mr. E. Cross; Ohio, Mr. S. Medairy; Indiana, Mr. W. A. Bolle; Illinois, Mr. D. Buckmaster; Missouri, Mr. J. Miller; Michigan, Mr. O. V. Dibble.

The committee on credentials reported the number of delegates attending from Maine 9, New Hampshire 6, Massachusetts 12, Vermont 6, Rhode Island 4, Connecticut 6, New York 36, New Jersey 7, Pennsylvania 26, Delaware 2, Maryland 8, Virginia 53, Georgia 10, Alabama 5, Mississippi 14, Louisiana 2, Tennessee 13, Kentucky 29, Ohio 23, Indiana 12, Illinois 9, Michigan 5, Missouri 8, Arkansas 3; total 308.

The committee on permanent organization reported the following as the permanent officers of the convention:

President, H. C. Wright, of Pennsylvania.

Vice Presidents, S. Emory, of Maine; H. Hubbard, of New Hampshire; H. H. Childs, of Massachusetts; L. B. Hunt, of Vermont; O. Ballou, of Rhode Island; R. J. Ingersoll, of Connecticut; Samuel Young, of New York; Jos. E. Edsell, of New

Jersey; J. L. Dawson, of Pennsylvania; Wm. Frick, of Maryland; J. N. Sutton, of Delaware; W. H. Roane, of Virginia; R. M. Saunders, of North Carolina; J. H. Howard, of Georgia; B. G. Shields, of Alabama; P. Ellis, of Mississippi; T. M. Williams, of Louisiana; Cave Johnson, of Tennessee; Lynn Boyd, of Kentucky; Wm. S. Fullens, of Arkansas; N. Shomacher, of Ohio; E. A. Brown, of Indiana; J. Snow, of Illinois; J. Kauffman, of Missouri; R. S. Wilson, of Michigan.

Secretaries, Wm. F. Ritchie, of Virginia; T. B. Mitchell, of New York; G. A. Vroom, of New Jersey; C. A. Bradford, of Mississippi; H. H. Carroll, of New Hampshire; W. D. Morgan, of Ohio.

Mr. Saunders, of North Carolina, proposed a resolution that the convention be governed by the rules of the convention of 1832, which included the two-thirds rule, and over this motion a storm raged for four hours, and on the convention's action on this motion depended the fate of Martin Van Buren for the nomination. It was known in advance that while Mr. Van Buren unquestionably had a majority in the convention, he could not get two-thirds, and if the two-thirds rule should be adopted, Mr. Van Buren would be a defeated man even before the first ballot was taken. The discussion was warm at times, but it was clear that the leaders were going to adopt the rules of the convention of 1832, and on the vote being taken by states, the rule was endorsed, and Van Buren instantly became a presidential corpse. The vote by states on the two-thirds rule was as follows:

	Yeas.	Nays.		Yeas.	Nays.
Maine.....	0	9	Alabama.....	9	0
New Hampshire.....	0	6	Mississippi.....	6	0
Massachusetts....	5	7	Louisiana.....	6	0
Vermont.....	3	3	Tennessee.....	13	0
Rhode Island.....	2	2	Kentucky.....	12	0
Connecticut.....	3	3	Ohio.....	0	23
New York.....	0	38	Indiana.....	12	0
New Jersey.....	7	0	Illinois.....	9	0
Pennsylvania.....	12	13	Michigan.....	5	0
Delaware.....	3	0	Missouri.....	0	7
Maryland.....	6	2	Arkansas.....	3	0
Virginia.....	17	0			
North Carolina..	5	5		148	118
Georgia.....	10	0			

At half past one o'clock the convention adjourned to meet at three P. M.

On re-convening at three o'clock the Convention proceeded to ballot. We recapitulate the vote down to and including the 7th ballot. There were 266 votes cast on each ballot, South Carolina not being represented, and 178 were necessary to a choice.

## RECAPITULATION.

	Van Buren	Cass	John- son	Wood- bury	Stew- art	Cal- houn	Buch- anan
1st ballot.....	151	84	24	2	1	6	4
2nd ballot.....	127	94	--	--	--	--	--
3rd ballot.....	121	92	38	2	--	2	11
4th ballot.....	111	105	32	--	--	1	17
5th ballot.....	103	107	29	--	--	1	26
6th ballot.....	101	116	23	--	--	1	25
7th ballot.....	99	123	21	--	--	1	22

An eighth ballot was called for but not taken until the next day. The convention adjourned to Wednesday, which was its third day, at nine o'clock A. M. In the interim after we may be sure many conferences, it was determined that Van Buren could not be nominated under the two-thirds rule and should be withdrawn, and James K. Polk placed in nomination in his stead.

We will let George Bancroft tell what he did in this interim on behalf of Polk, in a letter addressed by him to J. George Harris on August 3, 1887.

GEORGE BANCROFT TO J. GEORGE HARRIS.

"Newport, R. I., August 30, 1887.

"My dear Harris:

"I was very much pleased at receiving your letter of the 25th of April. Of John Y. Mason, probably your opinion does not differ from mine, or rather my opinion does not differ from yours. Mason wished to stay in Polk's cabinet and the bond between them was, that they both had been educated together in the University of North Carolina and were I think of the same class; at any rate that was the reason Polk gave to me for his intimacy with him, and his excuse for having taken him and him alone from the old cabinet.

"As to you, I remember very well that I gave you the best order to some large ship and good station, almost immediately on your appointment in the Navy, and what followed takes me by surprise because you should have had time enough at sea, so as to have become entitled to employment or rest on shore. Certainly I, yielding to various importunities or suggestions, had been very kind indeed to John Y. Mason and to his family, so that he never ought to have behaved unpleasantly towards a dear personal friend of mine. If I remember rightly, and I am sure that I do, on giving you your commission, I gave you the orders



which I knew you wished to receive; and had supposed that those orders would have secured you all that you wanted during Polk's administration. Certainly you were rightly entitled to have appealed to Polk himself, if he had but known as well as I did, how entirely Polk owed his nomination by the Democratic Convention to me. I do not know that I ever told you that I went into the nominating convention enjoying the perfect confidence of the delegation of Massachusetts, confidence that was so great that I might almost call it the power of direction.

"Van Buren lost the nomination by his declaration against the annexation of Texas, which was not made better by his promising to annex Texas if the Democrats were determined to impose that condition on their candidate. In this way, by Van Buren's own acts, it became impossible to name him; and Virginia came out with a vote for Cass which was followed by others and was rapidly making great headway, and would soon have carried the day in the convention. But I knew perfectly well that Cass could not have been elected. The hatred and jealousy which Van Buren bore him made it absolutely and undisputedly impossible for him to carry the State of New York, and without New York his success would have been desperate or rather impossible. Under those circumstances, I was the one who, of my own mind and choice, first, on the adjournment of the nominating convention, for the day resolved to secure the nomination of Polk. I went first and called our own delegation together, and they instantly and unanimously agreed with me in his favor. I then went and saw the New York delegation, and they also perceived how the case lay; but of course needed to proceed with more caution and more complete deference to Mr. Van Buren's wishes than those of any other State; but they looked at the case with exactly the same eyes as I did. Van Buren implacably detested the thought of Cass as a candidate.

"I proceeded to the delegation of Tennessee and they naturally accepted the name of Polk joyfully and distributed among themselves that part of the work which I thought they could best do. We went on in this manner; and I remember perfectly that we had gone to so many States with the nomination of Polk, and had met with such success that I knew his name would certainly be brought forward the next morning with the certainty of his gaining the nomination. I remember perfectly well meeting Charles Greene, of the Boston Post, about eleven o'clock of the night, explaining to him what I had done, of what States I had made myself sure, and those States were enough to decide the choice of the nominee. I remember this the more because he afterwards used to say of me generally, that I persisted in attention to a matter in hand until I finished it; and he said of this that I had come home to the inn ready to retire only after I had completed the work I had undertaken and made sure of the result of the next day, the substitution of the name of Polk as the Democratic candidate.

"Now, my good friend, my most decided preference for Polk had too its cause, that I thought him a statesman, far, very far, superior to Cass. My intimacy with him was entirely connected with you, was not indeed first inspired by you, as I knew him before I knew you, but was indeed connected with you and proceeded in perfect harmony with you. When you found yourself receiving orders such as should not be given you by Mason, you ought to have written me in England, where I was, and still more you ought to have gone directly to Polk and claimed a reversal of the orders.

"I safely received and have worked away very industriously and thoroughly on Polk's papers. His character shines out in them just exactly as the man he was, prudent, far-sighted, bold, excelling any Democrat of his day in his undeviatingly correct exposition of the Democratic principles; and, in short, as I think, judging of him as I knew him, and judging of him by the results of his administration, one of the very foremost of our public men and one of the very best and most honest and most successful Presidents the country ever had.

"If my life and mind should hold out so as to enable me to write a concise history of Polk's administration, what help could you render me in the undertaking?

"Present me most kindly to Mrs. Polk when you see her.

Ever affectionately your friend,

"J. Geo. Harris, Esq.,

"GEO. BANCROFT.

Nashville, Tennessee.

On Wednesday, the 29th, Polk's name was placed in nomination for the 8th ballot, and he received 44 votes, and there was still no nomination. The Virginia and Pennsylvania delegations asked leave to retire for consultation.

The roll call for the 9th ballot began and various States requested to be passed. The voting progressed until thirteen States had voted as follows:

	Cass	Polk
Maine.....	1	8
New Hampshire.....	0	6
Massachusetts.....	2	10
Vermont.....	6	0
Rhode Island.....	0	4
Connecticut.....	0	6
New Jersey.....	5	2
Maryland.....	1	7
Alabama.....	0	9
Louisiana.....	0	6
Tennessee.....	0	13
Michigan.....	5	0
Arkansas.....	0	3
	20	74

The Virginia delegation was the first of the consulting delegations to return, and announced to the convention that it would await the New York delegation which, on arriving, Mr. Roane, Chairman of the Virginia delegation, announced that his delegation had concluded to cast its vote for James K. Polk, upon which there was much cheering.

Mr. Butler, of New York, responded to Mr. Roane, and informed the convention of the proceedings of his State delegation; paid a personal compliment to Mr. Roane and his ancestry; to Virginia as a State; to Thomas Jefferson; passed eloquent eulogiums on Mr. Van Buren and Gen. Jackson, giving an account of some conversation he had with the latter on the occasion of his recent visit to the Hermitage. He also stated the fact that he had in his possession a letter from Mr. Van Buren (which was kept entirely secret from his colleagues) authorizing him to withdraw his name from the convention at any moment such a step might be necessary to its harmonious action; and, coming to this hall this morning, he had taken the advice of Pennsylvania and other States on this subject, and with their consent and advice, had determined to withdraw him, and thus relieve his friends from further difficulty and embarrassment. (loud cheering). He then indicated the vote he was about to give; eulogized James K. Polk; explained his own views on what constituted the true Democratic doctrine; advocated construction of the constitution; denied the right of exercising any implied powers; said Mr. Polk was the most available candidate—available in the highest degree—and that he could carry New York by at least 15,000 majority. Her delegation, he said, would cast thirty-five votes in his favor, the remaining member preferring to vote a blank. In explaining the motives which had operated upon him (Mr. B.) in so earnestly pressing the claims of Mr. Van Buren, he alluded to Gen. Jackson's opinion concerning that distinguished gentleman as expressed to him during his visit to the Hermitage, and from whom he had received a letter on the subject since he had reached the convention, by the hands of a relative of Gen. Jackson, who was a member of the Tennessee delegation. The conclusion of this letter was read by Mr. B., and is substantially as follows:

“May God bless you, my dear friend, and preside over the deliberations of the convention, and may its labors result in reconciling all differences of opinion and uniting its members in the nomination of Mr. Van Buren.”

After Mr. Butler's speech, Mr. Dickinson, of New York, arose and gave New York's thirty-five votes to Mr. Polk.

All the States which were passed on the first call of the roll now voted and gave their votes to Mr. Polk, and some States which had voted for another candidate changed their votes to Polk, and it was announced by the President that 266 votes had been cast and 178 were necessary to a choice, and that James K. Polk had received 266 votes.

#### NOMINATION FOR VICE-PRESIDENT.

That afternoon the convention nominated Silas Wright, of New York, for Vice-President, giving him 256 votes, and adjourned for the day. The Georgia delegation cast 2 votes for Mr. Wright and 8 for Levi Woodbury, of New Hampshire.

The next morning Benjamin F. Butler, of New York, read a letter which he had just received from Mr. Wright.

#### SILAS WRIGHT TO BENJAMIN F. BUTLER.

"Washington, the 29th of May, 1884.

"My Dear Sir: Being advised that the convention of which you are a member has conferred upon, me the unmerited honor of nominating me as a candidate for the office of Vice-President, will you, if this information is correct, present my profound thanks to the convention for this mark of confidence and favor, and say for me that circumstances which I do not think it necessary to detail to you, but which I very briefly hint at to you (in another private letter to Mr. Butler) render it impossible that I should, consistently with my sense of public duty and private obligations, accept this nomination.

I am, with great respect, your obedient servant,  
Hon. B. F. Butler. "SILAS WRIGHT.

The convention then balloted again for Vice-President for two ballots: first ballot, Gov. Fairfield, of Missouri, 107; Woodbury, of New Hampshire, 44; Cass, of Michigan, 39; Richard M. Johnson, of Kentucky, 26; Commodore Stewart, of Pennsylvania, 23; G. M. Dallas, of Philadelphia, 13; Gov. Marcy, of New York, 5; no choice.

Second ballot, G. M. Dallas, 220; Gov. Fairfield, 30; Woodbury, 6; So Dallas was nominated.

In the election which followed in November, Polk and Dallas received the electoral votes of Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Illinois, Indiana, Louisiana, Maine, Michigan, Mississippi, Missouri, New Hampshire, New York, Pennsylvania, South Carolina and



Virginia, total 170. Clay and Frelinghuysen received the electoral vote of Connecticut, Delaware, Kentucky, Maryland, Massachusetts, New Jersey, North Carolina, Ohio, Rhode Island, Tennessee and Vermont; total 105

The convention appointed a committee to notify the nominees of their nomination and the following letter was sent to Mr. Polk at Columbia, Tennessee.

NOTIFICATION LETTER TO POLK.

"Baltimore, May 29, 1844.

"Sir: At a Democratic national convention of delegates from the several States of this Union, convened on the 27th instant, and now sitting in the city of Baltimore, for the purpose of nominating candidates to be supported for the Presidency and Vice-Presidency of the United States at the ensuing election, the Hon. James K. Polk, of Tennessee, having been designated by the whole number of votes given, to be the candidate of the Democratic party for the President of the United States, was declared to be unanimously nominated for that office.

"The undersigned were appointed a committee to request your acceptance of the nomination thus unanimously tendered to you; and they cannot forbear to express the high gratification which they experience in the performance of this duty, and the hope which they confidently entertain, in common with their colleagues of the convention, that the devotion to the cause of Democratic principles which has always characterized your conduct, will not suffer you to turn a deaf ear to the call of our country, when, in a manner so honorable to yourself, she demands your distinguished services. We have the honor to be your obedient servants.

"HENRY HUBBARD,  
WILLIAM H. ROANE,  
BENJ. H. BREWSTER,  
ROMULUS M. SAUNDERS,  
ROBERT RANTOUL, Jr.

"Committee of the Democratic National Convention at Baltimore.

Hon. J. K. Polk, Columbia, Tennessee.

POLK'S LETTER OF ACCEPTANCE.

Columbia, Tenn., June 12, 1844.

Gentlemen: I have had the honor to receive your letter of the 29th ultimo, informing me that the Democratic National Convention, then assembled at Baltimore, had designated me to be the candidate of the Democratic Party for President of the United States, and that I had been unanimously nominated for that office.

"It has been well observed, that the office of President of the United States should never be sought nor declined. I have never

sought it, nor shall I feel at liberty to decline it, if conferred upon me by the voluntary suffrages of my fellow citizens. In accepting the nomination, I am deeply impressed with the distinguished honor which has been conferred upon me by my republican friends, and am duly sensible of the great and mighty responsibilities which must ever devolve on any citizen who may be called to fill the high station of President of the United States.

"I deem the present to be a proper occasion to declare, that if the nomination made by the convention shall be confirmed by the people, and result in my election, I shall enter upon the discharge of the high and solemn duties of the office with the settled purpose of not being a candidate for re-election. In the event of my election, it shall be my constant aim, by a strict adherence to the old republican landmarks, to maintain and preserve the public prosperity, and at the end of four years, I am resolved to retire to private life. In assuming this position, I feel that I not only impose on myself a salutary restraint, but that I take the most effective means in my power of enabling the Democratic party to make a free selection of a successor who may be best calculated to give effect to their will, and guard all the interests of our beloved country.

"With great respect, I have the honor to be,  
Your ob't servant,

"JAMES K. POLK.

"To Messrs. Henry Hubbard, Wm. H. Roane, Benjamin H. Brewster, Romulus M. Saunders, Robert Rantoul, Jr., committee of the Democratic National Convention at Baltimore.

GEORGE BANCROFT TO JAMES KNOX POLK.

"Boston, July 6, 1844.

"The last time I had the pleasure of conversing with you was a fine frosty morning when, after our long interview, we took a quiet walk just before you were leaving the scene of your fourteen years' service for the arduous and to you most glorious campaign of 1839. I watched your progress with intense interest, made the more near and personal by the zeal of our friend Harris, and I shared in the exultation that followed your unexampled success.

"My eye was immediately turned toward you for the service of the nation and our Massachusetts democracy, which at any rate has to rely on firm opinions and men to meet the immense opposition of the fairest and wealthiest aristocracy of our country, and which at all times has the hearty sympathy of its friends in New England, very readily received and acted upon the suggestion of rallying around you on the ticket with Van Buren. The convention of 1840 most unwisely did not make the nomination and by that neglect greatly weakened the ticket.

"This year before the assembling of the National Convention of which body I was delegate for the State, I did not fail to put myself in correspondence with my friends of New Hampshire and

New York and other States; and while some friends of Mr. V. B. seemed to think that R. M. Johnson should be nominated, V.-P.; I took every occasion to express the opinion, in which I found afterwards, that Gen. Jackson coincided, that the choice should fall to none other than yourself. Mr. Wright of New York encouraged me in concentrating opinion on you.

"At the convention I immediately exchanged a few words with our friend Gen. Pillow, of your Neighborhood, who conducted himself throughout with the modesty and firmness, which deserved the highest commendation; and I renewed my old acquaintance with Gen. Donelson. I was able to assure them that on the first ballot for V.-P. Massachusetts would certainly throw ten, possibly twelve votes for yourself.

"You know the events of Monday and Tuesday. On Tuesday many of my friends gave way to despair. Cass was game. R. M. Johnson and all doubtful ones, were ready to join him; this would have swelled his vote to 157, and then it would have seemed fractious to have held out. It flashed on my mind that it would be alone safe to rally on you. This I mentioned to my friend, Mr. Carrol, of Concord, New Hampshire, who fell into it heartily. We spoke with Gov. Hubbard; he agreed; and the N. H. delegation were fixed. I then opened the matter to our excellent friend, Gov. Morton of our delegation, and he coincided, and his coinciding was very important. I then went to your faithful friends, Gen. Pillow and Donelson. They informed me that if we, of N. E. would lead off, they would follow with Mississippi and Alabama and some others. Mississippi hesitated.

"Certain of this, I repaired with Gen. Donelson and Pillow to the house where the delegations of Ohio and New York, and I spent the time till midnight in arguing with them. Mr. Medary saw the bearings of the matter, and before I left the hotel, assured me his delegation would go for Polk rather than for Cass. With many of the New York delegation I spoke, but opened the matter most fully to our friend Governor Kemble, who I think was in Congress with you. You may suppose that the N. Y. delegation was in a great state of agitation. Kemble was calm and decided. After hearing me at length, he gave in his adhesion decidedly to my views of the duty of V. B's. supporters and such were his statements, that I returned to my lodgings.

"I returned to my lodgings before midnight tranquil and happy. I enjoyed as quiet sleep as you did on the night before your journey to Warrensburg. In the morning I saw my friend Fink, State delegate of Maryland, who heartily came into the scheme, and Pillow, I believe, and I certainly spoke with the principal delegates from Louisiana, who was at once hearty for the course.

"It came to voting. You should have heard the cheers as Hubbard, for N. H. and I, for Massachusetts, announced the whole vote of N. H., I the majority of Massachusetts. But the thing that pleased me most was, to see the Virginia delegation, all

vehement for Cass taken aback, and I had the feeling of triumph as I saw Roane lead out his Virginia train to consult, and return to announce a change of vote from Cass to yourself.

"On reaching home, I met my constituents in Faneuil Hall, largest Democratic meeting I ever saw there; they listened to my tale for an hour and a half, and broke the silence only by bursts of delight at the nominations.

"By the special invitation of our N. H. friends, I went to their great ratification meeting, where I found your hearty and ardent friend, Franklin Pierce, a man of true metal, a fine fellow, when in Congress with you; but improved in talent and power by assiduous culture. Here was the same enthusiasm.

"Day before yesterday I was at Worcester: a great gathering: and but one heart.

"You will be pleased, I am sure, to know that Mr. Van Buren most heartily in conversation and with his pen zealously advocates your election. Yesterday I received from him a long letter, from which I quote confidentially the following words:

"The success of a nominee is of vital importance to the country. That they will succeed I have not the slightest doubt. In this State, unless we get into a distracted snarl about our Governor (which I do not anticipate) our success will be very great. It is not possible that our friends could be more zealous. . . .

"You can have little leisure to write; were you to find a moment's time, I should be charmed to receive a letter from you. But at any rate, you may rely on the enthusiastic and determined support of the Democracy of New England."

The progress of the campaign brought forth some curious arguments by the respective sides. One of these arguments made by the Whigs for the defeat of Polk was that Polk's ancestors in North Carolina had been Tories during the Revolutionary War, and the Democratic State Central Committee of Tennessee evidently took the argument seriously, for they issued a pamphlet in defense, especially of Ezekiel Polk, the grandfather of the Democratic nominee.

This assault on Polk's ancestors is referred to, among other things, in a letter written by Jeremiah George Harris, commonly known in the history of the times as J. George Harris, addressed to George Bancroft:

J. GEORGE HARRIS TO GEORGE BANCROFT.

"My Dear Mr. Bancroft:—

"Mr. Polk, as I knew him from the time he became a candidate for Governor of Tennessee to the time of his inauguration to the Presidency, was not only one of the most active politicians I ever knew, but was ever careful of his own record—always striving to



be consistent in his advocacy of the principles and policy of Jefferson. He made the issue with the Whigs like that of the Republicans of 1800 with the Federalist, holding that we had nothing to fear so much as a too strong government, and an infringement upon the rights reserved for the States and the people by the Constitution, which the Whigs inclined to favor. You know it was the popular side of politics in the South at that time Clay's Whigism was made to appear as odious as Hamilton's Federalism and Polk labored throughout all his speeches to show they were identical in principle. He denominated the opposition leaders in Tennessee who had not yet gone entirely over to Clay but had stopped with Judge White at what Gen. Jackson called 'the half-way house' as the Federal Whig Leaders of Tennessee, and freely quoted from the writings of Jefferson to show that they were the old Federalists under another name. And before the coming of election day a majority of the voters embraced his opinions, as shown at the polls.

"Mr. Polk was greatly assisted in his electioneering speeches throughout the State by his ever careful and accomplished wife, who shared his ambition and in his absence was custodian of his documents and papers useful in debate. She knew where every authority was that he might want to refer to, and if written to, by him on his electioneering tours, could lay her hand on what he wanted and forward it to him, nor was this a difficult task for the perfect order in which they were kept and labelled was a part of that method in all things for which he was remarkable.

"His physical endurance in his first Governatorial campaign of 1839 was truly wonderful. For three or four months prior to the August election he was constantly in the saddle—and rode into every County of the State from the Virginia line to the Mississippi River, making sometimes as many as two or three speeches a day, and sleeping in the rude log cabins by the roadside wherever he could find shelter and feed for his horse. On several occasions the people would assemble in the road on hearing that he was to come riding along, where he would dismount and make them a speech. He had a happy faculty of turning the periods of his argumentative speeches with illustrating and amusing stories which the plain and honest people always received with great applause—and his telling anecdotes which suited his arguments in the minds of his hearers, were always chosen to suit the character of the crowd addressed. In arguments before the people he was generally dignified and statesmanlike, commanding attention and respect; but when clinching the argument with a rustic anecdote, he descended to the popular level by grimaces and the peculiar patois of the hills and hollows, he never failed to convulse his audience which he so well understood. His electioneering speeches were always adapted to the locality in which he was speaking and the character of the crowd he was addressing.

"But the 'coonskin campaign' of 1842, with its big balls, coons, hard cider and the like, which resulted in the election of Harrison,

was a little too much for him. I heard him say that no matter how sound and convincing the argument in debate, a fellow from the mountains would spring up in the audience, pull a coon's skin from his pocket, give it a blow of his breath and exclaim 'Did you ever see such fine fur?' which would knock all the strength out of his argument! At our defeat he was very much disgusted.

"In the Presidential campaign, Mr. Polk was made uneasy by the misrepresentations of the opposition—writing me from Columbia almost every day to correct them; giving me facts and asking me to knock them into shape for publication. He was very much exercised when the opposition assailed the memory of his North Carolina ancestors as though they were tories—and was indefatigable in producing proof which he did that they were true patriots and participated in the Revolutionary War. He did not care to be prominent or even visible in such corrections but called upon his friends to make them upon evidence that he furnished. His life was upright—his course as a public man carefully guarded and consistent—and hence his great sensitiveness to unjust criticism. It was apparent that the Presidency placed him under controlling influences that he could not avoid and which never governed him before—influences that he was in honor bound to respect.

"Sitting at my table this quiet Sabbath afternoon, and thinking how it can be possible to aid you to any extent in the preparation of your history of Polk's administration, I have roughly been telling you of some events that may perhaps inspire in you a line of thought and give rise to an idea that had not occurred to you. And yet I cannot suppose that I can add to your knowledge of Polk. I have adverted to incidents in his life before he became President, when perhaps I knew him more intimately than you did and may have struck a new vein in some extent.

"I could tell you of some small matters in the way of anecdote that might amuse you, but which are not pertinent to sober history. I will however take the liberty of adverting to one.

"After the Democratic Legislature, elected with him in 1839, had assembled and organized, Gov. Polk stepped into my office one morning and asked me how I would like to go with him and take a look at it. I replied that it would afford me great pleasure, especially with the Governor of the State. As we entered the House of Representatives, the doorkeeper announced: 'The Governor of the State and Col. Harris of the Union.' The venerable Speaker rose and said: 'Invite the gentlemen to step within the little railing around the Speaker's seat.' A young man was at the time making a speech, pounding his desk, and denouncing the aristocracy. I asked the Governor in a whisper who he was. He replied 'that is a tailor from Greene who was opposed to us a year ago but is now one of my most efficient friends—I wish you would look out for him.' So pulling out my tablet, I kept the run of his somewhat incoherent speech, leaving out that which I thought did not adorn it, and with words of commendation printed it in the Union. He

seemed to be so much pleased with my report, but said *I had not told all he said!* This Representative from Greene, dressed in his suit of Kentucky jeans made by himself, was Andrew Jackson.

"If, in preparing your history, you should desire any information upon a particular point that I may understand, bearing on his career here in Tennessee, you know, my great and good friend, that you have only to ask or rather tell me to afford it. I shall respond with pleasure.

"Always your friend,

"J. GEO. HARRIS.

"Nashville, Tenn., 50 So. Spruce St.,  
Sept. 17, 1887.

JEREMIAH GEORGE HARRIS.

Jeremiah George Harris was a native of New London, Conn., where he was born October 23, 1809. He was of English descent. After becoming of age he was the editor of newspapers in Connecticut and Massachusetts before he came to Tennessee, and became known as a writer of ability and his services were sought by politicians in Washington who were interested in making Tennessee again a Democratic State. In the winter of 1838-9, plans were formed to redeem Tennessee from the domination of the Whigs, and after the fourth of March, when his term as Congressman expired, James K. Polk came home and declared himself a candidate for Governor of Tennessee at the election to be held in August; and to help along the plans of the Democrats, Jeremiah George Harris was engaged to become editor of "The Nashville Union", and he came to Nashville in January, 1839, and took charge of the paper. The contest for Governor was a robust, aggressive and ardent contest, and Polk defeated Governor Cannon, and the Democrats carried both branches of the State Legislature.

Harris' services as editor were very highly prized by the successful Democrats, who were of the opinion that he had no equal as an editor in Tennessee. In 1842 he married a daughter of James McGavock, of Nashville, and in 1843 he was commissioned by Daniel Webster, then Secretary of State, as United States Commercial Agent in Europe, and went abroad in that capacity. He came back to America in 1844 and conducted "The Union" during the Presidential campaign which resulted in the election of Polk. In 1845 he was appointed Disbursing Officer of the Navy, which position, with others in the Navy, he held for the rest of his life.

The Democratic State Central Committee secured depositions and statements and affidavits from many persons in Tennessee,

North Carolina, South Carolina and other places, in vindication of the Polk family. Among others, they secured from Andrew Jackson a letter for publication. We present the introductory part of the pamphlet above referred to and Jackson's letter as curious illustrations of the ways of politics among our ancestors.

"VINDICATION  
OF THE  
"REVOLUTIONARY CHARACTER AND SERVICES  
OF THE LATE  
"COL. EZEKIEL POLK  
"OF MECKLENBURG, N. C.

"Published and prepared by order of the Tennessee State Central Committee.

"In all communities, and in all ages of the world, there has existed a class of men, who, suffering under a galling sense of conscious inferiority, and despairing of improving their own condition by a course of manly and virtuous conduct, prostitute themselves to the ignoble purpose of detracting from merits and defaming the character of the virtuous, the patriotic, and the good. Has any one attained a niche in the temple of fame, to which the base and vicious dare not aspire, he becomes at once an object of their calumny and detraction. Time and truth and justice rarely fail to expose the motives, and counteract the effect of the assaults. Tested by fire the crucible metals become more pure and brilliant, and coin is often not known to be genuine, until subjected to this ordeal. It is so with the character of men. In our country, and especially in seasons of political excitement, illiberal opponents traduce and villify, whilst honorable and candid men of all parties will scrutinize the facts and ultimately award a just verdict.

"The false and calumnious charges which have recently been made against the revolutionary character and services of Col. Ezekiel Polk, are intended not so much to defame the patriotic dead, as to effect the popularity and well-earned fame of his grandson, James K. Polk, who has been presented by the Democratic party to the people of the United States as their candidate for the Presidency. How ignoble the purpose, and how despicable the means resorted to to effect it. The charge is not only unsustained by proof, but fortunately the evidence is still in existence to show that it is calumnious and wickedly false. It has been the fortune of James K. Polk, the Democratic candidate for the Presidency, to have passed repeatedly through the fiery ordeal of the closest scrutiny while canvassing for public station before the people. He has had on every occasion competitors and political opponents who



have with eagle eyes examined every act of his life. His conduct in all private relations of citizen, neighbor, son, husband, brother, friend; his official acts as Representative in the State Legislature, and in the Congress of the United States for fourteen successive years, and as Speaker of the House of Representatives, and as Governor of Tennessee, have all been the subject of public examination; and even his political opponents admit that he has passed through the scrutiny with a character, private and public, pure and unspotted. Not a stain rests upon his escutcheon—not a blot sullies the purity of his fair fame. In the private relations of life, he is known to be as amiable and worthy, as in public and official acts he is admitted to be consistent and irreproachable. In the private circles of society he shares largely, not only in the respect, but in the esteem of those politically opposed to him. It is certainly a matter of congratulation and of pride to the friends of James K. Polk, that in the midst of the rancor of political animosity, and the assaults of partisan warfare, the more reckless of his political opponents, having sought in vain for any part of his own conduct in life which they can successfully assail, have been driven to the disgraceful necessity of invading the sanctity of the tomb, of digging up the smoldering bones of one of his ancestors, who has slept with his fathers for near a quarter of a century; and by assailing his character, and making false representations of his conduct in the glorious War of the Revolution, seek to make political capital against his grandson. This infamous attempt has met with few apologists in the Whig party in Tennessee, where James K. Polk is best known. To their honor and credit be it spoken that most of them have refused to stoop to such means, and repudiate it as unworthy of their cause. Their leading presses have refused to lend themselves to purposes so ignoble and base. It is a sin against nature, *Demortius nil nisi bonum*, is a maxim which finds a cordial response in every manly and patriotic bosom. The charges made against the memory of Col. Ezekiel Polk are for acts on his part falsely alleged to have occurred twenty years before James K. Polk was born, and half a century before he entered the stormy sea of political life. They made, too, twenty years after the death of Ezekiel Polk, and must, therefore, even if true, when levelled at the fame of his grandson, fall harmless at his feet. But they are not true, and justice to the memory of the patriotic dead, the Whig soldier of the Revolution, and the outraged feelings of a very numerous and respectable family of the direct and collateral lines, embracing in it many members of both the present political parties of respectable and unblemished character, as well as the sacred demands of truth, require that the reputation of the slandered dead shall be vindicated.

“The charge when first made, was that Samuel Polk, the father of James K. Polk, was a tory in the Revolution. It was soon, however, ascertained that Samuel Polk was not born until the year 1772, and was not three years old when the War of the Revolution

broke out. That was abandoned, and then the charge was made that Ezekiel Polk, the grand father, and not the father, was a tory. The charge against the one was as false as against the other. The numerous posterity and collateral relations of the late Col. Ezekiel Polk may well be proud of his history, and especially of his patriotic conduct in the War of the Revolution. They only may not object, but now, that the charge is made, they may confidently and proudly demand that the fullest possible examination shall be fairly and impartially had.

"In the Revolutionary history of the Carolinas the name of Polk has always been intimately associated with patriotism, valor, public spirit, a firm and unyielding attachment to the cause of the colonies, struggling to break the bonds of British oppression and to establish free government. In a volume published by the Governor of North Carolina, and by the direction of the General Assembly of that State," it is fully established that a Declaration of Independence and resolutions, were passed by the citizens of Mecklenburg County, North Carolina, (the residence of the Polk family) on the 20th of May, 1775, by which they absorbed themselves from all allegiance to the British Crown, and 'declared themselves a free, sovereign, and self-governing association.' These bold and patriotic proceedings were sustained and carried through by the leading and most influential men of that County, and amongst others, by two brothers, Thomas and Ezekiel Polk. The proof of this is most incontrovertible.

Jackson's letter was as follows:

ANDREW JACKSON TO A GENTLEMAN OF NORTH CAROLINA.

"Hermitage, July 12, 1844.

"Sir:

"I have just received your letter of the 30th ultimo, informing me that ———— recently declared 'that he traveled through Tennessee at the time Gov. Polk was for the first time a candidate for Governor, and that his opponents (the Whigs) then brought the charge of his grandfather's being a tory against him, and that the Democrats of Tennessee met the charge by throwing it upon the North Carolina branch of the Polk family, that is, Col. Thomas Polk,' and you desire me to state for your information, and that of the people, what I know of the facts. In reply I state with pleasure that I know all the old stock of Polks—Col. Thomas Polk, father of Col. William Polk, and Ezekiel Polk, grandfather of Col. James K. Polk. They were all good 1776 Whigs. Old Col. Thomas Polk was the first mover of independence in Mecklenburg County. All the Polks then grown were good 1776 Whigs; and Col. Polk, son of Thomas, was twice wounded in the War of the Revolution, and I think he had a brother killed in battle. I never knew one branch of the family to be charged with toryism

before. If such a rumor was circulated during the canvass referred to, I never heard of it.

"I am gratified thus to be able to give my testimony to the Revolutionary services and patriotism of the Polk family, with many of whose members I have been intimate the greater part of my life.

"It seems that in these times no character is safe against the slanderer, for there never was less excuse for it than in the case of Mr. Polk. I have known him since he was a boy. A citizen more exemplary in his moral deportment, more punctual and exact in business, more energetic and manly in expression of his opinions, and more patriotic, does not live.

"I am, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

"ANDREW JACKSON."

in reference to which Gen'l J. in his dying moments thought it proper to put me on my guard. As it is highly confidential, its contents will never be disclosed by me or with my permission. It will be preserved as a highly prized memorial of the friendship of the dying patriot, a friendship which had never been broken, from my early youth until the day of his death. Andrew Jackson, Jr., in his letter enclosing (it) to me, explains the circumstances under which it had been accidentally mislaid among other papers on his table in his dying room, and had not been discovered until recently before he enclosed it to me. The latter letter I will also preserve.

"Sunday, 2nd November, 1845.—Attended the Methodist church (called the Foundary church) today, in company with my Private Secretary, J. Knox Walker. It was an inclement day, there being rain from an early hour in the morning; & Mrs. Polk and the ladies of my household did not attend church today. Mrs. Polk being a member of the Presbyterian Church I generally attend that Church with her, though my opinions and predilections are in favor of the Methodist Church.

"This was my birthday, being fifty years old, having been born according to the family Register in the family Bible, corroborated by the account given me by my mother, on the 2nd of November, 1795.

"The text today was from the Acts of the Apostles, Ch. 15, v. 31—"Because he hath appointed a day, in the which he will judge the world in righteousness, by the man whom he hath ordained." It was Communion day in the Church, and the sermon was solemn and forcible. It awakened the reflection that I had lived fifty years, and that before fifty years more would expire, I would be sleeping with the generations which have gone before me. I thought of the vanity of this world's honours, how little they would profit me half a century hence, and that it was time for me to be "putting my House in Order."

"Thursday, 15th January, 1846.—Saw Company as usual in my office until 12 o'clock today. At 1 o'clock P. M., Mr. Healey, the French artist, sent to the U. S. by the King of the French, to take the portraits of Genl. Jackson and other distinguished persons, called and exhibited the original portraits of Genl. Jackson, Mr. John Quincy Adams, and Mr. Henry Clay. They were exhibited in the parlour below stairs in the presence of the ladies of the family and some company who had called. I thought the portrait of Genl. Jackson, which was completed only four days before his death, very good. Those of Mr. Adams and Mr. Clay were fair likenesses.

"Monday, 16th March, 1846.—Saw company until 12 o'clock today, as usual. At 2 o'clock P. M., gave Mr. Healey another sitting for my portrait. Mr. Debosier was also present taking my miniature. These sittings for artists are becoming very irksome and fatiguing, and I think I will not again yield my consent



to sit for any other, at all events during the Session of Congress when my time is necessarily so much occupied by my official duties.

"Tuesday, 21st of July, 1846.—This was the regular day for the meeting of the Cabinet. Before the hour of assembling of the Cabinet arrived Andrew Johnson, one of the Representatives from Tennessee, called. He had not been in my office or at the President's Mansion for many weeks, indeed months, except once for a few minutes about 2 months ago in company with the Hon. John Blair and some other East Tennessees who called and remained for a few minutes. After stating a trivial matter of business which I suppose was his apology or pretext for calling, he said there was a matter that he wished to talk about with me. He said he had held a conversation with Mr. Cave Johnson (the P. M. Gen'l) a few days ago, and was surprised to learn from him that his course in opposition to the administration, as he said Mr. C. Johnson informed him, was understood and marked by the administration. He was very much agitated in his manner. He said he did not wish to be understood as making an apology, and then went on to say that he was a Democrat & had spent a great deal of time and money in my support in Tennessee, and particularly in 1844, and complained that his politics should now be suspected. He said he thought it best to come to me and hold a frank conversation with me at once. I told him I was glad he had done so, and that I would be equally frank with him. I told him that having belonged to the same party and having acted with him politically in Tennessee, I had no other thought at the opening of the present Session of Congress than that he would be a friend and supporter of my administration, that I was pleased at his election and expected to be on terms of free intercourse with him, but that I had heard from members of Congress, that he and Geo W. Jones of Tennessee were, from some cause unknown to me, dissatisfied, and were often finding fault with my administration. I told him that members of the House had come to me and enquired what they meant by their course; and had stated to me that upon some occasions when they had expostulated with them against their course, and had urged them to support particular measures because they were administration measures, that they had replied that they were independent men and were not under the dictation of any body. I told him that he knew I had not attempted to dictate to them, or in any way to control their course, and that I thought this strange language to come from Representatives from my own State who had been elected as democrats. I told him that I did not know that it was necessary to specify instances of his opposition, but that I would mention one, and more if necessary. It was this, that when some weeks ago a bill was before the House concerning the appointment of Clerks, in the public offices at Washington, Mr. Douglas of Illinois remarked that the President would be poorly employed in the pitiful and little business of appointing clerks & messen-

gers, or to this purport, he (Mr. Johnson) in a sarcastic and bitter tone as I was informed, rose and asked Mr. Douglas if the President was not at the very moment engaged in that employment. Much surprise had been expressed to me by members of Congress at such an attack from a Tennessee democrat. I told him I had seen the report of what he had said in the newspapers of the City and that I had never seen it corrected. I told him that he knew that he had done me injustice, and that he himself had importuned me early in the session about appointing clerks, and especially about promoting Mr. Russell of East Tennessee, and I supposed had been dissatisfied because it was not done. I told him that I regarded this occur(r)ence as evidence of his hostility, and this added to the many instances in which he had been found acting with my political opponemts, coupled with the facts that I had heard he had often made complaints publicly of my Tennessee appointments, and that he had kept himself away from me for three or four months, had confirmed me in the opinion that he was acting in hostility to my administration. He had mentioned the fact in the course of his conversation that George W. Jones, and himself had been marked by the administration & their course condemned. I told him that Mr. Jones' course had been highly exceptionable; that among other things Mr. Jones had in the early part of the Session, in a speech in the House made a violent and unwarranted attack on the Post Master Gen'l and the Attorney Gen'l, and had upon other occasions given conclusive evidence of his opposition to the administration. I told him that Mr. Cave Johnson had informed me that a few weeks ago in his office Mr. Jones had broken out in a violent strain in the presence of strangers who were present, and said that the only way to get an office from this administration was to become doubtful in politics, and then be bought up. I told Mr. Johnson I had not given either him or Mr. Jones any cause for their extraordinary course. I told him that in consequence of it, when I came to make the late military appointments in Tennessee, I had sent for and consulted the other democratic members from the State, but had not sent for them. He said if he was to be a victim he wished to know it. I told him the administration had not attempted to make a victim of him, but that his course was a matter to be settled between him and his constituents. I told him that though I had reason to be dissatisfied with his course, I had never mentioned it to any one of his constituents, although John Blair and several others of them had been here. He said that Jones was a good democrat and that he was one. I told him I had always regarded them as such, but that certainly their course at the present session was a very singular one. I told him that I had been the friend of Jones and of himself and that I had expected to receive from them that support which all preceding administrations had received from the members of Congress of their own party from their own State, but that instead

of that not a word had been said in my vindication by either of them at times when I had been violently assailed by the Whigs in the Ho. Repts. He said he thought Mr. Martin and Mr. Stanton had my confidence, I told him that at the beginning of the session I had confidence in all the democratic representatives from Tennessee, and that I had now in these two gentlemen and in Mr. Cullum and Mr. Chase, and that it was only because of the unaccountable course of Mr. Jones & himself that I had been most reluctantly compelled to regard them as being unfriendly to me and to my administration. It was a conversation more than an hour's length, and it was manifest from the tenor of it that he wished to play the demagogue at home, and to assume that the administration intended to attack him and make a victim of him. This I repelled at once, and told him I should pursue my public policy, and submit my public conduct to the country, that I sought to control no man's course, that he had a perfect right to differ with me if he chose to do so, and that if he did so, the people and especially his democratic constituents, who were my friends, would judge between us. In the latter part of the conversation he was subdued in his tone, and recounted the political services he rendered me in Tennessee, and alluded to and dwelt on the abuse he had received from the Whigs in his district & especially from Brownlow in his paper at Jonesborough. I told him that his course and that of Mr. Jones, coming as they did from my own State, had given me great concern and pain, and that I had no desire to have any collision with them, but that their course had almost forced it upon me. He left professing to be a good democrat and denying that he was opposed to me or my administration. The truth is that neither Johnson or Jones have been my personal friends since 1839. They were in the Baltimore Convention in 1844, and were not my friends then. I doubt whether any two members of that convention were at heart more dissatisfied with my nomination for the Presidency than they were. This I learned from members of the convention from Tennessee. Mr. Johnson, I was informed, said at Baltimore when my nomination was suggested that it was a "humbug." There are no two districts in Tennessee more democratic or in which I have more devoted friends than those represented by Johnson and Jones, and though I have it in my power, as I believe, by communicating the truth to their constituents to destroy them politically, I have not done so. They seem to assume to themselves the right to judge of the appointments in Tennessee, and to denounce them among the members of Congress and in boarding houses, as though they were responsible for them. I think it fortunate that they have now learned that their course has not been unobserved by me. Perhaps their course may hereafter be better, but I am satisfied if it is so it will only be from the fear of their constituents. I would almost prefer to have two Whigs here in their stead, unless



they act better than they have done at the present Session of Congress.

"Wednesday, 19th August, 1846.—This morning at 9 o'clock I went on board the Steamer Osceola with Mrs. Polk, her niece, Miss Rucker, and two servants to take an excursion to Fortress Monroe. We took two servants with us. Maj'r E. P. McNeal, his wife, daughter, and Miss Williams, the sister of Mrs. McNeal, all of Tennessee, who had been a day or two at the Presidential Mansion, accompanied us. My intention is to take an excursion of only three or four days. It is my first absence from Washington since I have been President, except a single day in the spring of 1845, when I visited Mount Vernon, going and returning on the same day. My long confinement to my office has considerably enfeebled me & rendered some recreation necessary. After having looked into the laws passed by the last Session of Congress and given the necessary directions for carrying them into effect, no public interest will, I think, suffer my absence for a few (days). All the members of the Cabinet agreed to remain at their posts, except Judge Mason, the Atto. Gen'l, who at my request accompanied me. Mr. Buchanan promised me to call at my office daily and examine my letters, and if anything should occur requiring my personal attention I am to be immediately advised of it. The mail passes daily from Washington, to Fortress Monroe, so, that in less than 24 hours I can hear from Washington. In the absence of my Private Secretary from Washington, I left William V. Voorhies, Esqr., a confidential and trust-worthy young man, in charge of my office. At 9 o'clock I went on board the Osceola. I found the Secretaries of the Treasury, War, and Navy at the steamboat. They accompanied me as far as Alexandria & returned to Washington. The passage down the Potomac was a pleasant one. Before dark the wind rose, and after passing the mouth of the Potomac we found the Bay very rough. Always (almost) every one on board was affected by sea-sickness. Mrs. Polk, Miss Rucker, & Mrs. McNeal were very sick. I was not myself sick. Between 1 & 2 o'clock A. M. of August 20th we reached the Fortress, where I was received by Col. Derusser and conducted to the Quarters which had been provided for me. Col. Totten of the Engineer corps with his wife accompanied me. Col. Totten had written to Col. Derusser to provide quarters for me. Col. Totten was very polite and attentive and caused every necessary provision to be made for our comfort. My quarters were in a comfortable cottage with four rooms near the sea-beach, being the same heretofore occupied by President Tyler when visiting this Post.

"Wednesday, 26th August, 1846.—Twelve months ago this day, a very important conversaton took place in Cabinet between myself and Mr. Buchanan on the Oregon question. This conversation was of so important a character, that I deemed it proper on the same evening to reduce the substance of it to writing for the



purpose of retaining it more distinctly in my memory. This I did on separate sheets. It was this circumstances which first suggested to me the idea if not the necessity, of keeping a journal or diary of events and transactions which might occur during my Presidency. I resolved to do so & accordingly procured a blank book for that purpose on the next day, in which I have every day since noted whatever occurred that I deemed of interest. Sometimes I have found myself so much engaged with my public duties, as to be able to make (only) a very condensed and imperfect statement of events and incidents which occurred, and to (be forced to) omit others altogether which I would have been pleased to have noted. The statements of the events which occur(r)ed on the 26th of Agu't, 1845, were never transcribed into the bound book but they will be found on the separate sheets on which they were written preceding Book No. 1.

"Monday, 2d November, 1846.—This is my birthday. According to the entry in my father's family Bible I was born on the 2nd day of Nov., 1795, and my mother has told me that the event occurred as near as she could tell about 12 o'clock, Meridian, on that day. I am consequently 51 years old today. The last year has been one of great anxiety and labour to me. This was reception evening. A number of persons, ladies and gentlemen, called.

"Friday, 15th January, 1847.—When I entered my office this morning I found visitors waiting in the anteroom. I directed them to be shown in, and from that time until my dinner hour I was not alone 10 minutes. The constant pressure and impotunity for office is not only disgusting, but it is almost beyond endurance. I keep my temper, or rather suppress the indignation which I feel at the sordid and selfish views of the horde of people who continually annoy me about place. Members of Congress have caught the prevailing desire for office for themselves, and today I had another application for an office for one of them. It was made by Senator Cameron of Penn. in behalf of Mr. Leib of the Ho. Repts. He wished to have me appoint Mr. Leib a purser in the Navy Department last evening. I told him plainly that I would not appoint a member of Congress to office, unless it was for a high military station in time of War, or for a Mission abroad, or some such station. In other words that my general rule was not to appoint members of Congress to office. Judging from what occurred in similar cases heretofore, I have no doubt Mr. Leib will be an opponent of my administration during the balance of my term. At least 20 members of the present Congress have been disappointed in the same way, and in all cases I have observed that they have afterwards voted against the measures which I have recommended. They have, however, taken special care never to assign the true reasons for their course. They have openly opposed my administration, but whenever they could do so without exposure to their constituents and the public,

they have done so. If God grants me length of days and health, I will, after the expiration of my term, give a history of the selfish and corrupt considerations which influence the course of public men, as a legacy to posterity. I shall never be profited by it, but those who come after me may be.

"Thursday, 28th January, 1846.—It is two years since I left my residence at Columbia, Tennessee, to enter on my duties as President of the U. S. Since that time I have performed great labour and incurred vast responsibilities. In truth, though I occupy a very high position, I am the hardest working man in this country.

"Friday, 19th, February, 1847.—My office was crowded this morning with visitors, most of them seeking military appointments. For the last week I have been greatly annoyed by this kind of importunity. The City is crowded with young men, many of them loafers without merit, seeking military appointments. Members of Congress tell me that they are compelled to come with their constituents to present their claims, and some of the members apologize for troubling me as much as they do. One thing is certain, and that is that I could soon have an army of officers, such as they would be, if I could appoint all the applicants. I have endeavoured in vain to turn over the horde of applicants to the Secretary of War, that I might have his Report upon their respective merits, but find it to be impossible, because I cannot refuse to give audience to my fellow citizens who call upon me. For more than a week I have been occupied three or four hours every day in hearing the speeches and representations of the office seekers and their friends who pressed their claims for military appointments. I have pushed them off and fought them with both hands like a man fighting fire, and endeavoured to drive them to the Secretary of War as the regular channel of approach to the President in matters relating to the military service. It has all been in vain. I cannot, without insulting them, refuse to see Senators and Representatives who call in behalf of their constituents, and therefore I am compelled to bear their importunity with philosophical patience. I am often exceedingly disgusted with the scenes which occur in my office, but keep my temper and endure the painful labour which is imposed upon me with patience. I could bear this labour with more patience if members of Congress and others were more candid, and would not, as they do, constantly deceive me about appointments. I am almost ready at some times to conclude that all men are selfish, and that there is no reliance to be placed in any of the human race. Really such would be the fact, if I were to judge from some of the impositions which have been made upon me. Even members of Congress have no hesitation in deceiving me in order to obtain appointments for their constituents, though there is every reason to believe that they know them to be unworthy.

"Wednesday, 3rd March, 1847.—In the course of the evening I tendered the office of Maj'r General in the army to Senator Houston of Texas, who declined accepting it. I then tendered the same office through Mr. Houston & Mr. Kaufman of the Ho. Repts. to Senator Rusk of Texas, who also declined accepting it, as Mr. Kaufman reported to me. I saw Senator Benton & had a few minutes conversation with him. He knew that I had intended to appoint him Lieut. General if a law had passed creating that rank. As no such law had passed, he said to me that if I chose I could nominate him as Maj'r General. I told him (I) would do so. I did so accordingly & he was confirmed by the Senate with the other general officers whom I nominated to-night.

"Tuesday, 22nd June, to Wednesday, 7th July, 1847.—At 12 O'Clock M. on Tuesday, the 22nd, of June, 1847, I left Washington on a tour through the Northern and Eastern States, and returned to Washington on the evening of Wednesday, the 7th of July, 1847. Mrs. Polk and her niece, Miss Rucker, accompanied me as far as Baltimore, where they separated from me on the morning of Wednesday, the 23rd, of June. At 7 O'Clock on the morning of that day they set out for Tennessee, accompanied by Mr. Russmann, and I set out for Philadelphia. I was accompanied by Mr. Clifford, the Atto. Gen'l of the U. S., Mr. Burke, commissioner of Patents, and Mr. Appleton, the chief clerk of the Navy Department, the latter acting as my Private Secretary. At Philadelphia Commodore Stewart of the U. S. Navy joined me, upon my invitation as one of suite, and accompanied me throughout my tour until my return to Philadelphia on the evening of the 6th of July, 1847. On Sunday afternoon, the 27th of June, 1847, Mr. Buchanan, the Secretary of State, joined me, and accompanied me throughout the balance of the tour until my return to Philadelphia, where he remained a day & arrived at Washington one day after I did. Mr. Appleton left me on my return journey at Portland in Maine, on the morning of Monday, the 5th of July, and Mr. Burke left me at Boston on the evening of the same day.

#### JOHN APPLETON'S JOURNAL.

Mrs. George W. Fall of Nashville, Tennessee, was a great niece of James K. Polk, and inherited the journal kept by John Appleton, a native of Maine, of the tour of President Polk through the Northern States in June and July, 1847, and Mrs. Fall addressed the following note in reference to this journal to the Honorable J. M. Dickinson, of Tennessee, but now, (1919) of Chicago, and Secretary of War in the cabinet of William H. Taft:

MRS. GEORGE W. FALL TO J. M. DICKINSON.

"Polk Place, Nov. 24, 1897.

"Judge J. M. Dickinson, My Dear Sir:—Thinking the enclosed diary of ex-President Polk, in which I find some correspondence of yours, might be of some historic interest and value to you and yours, it gives me much pleasure to ask your acceptance of the same. Yours very truly,

"Mrs. George W. Fall.

"307 North Vine Street."

This journal consists of two hundred or more pages of manuscript on old fashioned blue letter paper, artistically bound in Russia leather, and on the inside cover, which is lined with pink brocade, is an inscription in the writing of President Polk:

"This journal of my tour through the northern states in June and July, 1847, was prepared by John Appleton, Esq., of Maine, who was one of my suite, and accompanied me.

"Mr. Appleton, after his return to Washington, prepared this journal from his notes, and presented it to me on the 27th of October, 1847.  
J. K. P."

On the first page of the journal Appleton says:

"The journey was undertaken with no political purpose, but with a desire on his (the President's) part to observe more closely than he had ever before had opportunity to do, the institutions and people of the northern portion of his country, and especially to witness the condition and to become acquainted with the inhabitants of the States which compose New England."

The tour included Baltimore, two days in Philadelphia at the residence of Vice-President George M. Dallas, Camden, New Jersey, New York, New Haven, Hartford, Springfield, Boston, Lowell, Manchester, Portsmouth, Newburyport, Portland and Augusta. The President returned to Washington July 7, 1847, after having traveled fourteen hundred miles through nine States, and been absent from Washington sixteen days. .

Historically, this journey of the President is important only as it discloses the genuine respect for him, and his wide popularity, and for two or three significant expressions of opinion which he gave in some of the numerous speeches he was called upon to make. Hospitality, rich, cordial, profuse and dignified, and from all classes of citizens, was extended to the President everywhere.

His most interesting and emphatic expression of opinion in his speeches was, curiously enough, on the subject of secession.



He was a slave-holder from a slave State, and elected by the South and the slave power. His greatest achievement was the paving of the way for the annexation of Texas, a slave State. Only a few years before Andrew Jackson had given battle to the nullifiers of South Carolina, and that issue was only deferred, not settled. In 1847 this slave-holding President was as unqualifiedly a Union man as could be found in the Union. In numerous of his addresses he stressed the idea of Union.

He spoke of "The legacy of freedom which we hold in sacred trust, not only for ourselves, but for our descendants, and the common purpose of all parties to preserve the integrity of the Union and support the stability of free institutions."

"The Union of States is the pole star of our hope and the sweet safeguard of human liberty throughout the world. He who would inflict a fatal blow upon that frame of society, glorious alike in its formation and results, would hazard a calamity which no patriot and no lover of his race can contemplate without alarm. Let the Union be dissolved, and instead of the spectacle which we now present to the world of a confederacy of united and prosperous States, we shall exhibit, as the mournful proof, dissevered councils, an extended series of petty principalities without harmony in either, and wasting their resources and their energies by warring among each other. Dissolve the Union and the last example of freedom to the oppressed will at once be destroyed, and the only hope of mankind for well regulated government will be lost forever from the earth."

"I rejoice that so great an honor has been permitted to me under Providence that I have the opportunity to recommend here, as I would recommend in all parts of our beloved country, the cultivation of that feeling of brotherhood and mutual regard between the North and South, without which we may not anticipate the perpetuity of our free institutions."

In various addresses Mr. Polk "implored the people to cherish and respect our venerable Union of States and to transmit it as the choicest of earthly blessings, and as necessary for the security and happiness of our posterity."

Appleton summed up his conclusions about the journey as follows:

"No President could ever have had a more gratifying journey. It was crowded with instances, but not one of them was unpleasant. The offerings of respect and kindness which he received were the more valuable because they were purely voluntary. Wherever we went we found an attachment to our present gov-

ernment overriding all regard for sections or for parties, and manifested itself as a fixed and unalterable sentiment, too sacred ever to be called in question.

"The occurrences of the entire journey indicated not only a President satisfied with his country, but a country satisfied with its President."

Appleton closes his journal, which is faithful, dignified and thoughtful, in this modest way:

"The foregoing journal, it is believed, the principal events of his northern tour, has been prepared at the request of the President, and with the hope that he may be able at some future day to refer to it with interest and satisfaction. It exhibits, of necessity a faithful sketch of a large portion of our country, and if another President should make similar excursion a half century hence it would be curious and not unprofitable to compare the account of that excursion with the narrative recorded here.

"It might have been enlarged almost indefinitely by adding to it the numerous incidents which related only to members of his suite; but these appeared rather to belong to the private memoranda of those gentlemen than to this journal, and were therefore studiously omitted. Enough is doubtless here to weary the patience of any reader in whose mind there are no pleasant memories of the trip to be awakened, but not too much, it is believed, to answer the purpose for which it is designed.

"It has been written amid intervals of leisure, snatched from laborious occupation, and contains many imperfections; but it contains, it is hoped, no essential errors of fact and has been certainly prepared with an earnest desire to 'nothing extenuate nor set down aught in malice.' As it is, it is respectfully submitted,—'What is writ is writ—would it were worthier!'"

"THURSDAY, 23rd December, 1847.—I received company as usual this morning. Several members of Congress & many other persons called. I disposed of business on my table. After the company had retired I sent for Mr. Buchanan. He called, and I informed him that I learned that an anonymous letter purporting to have written in this City had appeared in the N. York Herald, but which I had not read, to the effect that by my agency the Tennessee State convention, which is to meet at Nashville on the 8th of January next, would nominate Gen'l Cass for the Presidency, and that my object was to produce the confusion among the Democratic aspirants, with a view ultimately to obtain the nomination myself. I told him that the whole story was false, that I had written to no one in Tennessee on the subject, and that I thought it proper to say to him that the whole story was false. He asked me if I had written to Gen'l Cass in the last recess of Congress, requesting him to be chairman of the military committee of the Senate. I promptly replied that I had not written to him on that or any other subject. He said

that he had read the letter in the Herald, and such was the statement made by the writer. I told him that it was false. He then said that it was generally understood among members of the Congress that I was favourable to Gen'l Cass's nomination, at which he could not complain. I replied with some emphasis that I had never given the slightest indication for any one of the Democratic party as my successor, and repeated two or three times that he gave me (the) first intimation to that effect that I had ever heard. I told him frankly that I had not (taken) and should not take any part in (the) selection by the Democratic party of a candidate to succeed me; that when the Democratic national convention should make a nomination, I would be for the nominee, be him (he) whom he might. I told him that the Democratic party must make their own nomination of a candidate, without any interference or agency of mine.

"I told him further that my own administration was to last fourteen months, and that I could take no part among the Democratic aspirants to succeed me, without arraying against me all the friends of other aspirants than the one I might prefer; & that in this way all my measures connected with the war and other subjects would be voted down, and that I myself would become of no consideration & could have no influence in carrying out my measures. I repeated to him that I had & would preserve a strict neutrality in the selection of a candidate for the Democratic party as my successor; that for myself my resolution was unchanged, and that I should retire voluntarily at the close of my term of office. Mr. Buchanan no doubt considers himself a candidate for the nomination, and is nervous and exhibits a degree of weakness on the subject that is almost incredible. My object in holding the conversation with him to-day was, first, to tell him that the letter published in the Herald was false, and secondly, that I should act a neutral part and have no agency in selecting the candidate of the Democracy to succeed me. He seemed to be in a gloomy mood, &, judging from his manner, left me dis(s)atisfied. If this be so, I shall regret it, but shall not change my determination. While I am President I cannot become the partisan of Mr. Buchanan or any one else. After a regular nomination is made, I shall support the nominee. I regret to be under the impression that for some weeks past Mr. B. seems to have been so much absorbed with the idea of being President that I cannot rely, as formerly, upon his advice given in the Cabinet upon public subjects. My impression is that all his opinions are formed and controlled by the consideration of the means best calculated to enable him to succeed in getting the nomination as my successor. He seems to have lost sight of the success of my administration & to be acting alone with a view to his own personal advancement. I feel embarrassed by his position as a member of my Cabinet, but am resolved not to sacrifice the great measures of my own administration to gratify

him or any one else, & I gave him so distinctly to understand to-day.

"MONDAY, 27th December, 1847.—Immediately after breakfast this morning Daniel Saffrons, from Gallatin, Tennessee, called. He had informed me at my drawing room on Friday evening last that he desired to see me alone this morning. The object of his visit was to reconcile the former differences which had for some years past separated Senator Bell of Tennessee & myself and had prevented all personal intercourse between us. He said that he came with no authority to do so, but in the course of his conversation it was quite clear that Mr. Bell knew he was coming for the purpose of opening the way for the renewal of our social intercourse. He said that Mr. Bell had expressed to him his intention of supporting my policy upon the Mexican War & the tariff; that Mr. Bell had expressed himself as retaining no feelings of asperity towards me. He said he had told Mr. Bell it was his duty to call on me and that he should do so on the 1st of January, and had further expressed to him the opinion that if he did so, he had no doubt I would invite him to Dinner. He said Mr. Bell had replied that he hoped if he did call and I should invite him to Dinner, that I would not put him in among an exclusive democratic party, but would have some other Whigs present. I told Mr. Saffrons that my Dinner parties were never of a partisan character. Mr. Saffrons said that Mr. Bell had said that he could say to me; and here (he) immediately caught himself and said that he was not authorized to say anything by Mr. Bell, but he knew that Mr. Bell's feelings were not unkind, & that he would call if he thought he would be kindly received. He said that something was said, too, about the ladies & a doubt how Mrs. Polk would receive Mrs. Bell if she called. He said he had held a conversation with Mr. & Mrs. Bell on the subject on last evening, & I have no doubt he came upon a special mission on the subject. I said to Mr. Saffrons that if Mr. Bell chose to call on me I would certainly receive him courteously & kindly; that it was true Mr. Bell & myself had for some years been on different sides of politics, and were perhaps regarded as rivals for popular favour in Tennessee, but I retained no asperity of feelings towards him, &, indeed, that I had not an unkind feeling towards him personally; that probably both of us had upon some occasions gone too far, but that I was willing that all this should be forgotten. I told him that my future residence would be at Nashville, and that when I retired fourteen months hence, I should never aspire to fill any office; and that I desired in my retirement to live on terms of social intercourse with all my neighbors, of whom Mr. Bell would be one. In fine, I said to him that if Mr. Bell chose to call I would receive him courteously and would suffer our past relations to be forgotten. Mr. Saffrons seemed to be highly gratified. I told him that as



to the ladies I had no doubt Mrs. Polk would receive Mrs. Bell kindly, if she called on her.

"TUESDAY, January 4th, 1848.—This morning about 10 O'Clock, the Hon. John Bell of Nashville, Tennessee, recently elected to the Senate of the U. S. called. I received him courteously. He appeared at first somewhat embarrassing (embarrassed), but by my manner and conversation I soon put him at ease. I had not spoken to him since the contest between us for speaker of the Ho. Repts., in 1834 & 1835. In June, 1834, he was elected over me, when Mr. Stevenson resigned, & in Dec., 1835, I was elected over him, and again in 1837. About the same period Judge White was brought out for the President (Presidency), and ever since that time Mr. Bell and myself had belonged & still belong, to different political parties. The contests between us in Tennessee had been violent and even bitter for years. He had now called on me, and I knew in advance that he was desirous to be on terms of social & personal intercourse with me (see my conversation with Mr. Daniel Saffrons and Senator Turney, noted in this journal some days ago) and I, therefore, shortly after he came in, said to him that I was glad to see him, and that so far as I was concerned I was willing to let by-gones be by-gones, to let the past be forgotten, and to renew with him our personal intercourse. He said that was his desire, that we were to live neighbours, when we retired from public life, and that he desired to be on terms of friendship. I expressed similar desires on my part. He enquired for Mrs. Polk and I for Mrs. Bell. My whole interview with him was of an agreeable character. He remained for half an hour or more, and conversed freely about the Mexican war and other subjects. Before he left I told him Mrs. Polk would be glad to see Mrs. Bell. He intimated that there had been some difficulty on that point, but that Mrs. Bell would call soon. I suppose the difficulty consisted in the pride which ladies some times feel, which makes them reluctant to yield to each other, and the fact that the established etiquette of the Presidential office required the first call from Mrs. Bell. He left apparently well pleased with his interview with me.

"Friday, 24th March, 1848—I have constantly, for months, felt the embarrassment which he (Buchanan) gave me by remaining in the Cabinet. He has been selfish, & all his acts and opinions seem to have been controlled with a view to his own advancement, so much that I have no confidence or reliance in any advice he may give upon public questions. I could not, though feeling sensibly the embarrassment which his remaining in the Cabinet, and his selfish views, produced, dismiss him during the pendency of the war with Mexico, and in the face of a talented and powerful opposition in Congress, without the hazard of doing great injury to my administration be endangering the success of all my measures. I have therefore borne with him and overlooked his weaknesses, for the sake of the public good. He is probably

now troubled, in consequence of the investigations going on in the Senate concerning the publication in the New York Herald, through the agency of his political friend & my calumbiator, Nugent, and it is a little singular that this precise period of time is selected by him to request a copy of his letter to me of February, 1845. I will search for his letter & direct my Private Secretary to give him a copy.

"Saturday, 25th March, 1848—After they retired I felt it to be proper to send for Mr. Buchanan & to hold a conversation with him on the subject, and I did so. It was the first conversation I had had with him on the subject. He had not mentioned it to me, and I had felt a delicacy and reluctance to mention it to him sooner. He said he had had no agency in causing the publication to be made; that he had heard all that had occurred before the committee of the Senate who were investigating it; and that he was able to account for all the printed copies of the Treaty and correspondence which had been furnished to the State Department. He said that a conspiracy had been formed by certain Senators to fix the publication on him, or rather that Nugent, the correspondent of the New York Herald, had obtained the copy of the Treaty and correspondence from him, or from the State Department. He said that he had written a letter to Senator Cameron denying it, but had not sent it, as, on reflection, he thought his position as Secretary of State and his character should protect him from such an imputation. He spoke very harshly of Senator Wescott, and said he was capable of selling the copy to which he was entitled as a Senator for two dollars. He asked me if I thought he had furnished the copy to Nugent. I told (him) I did not. Of course I could not say otherwise after his positive denial that he had. I expressed my contempt for Nugent and all the other hired letter writers at Washington, regarding them, as I did, as employees wholly destitute of principle, and my regret that he had had any connection or intercourse with them. I said to him that I had expressed this opinion of them to him some weeks ago (see this diary of that period) and regretted extremely that he had since that time permitted Nugent to continue to visit his Department, & hold confidential intercourse with him, and that he would now see the consequences of having done so. He said he had permitted him to do so in order to secure the support of the New York Herald to the Mexican War, and of (to) the administration. He said he supposed that he had written or revised twenty articles which Nugent had caused to appear in the Herald, supporting the war, and that Mr. Walker had through Nugent caused the Herald to support his Treasury Report and financial policy, I replied that it would (have) been much better to let the Herald take any course it pleased, rather (than) have anything to do with this unprincipled hired letter writer. I told him that he knew that Nugent had been for months (calumniating), and still continued to caluminate and abuse me

in his infamous letters, to the Herald, and that this was a singular mode of giving the support of the Herald to my administration. He said that Mr. Walker and himself had both urged Nugent not to abuse me, but that they could not restrain or prevent him from doing so. I told him that it was deeply to be regretted that he had permitted so unprincipled a scoundrel to approach him, or to have anything to do with him. I did not say to him, because I desired if possible to avoid a rupture with him, that in my opinion no member of my Cabinet who was faithful to my administration and to me, would employ for any purpose a man who was habitually abusing & calumniating the Head of the Government. My conversation with Mr. Buchanan on the point of his intercourse with this fellow, Nugent, was not satisfactory.

"Thursday 2nd., November, 1848—This is my birthday. According to the record in my father's family Bible I was born on the 2nd. of November, 1795. I am, therefore, fifty three years old. It will be 21 years on tomorrow since my father died. My mother is still living. Upon each recurrence of my birthday I am solemnly impressed with the vanity & emptiness of wordly honors and wordly enjoyments, and of (the wisdom of) preparing for a future estate. In four months I shall retire from public life forever. I have lived three fourths of the period ordinarily allotted to men on earth. I have been highly honored by my fellow-men and have filled the highest station on earth, but I will soon go the way of all the earth. I pray God to prepare me to meet the great event.

"Wednesday, 8th November, 1848—Information received by the telegraph and published in the morning papers of this City and Baltimore indicate the election of Gen'l Taylor as President of the U. S. Should this be so, it is deeply to be regretted. Without political information and without experience in civil life, he is wholly unqualified for the station, and being elected by the Federal party and the various factions of dissatisfied persons who have from time to time broken off from the Democratic party, he must be in their hands and be under their absolute control. Having no opinions or judgment of his own upon any one public subject, foreign or domestic, he will be compelled to rely upon the designing men of the Federal party who will cluster around him, and will be made to reverse, so far as the Executive can reverse, the whole policy of my administration, and to substitute the Federal policy in its stead. The country will be the loose (loser) by his election, and on this account it is an event which I should deeply regret.

"Monday, 1st January, 1849.—This being the first day of a new year, the President's mansion was thrown open for the reception of visitors. Between 11 and 12 o'clock, company commenced arriving. A very large crowd called, larger than is usual on such occasions. Every parlour, the East room, & outer hall were crowded. All the foreign ministers and the persons attached

## CHAPTER 14.

James Knox Polk—Whigs in Election of 1844—John  
Tyler Election of 1844.

## THE TENNESSEE WHIGS.

The Tennessee Whigs began to prepare for the great Whig Convention to be held at Baltimore on May 1, 1844, by holding conventions at both Nashville and Knoxville on February 22nd. The Nashville Whig exulted over the gathering at Nashville in this style:

"It was in truth a great and glorious gathering, composed of the bone and sinew of the land; of men of the first character and respectability who were inspired with all that generous ardor and noble enthusiasm which characterizes men who are battling for the right. The nomination of Henry Clay for the presidency was received with bursts of applause, there was no hesitation, no doubts of the expediency of the measure, the masses of the people are for him and their delegates in nominating him only gave distinct utterance to the wishes and feelings of their constituents. In this matter there is but one feeling among the Whigs throughout the State, they are for 'Clay first, Clay last and Clay at all Times.' "

The East Tennessee Whigs met at Knoxville for the purpose of forming an electoral ticket for that portion of the State and appointing delegates to the National Whig Convention. Hon. William Heiskell of Monroe County was elected president of the convention, which continued in session for two days, and much important business for the Whig party was transacted.

Hon. Thomas A. R. Nelson, of Washington County, was chosen elector for the First Congressional District; Robert Hynds, of Jefferson County, for the Second District; and Hon. John H. Crozier, of Knox County, for the Third District. In addition to these, a number of Whigs were selected as assistant electors in each congressional district.

Hon. William G. Brownlow was chosen as a delegate to the Whig National Convention at Baltimore, from the First Congress-



sional District; James M. Toole from the Second Congressional District, and Luke Lea from the Third Congressional District.

The alternates elected for these three were Charles H. Coffin, Daniel L. Coffin and James Williams.

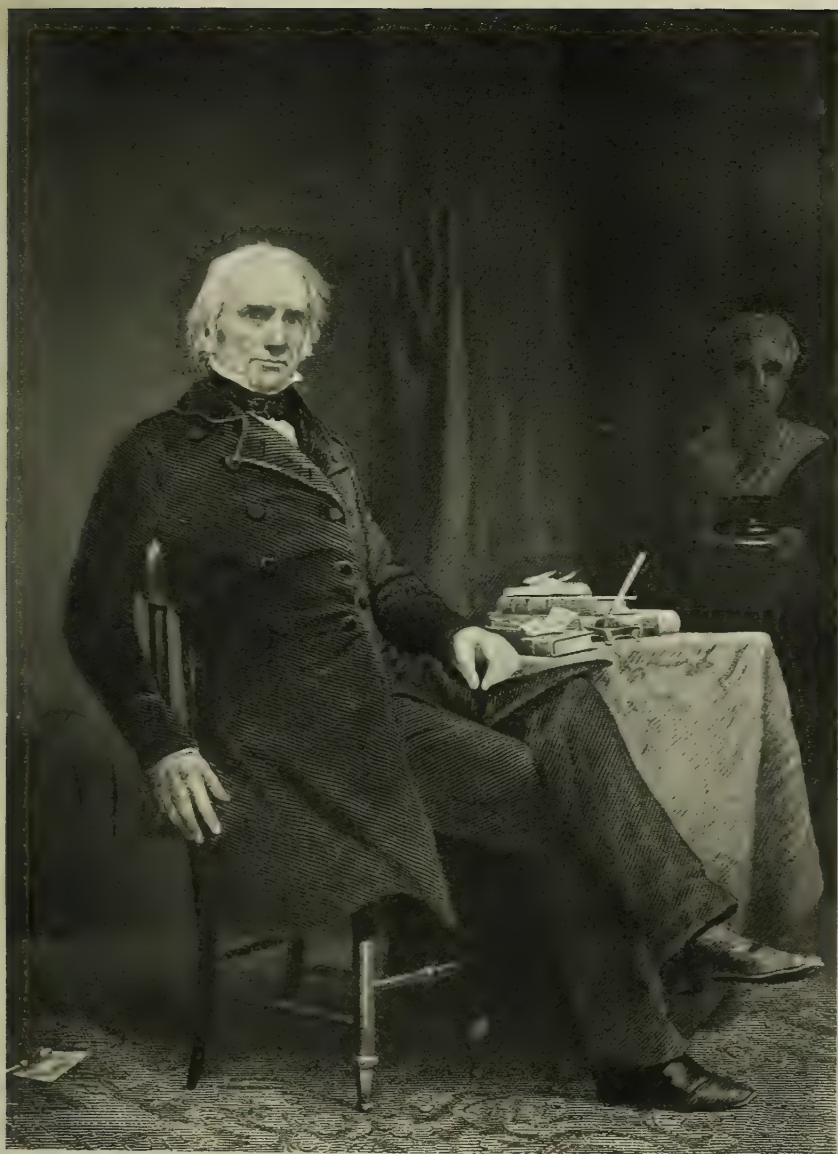
#### THE WHIG CONVENTION.

The Whig National Convention met in the City of Baltimore May 1, 1844, for the purpose of nominating candidates for President and Vice-President of the United States at the presidential election in the following November. The convention was held in the Universalist Church and assembled at eleven o'clock a. m. William Martin, Lewis P. Williamson, George Glasscock, Jno. P. McCormick and W. B. Hoffa were the delegates from Tennessee.

Honorable Ambrose Spencer of New York was elected president of the convention and a vice-president for each State in the union was chosen, the vice-president from Tennessee being William Martin, and C. C. Norvell from Tennessee was elected one of the secretaries.

After this permanent organization was effected the convention lost no time in carrying out the purpose for which it came together, which was to nominate Henry Clay of Kentucky for President. The honor of placing Clay in nomination fell to Mr. Leigh of Virginia, who rose and made an address to the convention in which he stated that the Whig party of the United States was so decidedly in favor of Henry Clay for the presidency that it would be unnecessary to go through with the usual form of nomination. He thereupon offered a resolution declaring Mr. Clay the unanimous choice of the Whig party for the presidency and the people of the United States were invited to come to his support. This resolution of course was adopted with thunders of applause and cheering which continued for a long time.

A motion was made that a committee be appointed to notify Mr. Clay of his nomination, which carried, and Messrs. Berrien of Georgia, Barnett of Ohio, Archer of Virginia, Lawrence of Massachusetts and Erastus Root of New York composed the committee. Mr. Stout of New York proposed that Mr. Clay be requested to appear in Baltimore the next day before the countless thousands who would then and there be assembled to ratify the nomination. Thereupon Mr. Johnson produced a letter from Mr. Clay and Mr. Stout withdrew his motion.



FROM NATIONAL PORTRAIT GALLERY, NEW YORK, 1861.

**HONORABLE HENRY CLAY**









Henry Clay's Monument at Lexington, Kentucky.

"Washington, April 29, 1844.

"My dear sir:

"I cannot reconcile it to my sense of delicacy and propriety to attend either of the Whig conventions this week in Baltimore. Such is my deliberate judgment, and I hope my friends will acquiesce in my determination and not urge me to revoke it, which I cannot do.

"Yours respectfully,

"To R. Johnson, Esquire, Baltimore."

"H. CLAY.

The convention then took up the question of how to nominate a candidate for Vice-President and the discussion ended in the decision that the roll of delegates be called and as the name of each delegate was called he should vote for the candidate of his choice for Vice-President.

The total number of votes given was 275 and 138 was necessary to a choice and there were three ballots. On the first ballot John Sergeant received 38 votes, Millard Fillmore 53, John Davis 83 and Theodore Frelinghuysen 101. No choice.

On the second ballot John Sergeant received 32 votes, Millard Fillmore 57, John Davis 74, Theodore Frelinghuysen 118. No choice.

The name of John Sergeant was withdrawn and on the third ballot John Davis received 76 votes, Millard Fillmore 40 and Theodore Frelinghuysen 155. Whereupon the president of the convention announced that Frelinghuysen was the nominee of the convention for Vice-President.

#### THE WHIG PLATFORM.

Reverdy Johnson of Maryland presented resolutions which he said constituted the principles of the Whig Party and of the candidates nominated, and moved that they be adopted as the Whig platform in the coming election:

"*Resolved*, That in presenting to the country the names of HENRY CLAY for president, and of THEODORE FRELINGHUYSEN for vice-president of the United States, this Convention is actuated by the convictions that all the great principles of the Whig party—principles inseparable from the public honor and prosperity—will be maintained and advanced by these candidates.

"*Resolved*, That these principles may be summed up as comprising a well regulated national currency; a tariff or revenue to defray the necessary expenses of the government, and discriminating with special reference to the protection of the domestic labor of the country; the distribution of the proceeds of the sales of public lands; a single term for the presidency; a reform of executive usurpations—and, generally—

such an administration of the affairs of the country as shall impart to every branch of the public service the greatest practicable efficiency, controlled by a well regulated and wise economy.

*"Resolved,* That the name of HENRY CLAY needs no eulogy; the history of the country since his first appearance in public life is his history; its brightest pages in prosperity and success are indented with the principles which he has upheld, as its darkest and more disastrous pages are with every material departure in our public policy from those principles.

*"Resolved,* That in THEODORE FRELINGHUYSEN we present a man pledged alike by his revolutionary ancestry and his own public course to every measure calculated to sustain the honor and interest of the country. Inheriting the principles as well as the name of a father who, with Washington, on the fields of Trenton and of Monmouth, periled life in the contest for liberty, and afterwards, as a senator of the United States, acted with Washington in establishing and perpetuating that liberty—THEODORE FRELINGHUYSEN, by his course as Attorney General of the State of New Jersey for twelve years, and subsequently as senator of the United States for several years, was always strenuous on the side of law, order, and the constitution, while as a private man, his head, his hand, and his heart have been given without stint to the cause of morals, education, philanthropy and religion."

The committee on the notification of Mr. Clay of his nomination performed their duty by correspondence.

#### COMMITTEE'S LETTER.

"Baltimore, 1st May, 1844.

"Sir: The grateful office of announcing to you the result of the deliberations of the National Whig Convention, this day assembled at this place, for the selection of a candidate for the office of president of the United States, at the approaching election has been, by that convention, assigned to us.

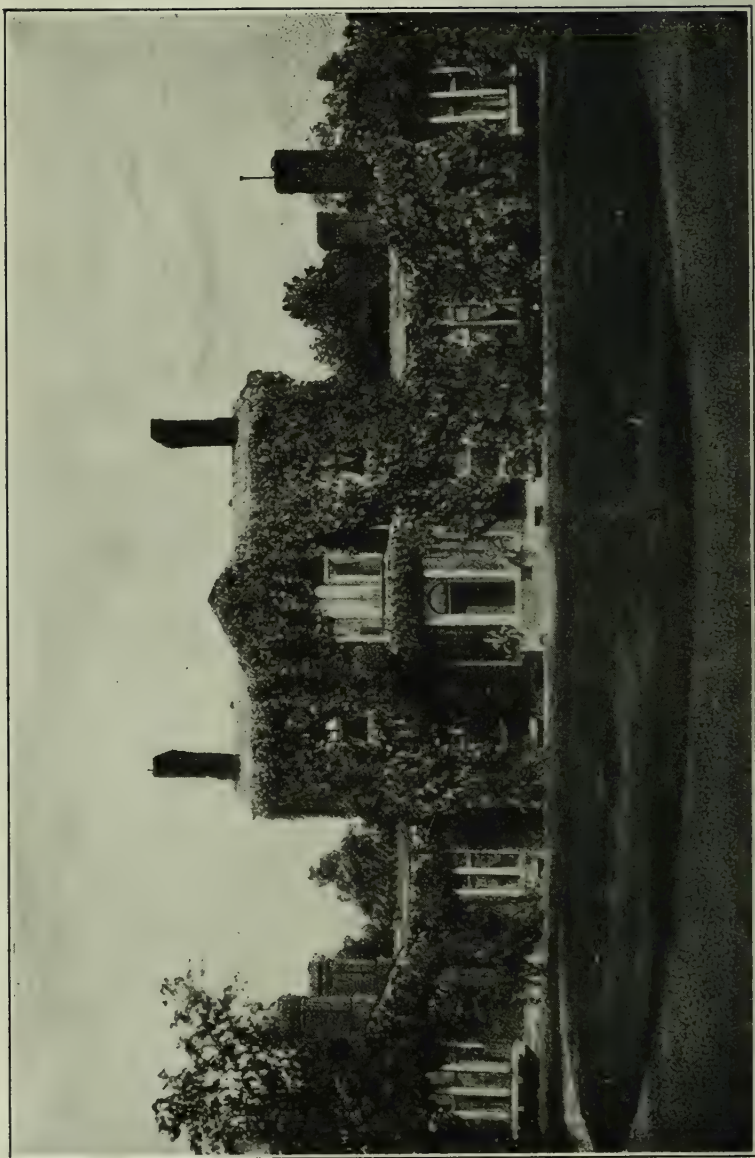
"We perform it by communicating to you the accompanying copy of a resolution adopted unanimously, and by acclamation, by that body, and we beg to add to it the expression of our earnest hope, that the wish of your assembled fellow citizens in which 'all with one voice' have united, and in which their personal feelings, and as they believe, the best interest of this great people are involved, may meet your prompt and cheerful acquiescence. We have the honor to be, very respectfully, your fellow citizens,

"JOHN McPHERSON BERRIEN,  
J. BURNET,  
ERASTUS ROOT,  
ABBOT LAWRENCE,  
WILLIAM S. ARCHER,

"Hon. Henry Clay."







Henry Clay's home, "Ashland" near Lexington, Kentucky.

## MR. CLAY'S LETTER OF ACCEPTANCE.

"Washington, 2nd May, 1844.

"GENTLEMEN: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, dated yesterday at Baltimore, communicating that I have been nominated by the National Whig Convention there assembled, to the people of the United States, as a candidate for the office of President of the United States. Confidently believing that this nomination is in conformity with the desire of a majority of the people of the United States, I accept it, from a high sense of duty, and with feelings of profound gratitude. I request you, gentlemen, in announcing to the convention my acceptance of the nomination to express the very great satisfaction I derive from the unanimity with which it has been made.

"I have the honor to be, with the highest respect, faithfully, your friend and fellow citizen.

"H. CLAY.

"Messrs. John McPherson Berrien, Erastus Root, J. Burnet, Wm. S. Archer, and Abbot Lawrence."

Whig ratification meetings were held all over the Union and these meetings constituted the high water mark in the boundless enthusiasm and idolatry of Henry Clay by the Whig party. These demonstrations were never excelled before in America, and in proportion to the population of the country at the time, have probably never been excelled since.

The Tennessee Whigs held a great mass convention at Nashville, on August 21st, at which speakers of national reputation addressed the convention and those who were on the committee of arrangements made public that "they are authorized to say that there would be bread and meat and 'chicken fixins' in abundance for strangers. Every Whig house in town will be open for their accommodation."

## JOHN TYLER NATIONAL CONVENTION.

The John Tyler National Convention was held in Baltimore on May 27, 1844, at Calvert Hall. The flag of the United States floated over the building and over the Speaker's chair, and in various parts of the hall were emblazoned mottoes—"Tyler and Texas," "Re-Annexation of Texas," "Postponement is Rejection." The delegates wore a gilt button with a single star, emblematic of the Lone Star State, and a ribbon badge with a likeness of President Tyler on it.

The Convention was called to order at eleven o'clock but proceedings were suspended until twelve, and, on motion, Mr. Shaler of New York was made temporary president and Mr. Baldwin of New York and Mr. Reynolds of Michigan temporary secretaries.

A committee on permanent organization was appointed and later made a report nominating Judge White of Connecticut for president, and nominees for vice president from a number of States were suggested, but none from Tennessee. Secretaries from various States were also named. Judge White, the president, addressed the convention in a short speech:

"We are called upon, gentlemen, to discharge a duty of no ordinary magnitude. We have come together from every section of the country, deputed by our democratic fellow citizens, to act with reference to the nomination of a candidate for the presidency—and to cast our votes for an *honest* man; and that man, allow me to say, is JOHN TYLER, of Virginia. (Loud cheering.) The expectations and wishes of our constituents, the masses, have been expressed on this point, in a manner not to be misunderstood. The man who has so nobly stood by the constitution of his country—who has saved the Democratic party—and raised it up from the prostrate condition in which it was left at the close of the campaign of 1840, is the only man whose name has been placed in our hands by the people. (Great applause.)

"I rejoice to find that I am surrounded by men who have long been identified with Jeffersonian democracy—men who have grown grey in that glorious cause. That the purest patriotism and love of country will be the guide of all our actions, I will not indulge a doubt. Let all we do be done with a single eye to the country's glory. I will add, that I feel the utmost desire to discharge the duties of the post you have assigned me, in a manner which shall satisfy every member of this large and highly respectable assembly.

"I cannot take the chair without assuming the responsibility of proposing three hearty cheers for Tyler and Texas."

This was responded to with three hearty cheers.

The Rev. Dr. Kreider offered a resolution in behalf of President John Tyler, as follows:

"Resolved, That we cheerfully respond to the proceeding of our fellow citizens throughout the Union, as manifested in their numerous State, county and district conventions, and primary assemblies, in which they have nominated John Tyler, of Virginia, as the democratic candidate for the next presidency, and the members of this convention deem it due to that illustrious

patriot to here proclaim him by acclamation as the candidate of the people for the chief magistracy in 1844, confident, not only that he will be triumphantly successful at the polls, but will achieve as great a victory in relation to the introduction of Texas, as he achieved when the country so enthusiastically sustained and applauded him for his eminently popular vetoes."

After very active discussion this resolution was adopted by acclamation.

On motion of T. T. Cropper of Virginia, the president was authorized to appoint a committee to notify President Tyler of his nomination for re-election, and on this committee president White named T. T. Cropper of Virginia, T. M. Hope of Illinois, Amos Holahan of Pennsylvania, J. W. Crooks of Massachusetts, and W. F. P. Taylor of New York.

The following resolution was adopted in reference to a nomination for Vice-President:

*"Resolved*, That there be appointed by the President of this convention a national nominating committee of seven persons, whose duty it shall be to report a candidate for the vice-presidency through the public papers as soon as practicable."

The President notified the convention that there would be a democratic Tyler mass meeting in the evening at the Western Hotel, corner of Howard and Saratoga Streets.

The committee on notification in carrying out their duty, addressed a letter to Mr. Tyler:

#### NOTIFICATION LETTER.

"Baltimore, May 28, 1844.

"Sir: The undersigned, a committee appointed for that purpose, have the honor of informing you that a Democratic convention, composed of delegates from the different States of the Union, have unanimously nominated you as a candidate for the next presidency. Actuated by a sincere desire to promote the great principles of democracy, and in conformity with the express wishes of their constituents in all portions of our country, they cordially and confidently present your name as the people's candidate for the highest office within their gift. Thus acting in accordance with the will of the people, they feel that they have bestowed their confidence upon one who, throughout a long and eventful career, in the discharge of high public trusts, has ever been found true to their dearest rights and best interests. While they feel conscious that they have thus faithfully discharged the high trust reposed within them by their constituents, they hesitate not to express the conviction that the people will, by their



united voices, sustain a candidate whose whole life has been devoted to republican principles, and who, in the midst of most trying and eventful circumstances, has always shown that *firmness* which is ever found in the honest man and true patriot. We have tried you long—we are yet willing to try you longer. Respectfully,

“THO. T. CROPPER, Va.,  
 THO. M. HOPE, Ill.,  
 AMOS HOLAHAN, Pa.,  
 WM. F. P. TAYLOR, N. Y.,  
 JAMES W. CROOKS, Mass.

“Hon. John Tyler,  
 “Washington, D. C.”

#### TYLER'S LETTER OF ACCEPTANCE.

To this letter the President wrote a lengthy reply which, while it is ancient history to the American voters of to-day, gives a strong inside light into the reasons which brought about the split in the Democratic party, and the election of Harrison and Tyler in 1840. The letter was intended to be a thorough vindication of Mr. Tyler's political course.

“GENTLEMEN: Your letter of the 28th instant, announcing to me my nomination for the presidency for the next four years from the 4th of March next, by a democratic convention held in Baltimore on the 27th of the present month, and delegated by no inconsiderable portions of the people in every State of the Union, demands my warmest acknowledgments. I have not been an inattentive observer of the course of public opinion in my favor, as manifested in numerous primary assemblies, announced by the proceedings and resolutions of large masses of the people in most of the States of the Union, and to which the delegates lately assembled in Baltimore have so promptly responded, and I beg to assure you, gentlemen, that I am not deficient in due sensibility upon the occasion.

“Since my accession to the presidency I have had to encounter trials of no ordinary character. A great experiment was, under Providence, committed to my hands. It was no other than a test as to the sufficiency of our constituents to meet the contingencies which for the first time had occurred in our history, of the death of the president, and the succession of a vice-president to the administration of public affairs. In entering upon the office, I had to decide the question whether I would surrender honor, judgment, conscience, and the right of an independent mind, into the hands of a party majority, in whose views and opinions, it became very soon obvious, I could not concur without such surrender; or whether I should brave all consequences in the vindication of the constitutional rights of the executive, and in the discharge of the most sacred obligations of duty to the



FROM NATIONAL PORTRAIT GALLERY, NEW YORK, 1861.

**HONORABLE JOHN TYLER**

Became President of the United States April 4, 1841, after the death of President Harrison.



country. By adopting the first course, I was perfectly aware that my presidential term would throughout be peaceable and tranquil, and that I should receive the zealous and ardent support of a controlling and dominant party; by pursuing the latter, I should incur the most violent denunciations, the bitterest reproaches, the most unrelenting persecutions, while I could look to no active support from any engaged in the administration of public affairs. The one party, bold and triumphant from the recent exhibition of its strength in the election of 1840, was likely to brook no opposition to its will, no matter upon what reason such opposition might proceed; while the other, still smarting under the signal defeat of its leaders, would not be well inclined to look favorably on one who had, in no small degree, been instrumental in bringing about that defeat. In the meantime I should be left without the means of defence against false ascriptions of motive and base assaults upon my character, which would be reverberated throughout the Union by the affiliated presses; while I should find but a most circumscribed defence in the columns of a single newspaper, and that, at the time, of a limited circulation. Under all these appalling circumstances, I had to make my election between peace, comfort and tranquility on the one side, and the stern and solemn obligations of duty on the other. The first to be obtained by a sacrifice of opinions long cherished, a surrender of the rights of conscience, an abandonment of the obligations arising from my oath of office to support and uphold the constitution, the loss of my own self respect, the scorn of all honorable and fair thinking men, the curses of the present day and the anathemas of futurity—the last to be performed amid thunders of denunciation and the bitterest outpourings of malice, in choosing between these alternatives, I did not hesitate a moment. The country is aware of what followed. Bills were sent up from congress for my approval, which I regarded as violations of the constitution. They were vetoed. I preferred denunciation to perjury, the anathemas of the moment to bearing in my bosom a Promethean vulture to tear and to devour me. I was immediately loudly and violently denounced by the Whig press, manifestoes were hurled at my head, articles of impeachment, showing alone the malice and weakness in which they originated, were moved against me in the house of representatives. Every harsh appellation was employed in connection with my name, mobs assembled at midnight at the doors of the presidential mansion, and the light of burning effigies threw its glare along the streets of some of the cities. Such were the consequences which followed the vetoes. Under these circumstances, my reliance was placed upon the people. To them I looked for justification and support. Nor was it denied. The congressional elections which shortly afterwards followed, furnished that justification and gave promise of that support. A large whig majority in the house of representatives was swept out of existence, and a



still larger democratic majority was made to occupy its place. The political battle was fought on the issues which duty had compelled me to raise, and an opinion more decisive upon those issues had never taken place. Many of those who had voted for General Harrison and myself, whose political opinions were coincident with my own, united with the democratic party and assisted in achieving so great a revolution.

"But, unhappily for me, the leaders of the Democratic party, through the public press, from motives altogether too obvious, deemed necessary without any cause whatever connected with the public administration, to open their attacks upon me, and forming an alliance with the rabid whig press, leveled at me the most vindictive assaults. These assaults have been continued on the part of the high contracting parties from 1842 to the present time, with only momentary intermission. The generous and high-minded men who either defended me in public, or came to my aid in the administration, were treated by both parties with a proud and haughty disdain. If those friends had voted for General Harrison and myself in 1840, they were expelled from the Whig party, if they had voted for Mr. Van Buren, the doors of Tammany Hall were shut against them. They sought no place in the conventions of either party, and nothing was ultimately left them but to band themselves together, to adopt their own organization, and to make their appeal to the intelligence of the people. How that appeal was received is best answered by referring to the numerous meetings of the people in their primary assemblies, in many instances embracing thousands, who, waiting for no conventions, have nominated me to their fellow citizens as their candidate for the presidency, and sent up to Baltimore for the purpose of comparison of views with persons from other sections delegates to a democratic convention, whose proceedings have ratified and confirmed the proceedings of their constituents.

"I do not feel myself at liberty to decline the nomination tendered me under such circumstances. There is much in the present condition of the country which would forbid my doing so. My name has become inseparably connected with the great question of the annexation of Texas to the Union. In originating and concluding that negotiation, I had anticipated the most cordial co-operation of two gentlemen, both of whom were most prominent in the public mind as candidates for the presidency. That co-operation would have been attended with the immediate withdrawal of my name from the question of the succession. In the consummation of that measure, the aspirations of my ambition would have been complete. I should have felt that, as an instrument of Providence, I would have been aided in accomplishing for my country the greatest possible good. The poor and contemptible desire to be in office for the mere sake of office, however, exalted, would have had no effect upon me. But such was not the case. Where I had reason to expect support, I

have met with stern, and for aught I know, unrelenting opposition. My motives have once more been most violently assailed, and matters have proceeded to such an extremity, that the opinion of a learned jurist of the State of New York has been obtained, and is now published to the world, that I have made myself the legitimate subject of impeachment for having negotiated the treaty of annexation, and sought to carry it out by measures which seemed to me to be imperatively called for by honor, by justice, and every consideration of public duty.

"I am therefore left no alternative. I shall shrink from no responsibility, shall seek to appease no spirit of discontent. If annexation is to be accomplished it must, I am convinced, be done immediately. Texas is in no condition to delay. She will not stake her interests upon possible but remote contingencies. If the present treaty should be ratified, or any measure in any other form shall be presented which will result in success at the present session of congress, you will leave me at liberty, gentlemen, to pursue the course in regard to the nomination which you have communicated to me, that my sense of what is due to myself and the country may seem to require. The question with me, is between Texas and the presidency. The latter, even if within my grasp, would not, for a moment, be permitted to stand in the way of the first. But in the present posture of affairs, I can waive no responsibility.

"You do me nothing but justice in ascribing to me a firm and unshaken purpose to uphold the political principles which were sanctioned by Jefferson, and consecrated by his immediate successors. I yield to no man in the sincerity of my devotion to them; and while I remain at the head of the government, it will be my continued effort to sustain and advance them.

"Be pleased to accept assurances of my high regard and esteem.

"JOHN TYLER.

"Washington, May 30, 1844."

#### TYLER WITHDRAWS.

Among politicians and newspapers it has always been considered a matter of great glory for one to be able to boast that he brought about a healing of the breaches in a disrupted political party. Conditions in the disrupted Democratic party of 1844 made it possible for this glory to come to the Richmond Enquirer which, on August 20, 1844, addressed a very persuasive editorial to the John Tyler wing of the Democratic party. The letter was persuasive and strongly eulogistic, and indicates the intense desire upon the part of the leaders of the Democrats that Tyler and his following should return to the Democratic fold and assist to elect James K. Polk president of the United States. The

vast importance of the subject enthused the Enquirer's editorial writer and his appeal proved irresistible to Tyler. This editorial was headed:

"DEMOCRATIC UNION.

"Not long since we ventured to express our opinion about the general importance of a complete reunion of the republican party. After acknowledging the many and signal services which had been rendered by President Tyler to the democracy, we appealed to him and his friends to unite with the republican brethren, assuring them that they would be received by the friends of Polk and Dallas 'with cordiality, confidence and joy.' With scarcely a dissenting voice, the democratic press of the Union has re-echoed these sentiments; and no one can now doubt that it is the ardent wish of the republican party, that Mr. Tyler and his friends should co-operate with us 'as brethren and as equals.' We have not time or space for many quotations; but we will refer to the views of two democratic journals, one in the north, the other in the south. The New York Democrat says: 'Almost every democratic paper we open responds to our recommendation of union and harmony in the democratic ranks, oblivion to the past, energy and zeal to the future. Throw open the doors of Tammany Hall, broadly, for all the tried friends of John Tyler to enter, pass the word throughout the State and Union, that we are one and indivisible, that the old democracy is again united and powerful, and we shall thus sweep everything before it.' The Nashville Union, speaking no doubt the views of all our friends in Tennessee, quotes our article, and a most able editorial of the Boston Post endorses our statements and says in regard to both, 'We participate in their noble sentiments, we profess equal good fellowship with all who go for our common principles.' Our talented friend the 'Pennsylvanian' was pleased also to confirm the sentiments we expressed. Our humble views have also received the full approbation of a patriot statesman, than whom no one possesses more fully the affection and confidence of the whole democratic party. In a letter of the 26th July, he says, 'Mr. Tyler's withdrawal, at once, would unite all the democrats into one family, without distinction. This would render our victory easy and certain, by bringing Mr. Tyler's friends into the support of Polk and Dallas, received as brethren by them and their friends, all former differences forgotten and all cordially united once more in sustaining the democratic candidates. I had such confidence in Mr. Tyler's good sense and patriotism, that I was sure he would withdraw in due time, as I believe him to be a good democrat.' (It is unnecessary for us to specify the man of iron nerve, whose pen indited these sentences?) We appeal to the patriotism of John Tyler, and we invoke him, in the name of the democracy of the Union, to place his third and final veto upon the Bank of the United

States, by uniting with us his old republican States rights anti-Bank friends, and thereby insuring the defeat of the dictator who would re-establish this corrupt and desperate corporation upon the fragments of the constitution and the ruins of American liberty! It was James K. Polk who declared upon the floor of congress, 'The question is whether we shall have a republic without a bank, or a bank without a republic.' Noble and glorious sentiment! as brief and beautiful, as true and eloquent, and presenting in bold relief, the dreadful consequences from which we were saved by the moral firmness and patriotic vetoes of John Tyler. And now in the madness of disappointed ambition, the dictator would tumble upon the fundamental law, and strike from its provisions the great conservative veto of the constitution. Here, also, president Tyler and Mr. Polk concur in opinion. Col. Polk, also, is the bold and manly advocate of the immediate re-annexation of Texas; whilst Mr. Clay opposes the acquisition of Texas, as dangerous, inexpedient and unwise. This acquisition we regard as of the highest importance to the whole country; and so does President Tyler; and, standing as his name ever must, pre-eminently, in glorious identity with this great measure, his most bitter foe could scarcely expect him to do otherwise than oppose the election of a man who stands in conflict with his own patriotic views, as regards this great American question. Finally, Mr. Polk (as well as President Tyler) is devoted to the rights and union of the States; whilst the violent and proscriptive course, the dictatorial and despotic temper of Mr. Clay, connected with his consolidating doctrines and ultra measures, might endanger that blessed Union, which is the pride and hope of every true American. The appeal, then, which we make, is to the patriotism of John Tyler. The motives which we present are public motives, pure, elevated and disinterested. We ask him to come to the rescue of the constitution and of his own great measures and principles. Come and save us from the dominion of a despot Bank; save to us the veto itself, that great conservative safeguard of the constitution; save to us Texas from the grasp of England, into whose hands she will be certainly thrown by the election of Henry Clay; come, at the head of your gallant and devoted friends, and render our common victory and triumph certain and complete; come, and the grateful and united voice of more than a million of freemen, rescued by your vetoes from the domination of a monarch Bank, will proclaim your welcome, welcome, thrice welcome into the ranks of our republican brethren."

#### TYLER'S REPLY.

President Tyler answered the Enquirer in a lengthy communication setting out reasons in vindication of his political course before, and also in withdrawing from the race for the presidency at that time.



“TO MY FRIENDS THROUGHTOUT THE UNION.

“The reasons which influenced me in accepting the nomination for the presidency, made by a convention of my friends in May last, at Baltimore, have lost much of their original force. I had been not only most violently assailed by the ultraists of both parties, but had been threatened with impeachment for having negotiated a treaty proposing the annexation of Texas in the Union, as a portion of its territory, and for having adopted precautionary measures clearly falling within the range of executive discretion, to ward off any blow which might have been seriously aimed at the peace and safety of the country in the event of the ratification of the treaty by the senate. The opinion of a person, once ranked amongst the distinguished jurists of the country, found its way into the newspapers, apparently as the precursor of such proceeding.

“A report had also been made at a previous session of congress by a committee of the house of representatives, which proceeded from the man who filled no limited space in the eye of the world, in which, because of the exercise of the veto power in arrest of the unconstitutional and pernicious measures of a United States Bank, and a donation to the States of so much of the revenue as was derived from the public lands, at a moment of great embarrassment to the treasury, and when loans were necessary to sustain the government, I was charged with the commission of grave offences in the above particulars, and with deserving all the pains and disgrace flowing from the high power of impeachment, a measure, as it was intimated, only not resorted to by the house because of a doubt entertained whether the proceeding would be sustained by public sentiment. I had, it is true, protested against that report as originating in wrong, and dictated by party rancor and malevolence; but my protest was refused a place on the Journal of the house, and thus in future times my name might have been tarnished by the fact of a solemn declaration implicating my character, remaining uncontradicted and unreversed on the public Journals.

“The party majority which had sanctioned a proceeding so unjust, had, it is true, been swept out of existence by the elections which shortly afterwards followed; but, at the time of my acceptance of the nomination, although a large and overwhelming majority of the opposite party had been brought into power by the people, as if for the express purpose of sustaining me in what I had done, yet, that very party had made no public movement indicative of a friendly feeling, and a portion of its members, who seemed to control the rest, exhibited the bitterest hostility, and the most unrelenting spirit of opposition. Under these circumstances, there was but one course left to me consistent with honor, which was to maintain my position unmoved by threats, and unintimidated by denunciations. Those of my countrymen

who had come to my support, had done so in a self-sacrificing spirit, without the indulgence of any other expectation than that my character should be vindicated, and that the policy of my administration should be sustained; and I felt that it would better become me to abide the most signal defeat than to incur the disgrace of depreciating the action of a party, the chief object of whose leaders seemed to be to fasten upon me disgrace. I had also an indistinct hope that the great question of the annexation of Texas might, in some degree, be controlled by the position I occupied.

"These motives induced my acceptance of the nomination made by my friends. Before the close of the session of congress, however, developments were so clearly and distinctly made as to the threatened impeachment, that no trace of such a measure was left. Mr. J. Q. Adams' report, implicating my motives and conduct in my vetoes of the bank and other bills, was deprived of all its force and fugitive effect by a report made by a committee, of which Mr. Ellis, of New York, was chairman, accompanied by resolutions, which passed the house of representatives some few days before the close of the session by a large and commanding majority, not only rescuing my motives from all imputation, but justifying and upholding my policy. The voice of the people in the elections of 1842 was thus directly responded to by that of their representatives, and but little remained for me personally, either to expect or desire.

"Since the adjournment of congress, the language of many of the leading presses of the country, and resolutions adopted by large assemblages of the people in their primary meetings, have still further endorsed the proceedings of the house in approbation of the acts of the administration. I could not, however, look exclusively to my own wishes, which would have lead me immediately to retire from a contest which seemed no longer to be possessed of an object worthy of much further attention. But I was not at liberty to do so without first consulting with such of my most prominent and steadfast friends as I could readily confer with; men who had shared with me in much of the abuse which I had encountered, and would partially have participated in all the obloquy if any, which might, in the future, attach to me. So far as I have been able to consult them, they have yielded their assent to the course which my own judgment suggests as proper, and I now announce to them and the country, my withdrawal from the presidential canvass.

"I cannot omit to accompany this public annunciation with a few remarks, addressed to the republican portion of what was called the whig party of 1840. I make no appeal to that other portion, which was formerly known during the early period of our political history, as federalists, at a later day as national republicans, and now pass under the general appellation of whigs. Such an appeal would be wholly out of place, since their political prin-

ciples are entirely at war with those I have advocated through life. I mean no imputation on their motives or their patriotism. I doubt not that the old federal party, in the lead of which stood the elder Adams, were as deeply and sincerely convinced of the necessity of the Alien and Sedition laws, as the present is of that of a bank of the United States, with other measures equally latitudinous, along with the abolition of the veto power, whereby to convert the government into a mere majority machine, to make it the government of a single nation, instead of what it is, a political compact between free, sovereign and independent States, by which so much power, and no more, has been granted to a common agent of all the States, as they esteemed to be necessary for the promotion of their mutual happiness. No; to them I have nothing to say. If I have received their support at any time, it has been, not from attachment to me or my political principles, but from some supposed influence which I might bring to bear, as a secondary agent, in advancing their purpose.

"All the obligations which I have received for such reasons, have been more than counterbalanced by the untiring opposition which I have encountered at their hands since I attained my present station, and the constant and unmitigated abuse which their leaders have poured out in a torrent upon my head; designed as I verily believe, in the first instance, to drive me from the government; and in the last to overwhelm me with obloquy and reproach. But I have a right to address myself to those who, like myself, co-operated with them in the contest of 1840, who were, and always had been the advocates of the principles of the old republican party, whose strenuous efforts have always been directed to preserving the compact of Union unbroken and inviolate, who have sustained at all times the principles of the republican party of 1798-9, who have participated from time to time, in all republican triumphs, whose fathers were victorious over the elder Adams in the election of Mr. Jefferson, as they themselves were over the younger in the election of Gen. Jackson.

"To this portion of the whig party of 1840, I feel that I have a full right to address myself; and I now seriously put it to them to say, whether any expectation of good to the country which they had formed in the election of Gen. Harrison and myself to the presidency and vice presidency, has been disappointed? Many of us had been thrown into opposition to Gen. Jackson during his last term, having voted for him upon his first and second election, because of certain doctrines put forth in his proclamation, and because of certain measures which followed that celebrated state paper. Our opposition proceeded from no spirit of faction, but from what we esteemed to be a sacred regard to the high and essential principles of the republican party, and regarding his successor as in a great degree identified with what we esteemed as errors in Gen. Jackson's administration, our opposition was continued to him. The state and condition of the country, also,



seemed to require change in the general administration. Have you been disappointed in the reform which you promised yourselves by going into the contest? You demanded a rigid economy to be observed in the public expenditures. Have you in this been disappointed? You require accountability on the part of all public agents. Has it not been fulfilled? Let the fact that a defaulter has become almost unknown for the last three years answer the question.

"You ask that a course of policy should be adopted which should purify and reform the currency. Was the currency of the country ever in a better condition? Let the rate of exchanges between all parts of the country answer the inquiry. Has the day ever been, when the currency was sounder or the rates of exchange lower? You sought once more to put the mechanical arts in active operation, and to relieve commerce from the blight which had fallen upon it. The first has revived, and the last has unfurled its sails, which now whiten almost every sea. The paralysis which had fallen on public credit, to an extent so great that the poor sum of \$5,000,000 of government stock was offered to European and American capitalists without our being able to find for it a purchaser, has passed away, and a well supplied exchequer gives evidence not only of the expansion of trade, but of the stable basis on which rests the public credit.

"The very stock for which no bidders could at one time be found, now readily commands in the market an advance of fifteen or twenty dollars in the hundred. In the meantime I submit to you to say whether the principles of the republican party have not been closely observed in all that has been done. Did those principles require that we should recommence a new cycle of twenty years, the predecessor of which a Bank of the United States had fulfilled in 1836? Beginning by increasing the derangements of business for years, attended in its mid-career with comparative prosperity, then resorting to efforts by all its large means to force a recharter, and ending its existence amid the curses and denunciations of the many it had ruined. Most of you had, like myself, through all time, pronounced the bank to be unconstitutional.

"Had your opinions on this subject undergone a change in 1840 and did you contemplate that Gen. Harrison and myself, who during the whole contest avowed our opinions to be unchanged in that respect, in numerous addresses to the public, would be deserving of denunciation if either of us should refuse to perjure ourselves by sanctioning a bank charter, which, believing it to be unconstitutional, our solemn oath of office required us to vote against or veto? Tell me, moreover brother republicans of 1840, had you then brought yourselves to the conclusion that, even admitting a possible abuse of the veto power, it was proper to erase from the constitution that great barrier and check to unconstitutional and highly inexpedient legislation, thereby making



the will of congress supreme and installing the majority of that body in the full possession of all the powers of government? Or did you, or do you now, still cling to the opinion in which the qualified veto originated, that a government without check and balances is the worst form of oligarchy, and that too many guards, in order to secure public liberty, cannot be thrown over its different departments?

"If, indeed, you are advocates of a change so vital as that proposed, then may not only the Garrisons and Tappans of our country rejoice, but a shout should ascend from the abolition convention 'of the whole world,' at the fact that our federal system had given away before the power of a consolidated government, whose will, uttered forth by sectional majorities, was absolute, admitting of no check or resistance from any quarter whatever. If, indeed these be your opinions, then have I most grievously disappointed the hopes in which you indulged in connection with my election and my administration. I must, nevertheless, most solemnly aver that had I been aware that such would have been expected and required of me, if I could have believed that you, whose candidate I was peculiarly considered, and to conciliate whom I was nominated for the vice presidency, would have required of me in the contingency, which unhappily occurred, that I should commence my administration with an act of perjury, and sanctioned measures abhorrent to every principle of my past life and at war with the prosperity of the country and the continuance of liberty, I would not have suffered my name, humble as it was, to have been breathed in the canvass. No, I claim the proud privilege of an American citizen to think for myself on all subjects, and to act in pursuance of my own convictions, and it would require a total change of my nature in order to convert me into a mere instrument of party, or of party dictation.

"I would appeal not only to yourself but to all my countrymen to say whether, in the matters appertaining to our foreign affairs, they anticipated more success in the adjustment of difficulties and in the formation of highly important treaties than it has been my province to cause to be negotiated. Longstanding difficulties have been adjusted, difficulties which threatened most seriously the peace of the country. Nor has any opportunity been lost for enlarging the commerce of the country, and giving new markets to our agricultural and manufactured products. If the country has not reaped full fruition of benefit from all the treaties thus negotiated, it surely has not been the fault of the administration. The loss of two of those treaties through the action of the senate, cannot but be deplored by me as great public calamities. By the treaty with the German states we had opened the way to a more extended commerce with 27,000,000 of people, in our cotton, tobacco, rice, and lard, at duties on tobacco, rice and lard greatly reduced, and with a stipulation for the free

admission of cotton; while we had agreed to receive at somewhat reduced duties articles from those states which entered into the most limited competition, if at all, with a few similar articles of American product.

"The treaty was particularly interesting from [the fact that, for the first time, after repeated struggles on the part of my predecessors to accomplish a reduction of duty on tobacco, the government had succeeded in doing so. It was negotiated under resolutions originating with the tobacco States, and with the presumed sanction of congress, who had raised, as it is believed, the mission of Vienna from a second to a first rate mission, with direct reference to the tobacco interest, and had also appropriated a sum of money some years ago, to enable the executive to employ an agent in Germany to acquire information as to the tobacco trade; the services of which agent had only ceased a short time prior to the negotiation of the treaty. My hope still, however, is that the benefit of the treaty, and the treaty itself, may not be lost to the country. I think it proper to add, that there was no design to deprive the house of representatives of any rightful and constitutional action over the subject which it might properly exercise. It was, on the contrary, my intention to have submitted the treaty, and all the papers calculated to elucidate it, to the house of representatives, if it had been ratified by the senate, for such action as they might have deemed it proper to adopt, a course pursued in all cases in which the action of the house is required to vote supplies of money, or fulfill any other object falling within the scope of their power.

\* "In negotiating the treaty for the annexation of Texas, which was rejected by the senate, motives have been ascribed to the administration which had no place in its mind or heart. One gentleman occupying a prominent place in the democratic party, whether for good or evil it does not become me to say, has assigned in an address, recently delivered in Missouri, two prominent motives for its negotiation: 1st, personal ambition, and 2dly, a purpose to dissolve the Union. Mr. Clay, also, in a recent letter, written to the editor of a newspaper in Alabama, has called it infamous, and ascribed to it, in its origin, sinister objects. I repel both their assaults upon the treaty and its negotiators. What object of mere personal ambition in any way connected with office could have influenced the administration in negotiating the treaty? The public archives furnished the strongest reasons to believe that the treaty would have met the unqualified approval of both Mr. Clay and Mr. Van Buren. While the one was secretary of state to Mr. Adams, and the other to General Jackson, each in his turn attempted to obtain the annexation of Texas. Mr. Clay's negotiations were carried on with Mexico in the third year of her revolutionary struggle, while Spain regarded her as a revolted province, and her armies were in possession of many of the strongholds of the country. What reason, then, could I

have had for supposing for an instant that a treaty with Texas, after eight years of actual independence, with no Mexican soldier within her territory, and subject only to occasional border interruptions, could or would have met with opposition from him or his friends? and meeting with no such opposition on the part either of Mr. Van Buren or Mr. Clay, and their friends, it would puzzle a sounder casuist than I profess to be, to conceive in what possible way it could have interrupted the relations of those two gentlemen who stood at the moment at the head of their respective parties, and were looked upon by all as competitors for the presidency. It is well known that, when the negotiation for the acquisition of Texas was commenced, and up to the period succeeding the signing of the treaty, it was my confident conviction, expressed to many, that it would, from the circumstances I have stated, receive the support both of Mr. Clay and Mr. Van Buren, so that neither would be affected by its negotiation.

"If it had been charged that the administration was prompted by the ambition of securing the greatest boon to the country, and the whole country, in the acquisition of a territory so important in itself and so inseparably connected with the interests of every State in the Union, and every interest of the Union, I would have plead guilty, without a moment of hesitation. I confess I felt ambitious to add another bright star to the American constellation. It would have been a source of pride to me, if that measure had been carried, to have witnessed from the retirement that awaits me, the unusual expansion of our coastwise and foreign trade, and the increased prosperity of our agriculture and manufactures, through the rapid growth of Texas, which would have followed the ratification of the treaty. Yes, I freely confess that this would have furnished me an unfailing source of gratification to the end of my life. I should have seen also the union of the States becoming stronger and stronger through their reciprocal affection, local jealousies suppressed, and fanatical schemes and schemers alike prostrate. I should have witnessed the blessed results of our federative system as it embraced the finest country in the world, and brought under its influence a people devoted like ourselves to the maintenance and preservation of free government.

"This was the kind of ambition which prompted the negotiation of the treaty. Its ratification was the sole honor which I coveted, and that I now desire. What sinister motives could have originated the negotiation at this time, that did not exist in 1827? What was there now to have rendered a treaty infamous which did not exist then? If it be said we had a treaty of limits with Mexico, I ask if, in 1827, we had not also a treaty of limits with Spain? We had recognized the independence of Mexico, and, therefore, virtually claimed that we had a perfect right to treat with her for the annexation of Texas, and in fact, if we had so pleased, for Mexico entire. Eight years ago we recognized



Texas as independent, and surely our right to negotiate with her implied no worse faith than in 1827 to negotiate with Mexico for her.

"The idea that because of the existence of a treaty of limits with any nation, we must forever thereafter deny to all parts of the territory of such nation the right of revolution or change, can only excite, with an American citizen, a smile. Was it deemed necessary, in 1827, to consult the States, to consult the senate, or to consult the house of representatives, or the people? Was it considered necessary to obtain the assent of every State as would seem now to be proposed, before forming a treaty of annexation? If the assent of every State is necessary then may we bid adieu to the prospect of annexation now or hereafter. The constitution devolves the treaty-making power on two-thirds of the States, through their senators, and it is altogether a new doctrine that a treaty should not be negotiated without the assent of all.

"Danger to the Union through the exercise of the power of a constitutional majority in the making of a treaty, is a doctrine for the first time advanced, and having no foundation in point of fact. I regard the preservation of the Union as the first great American interest. I equally disapprove of all threats of its dissolution, whether they proceed from the north or the south. The glory of my country, its safety and its prosperity alike depend on Union, and he who would contemplate its destruction even for a moment, and form plans to accomplish it, deserves the deepest anathemas of the human race.

"I believed, and still believe, that the annexation of Texas would add to its strength, and serve to perpetuate it for ages yet to come; and my best efforts while I remain in office, will be directed to securing its acquisition, either now or at a future day. Whether any efforts will avail to secure this object since the rejection of the treaty, remains still to be seen. I abandon all hope upon the subject if it shall be esteemed necessary to obtain for it the approval of every State. The case rarely occurs that any treaty receives the unanimous approval of the senate.

"I have been called upon, in justice to myself, to make these remarks in withdrawing from the position in which my friends had placed me. I might present other inquiries growing out of the course of the administration, both in regard to our domestic and foreign relations, as to which principles have been maintained, which may arrest the attention of future and even remote Administrations, but let what I have said suffice. All that I ask of my countrymen is a candid review of my acts, and an impartial comparison of the condition of the country now with what it was three years ago. I appeal from the vituperation of the present day to the pen of impartial history, in the full confidence that neither my motives nor my acts will bear the interpretation which has, for sinister purposes, been placed upon them.

"Washington, Aug. 20th, 1844."

"JOHN TYLER.



## CHAPTER 15.

### James Knox Polk—What is a Great Man—Polk's Diary—Return to Nashville—Death.

In 1901 The Chicago Historical Society bought from the family of James K. Polk his diary, and a lot of letters and miscellaneous papers which had been preserved by the president. The diary covers the period from August 26, 1845, to June 2, 1849, and is in the president's handwriting, and made up of 25 volumes of the same size, each containing from 100 to 250 pages except the last, which was not completed. In 1910 the society published for its own uses 500 copies of the diary in 4 volumes, averaging 450 closely printed pages each, and no further edition has appeared; so that knowledge of the existence of the diary, to say nothing of its contents, is known to comparatively few of the American people. The Chicago Historical Society is entitled to the gratitude of every student of history for putting in print a work that sheds so much light upon President James K. Polk himself, as well as upon his administration—one which was confronted with and successfully solved some of the gravest problems in the annals of the country.

President Polk stated in the diary entry for August 26, 1846, his reasons for keeping a diary, and these reasons we must accept at face value as far as they are stated. But the impression grows that there were other reasons. One is impressed that Polk wrote the diary for posterity, and that he frankly tells in it the exact truth as he saw it. It may be he wrote with prejudice here and there, and he has been charged with harboring prejudices in his career, but there is no evidence in the diary that he set down a single word intentionally false or colored or prejudiced.

On the contrary the reader is impressed that the man who wrote the diary was a strong, alert, courageous, aggressive, outspoken and masterful character, tenacious of purpose, consistent in conduct and a leader who always fearlessly and successfully led, and, above everything else, a man who was perfectly sincere.



HONORABLE JAMES K. POLK AND MRS. POLK



There is no semblance of posing anywhere in the four volumes. We seem to look into the very heart of James K. Polk. He speaks right out, and is never afraid to speak. He tells how he acted and was never afraid to act.

The publication of the diary will enhance Polk's standing even with those writers who deny his right to be classed as a great man, and a perusal of it drew these expressions from James Schouler:

"It must be a surprise to most of our fellow-countrymen to learn that another President beside John Quincy Adams kept an extensive journal while in office; and especially that an Executive so absorbed in difficult details as Mr. Polk should have found time to record his impressions from day to day at such great length, and with so obvious a determination to be exact and comprehensive. Such an enterprise steadily pursued, and with no full opportunity to change or suppress what at the time was written, reveals not only facts essential to a correct understanding of public actions, but, more unconsciously, the mental cast and political bias of the writer. Like his more erudite predecessor, John Quincy Adams, Polk cherished—and probably with greater zeal—the purpose of vindicating some day his secret political motives and his public relations with other men; but his premature death, very soon after his four years' term had expired, left the Diary unrevised as its own expositor, an inner fountain of information unadorned. No two Presidents could have been more at the antipodes than were Polk and John Quincy Adams in political affiliations and designs. Yet each, after his peculiar fashion, was honest, inflexible in purpose, and pursuant of the country's good; and both have revealed views singularly alike—the one as a scholar, the other as a sage and sensible observer—of the selfish, ignoble, and antagonistic influences which surge about the citidel of national patronage, and beset each supreme occupant of the White House."

"Whatever may be thought of Mr. Polk's official course in despoiling Mexico for the aggrandizement of his own country, one cannot read this Diary carefully without an increased respect for his simple and sturdy traits of character, his inflexible honesty in financial concerns, and the pertinacious zeal and strong sagacity which characterized his whole presidential career. Making all due allowance for any personal selfishness which might color his narrative, we now perceive clearly that he was the framer of that public policy which he carried into so successful execution, and that instead of being led (as many might have imagined) by the more famous statesmen of his administration and party who surrounded him, he in reality led and shaped his own executive course; disclosing in advance to his familiar Cabinet such part as he thought best to make known, while concealing the



rest. Both Bancroft and Buchanan, of his official advisers, have left on record since his death, incidental tributes to his greatness as an administrator and unifier of executive action; both admitting in effect his superior force of will and comprehension of the best practical methods for attaining his far-reaching ends."

The world has always held that there were great men, but it would seem that no two agree upon what constitutes one. We agree on the fact of his existence, but we utterly fail on a definition of him; and before any intelligent discussion can be had as to Polk's rightful place in history, it will be instructive for us to examine the definitions of greatness and great men, given by men whose opinion the world is accustomed to consider with respect; and if we find that these definitions differ in detail, to ascertain, if we can, if there is any general principle or sentiment or quality upon which a majority agree; but a definition we must have.

When the first edition of this work was issued, a distinguished American lawyer wrote to the author this:

#### A LAWYER TO THE AUTHOR.

"I do not agree with you that Polk was one of the great presidents. History has never given him that position and I do not believe it ever will. If a man does not so impress himself upon his country and time as to make the world think that he is great, it is very rare no matter what his merits may be if he can be rehabilitated, unless it is a man who has led an obscure life, and some great thing in connection with his life has been subsequently discovered which was not known to the general public.

"Of course the public knew all of the public acts of Mr. Polk upon which greatness could be founded.

"While the above is my opinion, I am also of the opinion that full justice has not been done Mr. Polk, and that a well-written life of him would be well worth while. However, to gain the attention of the public and carry conviction, it would have to be not an eulogy but a critical historical review which would appeal to judgment and not to sentiment.

"The trouble with most of our Southern histories is that they are written to establish a theory and not to evolve one."

This constitutes our first definition of a great man, one who has impressed his contemporaries that he is great.

In searching for other definitions we look to opinions of both ancient and modern times and in both America and foreign countries:

Bismarck: "A really great man is known by three signs—generosity in the design, humanity in the execution, moderation in success."

Channing: "The greatest man is he who chooses the right with invincible resolution; who resists the sorest temptations from within and without; who bears the heaviest burdens cheerfully; who is calmest in storms, and most fearless under menace and frowns; and whose reliance on truth, on virtue, and on God, is most unfaltering."

Brougham: "The true test of a great man—that, at least, which must secure his place among the highest order of great men—is, his having been in advance of his age."

Addison: "A contemplation of God's works, a generous concern for the good of mankind, and the unfeigned exercise of humility—these only, denominate men great and glorious."

Bucher: "Greatness lies, not in being strong, but in the right using of strength; and strength is not used rightly when it serves only to carry a man above his fellows for his own solitary glory. He is the greatest whose strength carries up the most hearts by the attraction of his own."

Bryant: "Difficulty is a nurse of greatness—a harsh nurse, who rocks her foster children roughly, but rocks them into strength and athletic proportions. The mind, grappling with great aim and wrestling with mighty impediments, grows by a certain necessity to the stature of greatness."

J. M. Hoppin: "A nation's greatness resides not in her material resources."

Charles Reade: "Not a day passes over the earth but men and women of no note do great deeds, speak great words, and suffer noble sorrows. Of these obscure heroes, philosophers, and martyrs the greater part will never be known till that hour when many that were great shall be small, and the small great."

Phillips Brooks: "No man has come to true greatness who has not felt in some degree that his life belongs to his race, and that what God gives him he gives him for mankind."

William Jones: "If I am asked who is the greatest man, I answer the best; and if I am required to say who is the best, I reply he that has deserved most of his fellow-creatures."

Carlyle: "Great men are the commissioned guides of mankind, who rule their fellows because they are wiser."

Johnson: "Nothing can be truly great which is not right."

Seneca: "A great, a good, and a right mind is a kind of divinity lodged in flesh, and may be the blessing of a slave as well as of a prince; it came from heaven, and to heaven it must return; and it is a kind of heavenly felicity, which a pure and virtuous mind enjoys, in some degree, even upon earth."

Colton: "In life we shall find many men that are great, and some men that are good, but very few men that are both great and good."

Colton: "Subtract from the great man all that he owes to opportunity, all that he owes to chance, and all that he has gained by the wisdom of his friends and the folly of his enemies, and the giant will often be seen to be a pigmy."

Rochefoucauld: "However brilliant an action may be, it ought not to pass for great when it is not the result of a great design."

M. Henry: "Nothing can make a man truly great but being truly good, and partaking of God's holiness."

Demosthenes: "Everything great is not always good, but all good things are great."

Sidney Smith: "There is but one method, and that is hard labor; and a man who will not pay that price for greatness had better at once dedicate himself to the pursuit of the fox, or to talk of bullocks, and glory in the goad."

Seneca: "He who is great when he falls is great in his prostration, and is no more an object of contempt than when men tread on the ruins of sacred buildings, which men of piety venerate no less than if they stood."

Rochefoucauld: "Great souls are not those which have less passion and more virtue than common souls, but only those which have greater designs."

Ifland: "He is great who can do what he wishes; he is wise who wishes to do what he can."

Daniel Webster: "A solemn and religious regard to spiritual and eternal things is an indispensable element of all true greatness."

Bishop Hall: "He is great enough that is his own master."

Seneca: "Great is he who enjoys his earthenware as if it were plate, and not less great is the man to whom all his plate is no more than earthenware."

Shakespeare: "Some are born great; some achieve greatness; and some have greatness thrust upon them."

Washington: "It is to be lamented that great characters are seldom without a blot."

Goethe: "The world cannot do without great men, but great men are very troublesome to the world."

Shakespeare: "He is not great, who is not greatly good."

Mulock: "The man who does his work, any work, conscientiously, must always be in one sense a great man."

Carlyle: "Great men are the modellers, patterns, and in a wide sense creators, of whatsoever the general mass of men contrived to do and attain."

Phillips Brooks: "Greatness may be present in lives whose range is very small."

John Milton: "He alone is worthy of the appellation who either does great things, or teaches how they may be done, or describes them with a suitable majesty when they have been done; but those only are great things which tend to render life more happy, which increase the innocent enjoyments and comforts

of existence, or which pave the way to a state of future bliss more permanent and more pure."

Chapman: "They're only truly great who are truly good."

Ben Franklin: "There was never yet a truly great man that was not at the same time truly virtuous."

Addison:

"Unbounded courage and compassion join'd,  
Tempering each other in the victor's mind,  
Alternately proclaim him good and great,  
And make the hero and the man complete."

Matthew Arnold: "Greatness is a spiritual condition worthy to excite love, interest, and admiration; and the outward proof of possessing greatness is, that we excite love, interest, and admiration."

Emerson: "Great men are they who see that spiritual is stronger than any material force, that thoughts rule the world."

Emerson: "He is great who is what he is from Nature, and who never reminds us of others."

Longfellow:

"The heights by great men reached and kept  
Were not attained by sudden flight,  
But they, while their companions slept,  
Were toiling upward in the night."

Ruskin: "No great intellectual thing was ever done by great effort; a great thing can only be done by a great man, and he does it without effort."

Carlyle: "Great souls are always loyally submissive, reverent to what is over them; only small, mean souls are otherwise."

The great variety of opinion, the ever varying differences, the irreconcilable conflicts and inaccuracy of thought and language, are all plainly and painfully shown here. Some of these definitions critically analyzed become preposterous, and from them we are led irresistably to the conclusion that there is no ascertained or ascertainable standard of greatness or great men; that the word great has no clearly defined meaning; that human judgment fails helplessly to fix a standard for human actions and achievements; that opinion of the same people may vary from one period to another in reference to the same subject matter; and that people of different countries may and do estimate actions, motives, books, leadership, art, invention and every other human activity far apart.

Lacking a standard or a definition then, the advocates who claim that Polk was a great man have as firm ground to stand



on as those who dispute this claim. In the last analysis it is all in the point of view, a matter of personal opinion.

In the first place Polk was probably the greatest administrator that ever filled the presidency. In no other administration, certainly in none to a greater degree, did the president with the most careful deliberation and set purpose lay out a definite program of what he would attempt to accomplish,—a program great and comprehensive enough to affect the entire course of his country's history, and to carry this program through in every detail. The tremendous will-power, the resistless driving energy, the singleness of aim and determination, and the unlimited self-reliance required to do this, all speak in tones that admit of no denial that the manhood of James K. Polk was that of a man that nature cast in a great mould to accomplish great things. Writers say that his intense singleness of purpose in executing his plans indicate a narrow mind, and if the plans were small and narrow this would be legitimate criticism. But Polk's plans were among the largest any president ever undertook to carry through. They were varied as well as great, and he was the master mind that guided, directed and controlled it all. There is no division even among unsympathetic historians that he was the one supreme pilot of his administration, and led his cabinet and was not led by it. Vice-President Dallas said that he, Polk, "left nothing unfinished; what he attempted he did."

His cabinet was composed of some of the strongest characters and ablest leaders in the Democratic party of that day. The quality necessary to accomplish Polk's achievements, was the quality of leadership manifested in a great and masterful personality, and this was the supreme quality of Andrew Jackson, who is conceded to have been a great president and a great man.

But Polk was not only a leader. He was almost always a successful leader. He never led a lost cause as President, he never had to solace himself with philosophy in defeat. His four years of the presidency were troublous years, full of war and diplomacy, and in grasping after millions of square miles of territory for his country, and in seizing and holding them, he piloted the ship of state largely over uncharted seas. Who will say that Polk was not a great leader, and if so, who will deny that the qualities of great leadership are the qualities of a great man?

But did his leadership accomplish great results for his country? Bancroft answered this question when he said: "His adminis-

tration viewed from the standpoint of results was the greatest in our history, . . . he succeeded because he insisted on being its center and in overruling and guiding all his secretaries to act so as to produce unity and harmony." His results included the replacing of the protective tariff of 1842 with a tariff for revenue only; the passing of the Sub-treasury bill; the settlement with England of the dispute over the Oregon boundary; and the acquisition of Texas and California. The population now inhabiting the territory annexed through Polk and his administration to the Union, are many millions, and constitute a large per cent. of the American people, and the wealth of these millions constitute a large part of our national wealth.

But conceding as we must vast achievements to Polk for the country, we are led to inquire how far success is a test of greatness, when Polk's critics say he should be classed as a successful, rather than a great man. Successful he undoubtedly was, grandly successful, and we do not see how even an unfriendly critic could avoid conceding that success in anything, war, statesmanship, art, literature, invention, is conclusive proof of qualities which excell others; and if the success is great in a particular line of effort, why is not the generator of success entitled to the appellation "great?" It is certain that failure is not a test of greatness, and never was so considered by men. The world has always lifted its hat to winners, but rarely to losers. We are forced to conclude that preeminent success, for example, in statesmanship, is one of the strongest arguments for a great man, and if we apply this test to James K. Polk his title to greatness is assured.

No man is preeminent, or even eminent, in all departments of human endeavor, and with the limitations of human nature, cannot be, but is a man who is conceded to be great in one quality or direction, only, entitled to be conceded great? Does a failure to blossom into greatness in more than one direction crush his claim to go down in history as a great man? If it does, it would wither and blast the historical setting of many Americans who now have room in our National Pantheon. We have had four Presidents who rank pre-eminently as great men—Washington, Jefferson, Jackson, and Lincoln.

Washington was a great character and a great patriot, but no one ever claimed for him a great intellect. Jefferson was an intellectual giant among the Presidents, and still is entitled to that appellation, but as an administrator and executive, he was

concededly weak. His work as a constructive statesman in helping to formulate and organize a new departure in government and putting it in successful operation, is unapproached by any American of any period, except Alexander Hamilton, who contended for the opposite view of government, and whose statesmanship constituted the foundation of the Federalist party, as Jefferson's did that of the Democratic party.

Jackson was a great leader of phenomenal will power and masterly service for his country, and while possessed of a strong keen, penetrating and logical mind, would, like Washington, not be called a great mind.

Lincoln's love for his fellowmen was world-embracing; his sympathies for the poor, the outcast, the unfortunate, embraced all such among the sons and daughters of men; and the sun never set on the day when he would not have banished unhappiness from all the world if he could. In these qualities he was as near the perfection of the Gallilean as our nature can get. His character was the summit of the finest and best in our morality. His life exhaled the sweetest perfume of our nature; but Lincoln was not a great administrator or executive, and aside from his emotional and humanitarian expressions, could not be classed as a great intellect. He did not rise to the rank of even a second class lawyer, compared with the best of his day. The sympathy of the world burst forth over his assassination, and proclaimed him a martyr. But suppose he had lived through his second term, and had been compelled to face the problems of reconstruction, as Andrew Johnson had to do—to choose between reconstruction by the President, which he plainly thought the proper method, or reconstruction by Congress, which finally prevailed, what would have been the relations between him and Congress? Would Lincoln have yielded to Congress? It hardly admits of a doubt but that he would; and if he had, what would have been his historical standing to-day, in the face of the admitted fact that reconstruction as carried out was largely a series of blunders, one after another.

Coming to a later period in our history, it is not probable that anybody, Union or Confederate, would deny that General U. S. Grant was a great general and military leader, and it is also not probable that anybody would claim that Grant was a great President.

History has not progressed very far in awarding to Benjamin Harrison or Grover Cleveland a niche in our American Temple of great men, but Harrison was a great consitutional lawyer, and his intellect was as acute and powerful as any man of his day; in courage, aggressiveness, strength of character and self-reliance, he also was as great as any man of his day.

Cleveland was admittedly not a very learned man; he did not rank as a great lawyer, as Harrison did, but as a great, forceful, fearless, indomitable personality, preeminently qualified by nature to be a leader of a great people, Cleveland was one of the greatest men America ever produced. And it is a safe prophecy that as time moves forward, and Cleveland's life and career are more thoroughly studied, that his title to fame will become pronounced and irrevocable.

It is clear, therefore, that the American people have not been uniformly consistent or settled in their qualification of their great men. Since the day when Webster, Clay and Calhoun were known as the Great Triumvirate, and Thomas H. Benton was not included, the intelligent American opinion has tended to diminish the estimate of Clay, and increase that of Benton; and the prophecy now made is not rash, but justified, that the estimate of Polk will grow, and continue to grow as the years go by, and as the American mind reaches a more thorough comprehension of his career and success as a great administrative president.

We naturally associate greatness with a man who exhibits extraordinary force, stamina, control of mind, will power, capacity for labor, strength of character, indomitable perseverance, and masterly handling of public movements and plans which vitally affect the destiny and happiness of the country. We always associate force and strength with greatness. Polk had every one of the characteristics mentioned, and to spare. Polk's will power and pertinacity were as great as that of any of his contemporaries, possibly excepting that of Jackson, but manifested and exercised in a different way from Jackson's.

Bancroft characterizes Polk in this manner: "Polk's character shines out in these papers (the Diary) just exactly as he was, —prudent, far-sighted, bold, exceeding any Democrat of his day in his undeviatingly correct exposition of Democratic principles."

He came into the Presidential campaign only to meet the sneering query of the Whigs: "Who is Polk?" His masterly



conduct of the Mexican War, and his acquisition of a vast empire for his country, was met by the wail of Whigery that he bullied Mexico to aggrandize the United States. The Anti-slavery propaganda, arrogating all human virtues as their own, proclaimed that Polk's new empire was only to make room for more slaves. Unable to defeat him at the ballot box, or to stop the stately progress of his execution of the stupendous program he had laid out for himself, the propaganda set itself to belittle and blacken every success, to impugn every motive, to echo and re-echo the prophecy of black disaster all over the land.

#### EXTRACTS FROM THE DIARY.

By permission of the Chicago Historical Society, the author presents a number of quotations from the Diary, and makes profert of the idea that a man can best be studied and estimated by a perusal of his own words:

"Saturday, 13th, September, 1845.—Judge Mason and the Postmaster (General) being with the President in his office to-day after the Cabinet adjourned, Judge Mason informed the President that Gov. Pierce M. Butler of S. C. had mentioned to him that morning that Bailey Peyton was in the City, and that Mr. Peyton had expressed to him a desire to call and pay his respects to the President, but that he was restrained from doing so, not knowing how the President would receive (him), Gov. Butler (had said), as Judge Mason stated, that Mr. Peyton said he had never had any personal difficulty or misunderstanding with the President, that in politics he had differed with him, that in the political discussions in Tennessee he had used strong language towards him, but not stronger than was usual towards political opponents in that State. The President said that Mr. Peyton had stated the relations between them as he understood (them). He said that for several years past he had had no personal intercourse with Mr. Peyton in consequence of the violence of party feeling which had separated them, but that he had no personal unkind feeling towards Mr. Peyton, and that if he called upon him he would receive and treat him courteously and respectfully. Judge Mason and Mr. Johnson agreed with the President that this would be proper. Judge Mason said he would so inform Gov. Butler.

"Friday, 24th October 1845.—Received to-day a letter from Andrew Jackson, Jr., enclosing to me a letter from Gen'l Andrew Jackson written on the 6th June, 1845, two days before his death, and the last letter he ever wrote. This letter breathes the most ardent friendship for me personally and for the success of my administration. It is marked "confidential," and communicates information touching the official conduct of a person high in office,



Tennessee River four miles above Knoxville, Tennessee.



to their respective Legations appeared in their Court Dresses. Many officers of the Army and Navy were present in their full uniform. The Cabinet and their families, Judges of the Supreme & District Courts, Senators and Representatives in Congress, citizens and strangers, were of the immense crowd. I received the crowd in the circular parlour, and for three hours shook hands with a dense column of human beings of all ages and sexes. The Marshall of the D. C. and his Deputies and the commissioner of Public Buildings stood near me and preserved order and caused the crowd, after shaking hands, to pass on into the other parlours and the East Room. So dense was the crowd & so great the jam that many persons, I learn, left early. During the period of reception the fine marine band of music played in the outer Hall. I must have shook hands with several thousand persons. Toward the close of the day some gentlemen asked me if my arm was not sore, and if I would not suffer from the day's labour. I answered them judging from my experience on similar occasions I thought not. I told them that I had found that there was great art in shaking hands, and that I could shake hands during the whole day without suffering any bad effects from it. They were curious to know what this art was. I told them that if a man surrendered his arm to be shaken, by some horizontally, by others perpendicularly and by others again with a strong grip, he could not fail to suffer severely from it, but that if he would shake and not be shaken, grip and not be gripped, taking care always to squeeze that hand of his adversary as hard as he squeezed him, that he suffered no inconvenience from it. I told them also that I could generally anticipate when I was to have a strong grip, and that when I observed a strong man approaching I generally took advantage of him by being a little quicker than he was and seizing him by the tip of his fingers, giving him a hearty shake, and thus preventing him from getting a full grip on me. They were much amused at my account of the operation, which I give (gave) to them playfully, but admitted that there was much philosophy in it. But though I gave my account of the operation playfully, it is all true. About 3 o'clock the company dispersed.

"After night I sent for the Secretary of War, and carefully read over and revised my message to the Ho. Repts. in answer to their Resolution on the subject of military contributions levied in Mexico, with him (see Diary of Saturday last). Some paragraphs which had been suggested on Saturday by some members of the Cabinet, I determined, on revising them with Mr. Marcy, to omit. Mr. Marcy thought the message as I finally agreed it should be would be unanswerable. Mr. Loving, a confidential clerk, who had copied the original draft of the message, called tonight and corrected the copy according to the revised draft. I regard it as among the most important messages I have made to either House of Congress during my Presidential term, and therefore I have given to it more than ordinary attention.



"Among the visitors whom I observed in the crowd to-day was the Hon. Andrew Johnson of the Ho. Repts. Though he represents a Democratic District in Tennessee (my State) this is the first time I have seen him during the present Session of Congress. Professing to be a Democrat, he has been politically if not personally hostile to me during my whole term. He is very vindictive and perverse in his temper and conduct. If he had the manliness or independence to manifest his opposition openly, he knows he could not be again elected by his constituents. I am not aware that I have ever given him cause of offense.

"Wednesday, 17th January, 1849.—A number of members of Congress and others called this morning. They were on the usual business of seeking office for themselves and their friends. Among others who called was Mr. Stanton of Tennessee of the Ho. Repts., and I had a conversation with him on the subjects of the meeting of the Southern members of Congress on last Monday night, and on the importance of settling the slavery agitation by providing Governments for New Mexico and California at the present Session. I stated to him the plan on which I thought this might be done. It was the same which I had stated to Mr. Calhoun (see this Diary of yesterday). I told him that I was for preserving the Union & its harmony, & opposed to any movement, in Congress or out of it, which might tend to disturb it; that I thought members of Congress had better exert their energies to settle it in Congress, than to agitate the slavery question in caucus out of Congress.

"I urged the necessity and importance of going to work in earnest in Congress, and not in a caucus, to settle the question. I told him it was time enough to think of extreme measures when they became inevitable, and that the period had not come. I told him that the people every where were devoted to the Union, and that it would be a heavy responsibility if Southern members of Congress should prevent an adjustment of the slavery question by meeting in caucus & publishing addresses, instead of meeting in Congress, where their constituents had deputed them to act. He seemed to be surprised at these views. I told him that I was a Southern man, and as much attached to the Southern rights as any man in Congress, but I was in favor of vindicating and maintaining these rights by constitutional means; and that no such an extreme case had arisen as would justify a resort to any other means; that when such a case should arise (if ever) it would be time enough to consider what should be done.

"Tuesday, 13th, February, 1849.—It is four years ago this day since I arrived in Washington, preparatory to entering on my duties as President of the U. S. on the 4th of March following. They have been four years of incessant labour and anxiety and of great responsibility. I am heartily rejoiced that my term is so near its close. I will soon cease to be a servant and will become a sovereign. As a private citizen I will have no one but myself

to serve, and will exercise a part of the sovereign power of my country. I am sure I will be happier in this condition than in the exalted station I now hold.

"SUNDAY, 18th February, 1849—I attended the First Presbyterian Church today accompanied by Mrs. Polk, and Maria Polk Walker, the little daughter of my Private Secretary, J. Knox Walker. Mrs. Walker and our two neices, Miss Rucker and Miss Hays, attended service at one of the Catholic churches. I spent the day quietly in my chamber. After night, reflecting the near approach of the termination of my Presidential term and on the uncertainty of life, I executed a purpose which I have some time contemplated, by writing and signing my last Will and Testament. I left a written Will with my valuable papers in Tennessee, but as the situation of my property has been materially changed since it was written, I deemed it proper to make another. There are no persons present to attest it as witnesses, but I will hereafter cause this to be done. Mrs. Polk knew nothing of my intention to write it. It was made chiefly for her benefit, if she should survive me, and I will read it to her. I took it with me from my office to my chamber and read it to her. It was unexpected to her and she expressed some surprise, but was entirely satisfied with its provisions.

"Mr. Buchanan called in after the night and informed me that he had been informed at a party last evening that Mr. Stephens, of Georgia, and Mr. Wilmot, of Pennsylvania, had made a violent assault upon me in the House of Representatives the day before, in which the effort was made to prove that I had at one time been in favor of the Wilmot Proviso. Such an allegation is false, come from what quarter it may.

"WEDNESDAY, 28th February, 1849—At this point of my administration, and until its close, I found my time so constantly occupied by business and the numerous calls made upon me by the crowd of persons who had congregated at Washington to witness the Inauguration of my successor, that I found it impossible to record in this Diary the daily events as they occurred. After I reached Tennessee on this 13th of April, 1849, I resumed the record from my general recollection. The record of this day (28th of February) and the succeeding days of my term must necessarily therefore, be very general and many incidents must be omitted. I was busy in my office during the day (the 28th of February) saw many members of Congress and many strangers, and transacted much business. At different periods of the day most of the members of my Cabinet called on business.

"This evening in pursuance of previous notice the parlours of the President's Mansion were thrown (open) and the last drawing room or levee of my administration was held. It was the most brilliant and crowded room of my term. The House was brilliantly lighted up (and) the fine Marine Band of music was stationed in the entrance Hall. About 8 o'clock, P. M., the company commen-

ced assembling. Among those who attended early in the evening, were many officers of the army and navy, who called in a body in full uniform. The foreign Ministers and their families and legations resident at Washington, were present in their Court dresses. The members of my Cabinet and their families, members of Congress, citizens, and a vast number of strangers made up the large number of visitors. I received them in the Circular parlour, standing with my back against the Marble center table, and Mrs. Polk standing a few feet to my right. The marble center table proved to be an important protection to me. All the parlours and outer halls soon became crowded with human beings, ladies and gentlemen, so that it became very difficult for them to make their way to the place where Mrs. Polk and myself stood. I remained stationary and shook hands with several thousand persons of both sexes. I learned afterwards that many persons came to the door and the jam was so great that they could not make their way to me, and retired without entering. The line of carriages approaching the President's House, I was afterwards informed, extended several hundred yards. About twelve o'clock at night the last of the company retired. I had remained on my feet continuously for several hours and was exceedingly fatigued.

"SUNDAY, 4th of March, 1849—Having closed my official term as President of the U. S. at six and one-half o'clock this morning, that being about the hour at which Congress adjourned, I attended Divine service with my family, consisting of Mrs. Polk and our two neices, Miss Hays and Miss Rucker, at the First Presbyterian church. An excellent sermon was preached by the Rev. Mr. Ballentine, the pastor. At the close of the service, the minister and the elder members of the church, male and female, approached and shook hands with Mrs. Polk and myself on taking leave of us, accompanied with many expressions of their friendship and affectionate regard. The scene was an interesting and gratifying one. We had attended worship regularly and with few exceptions almost every Sabbath during the term of My Presidency, and the congregation today seemed to realize that they were about to part with us, and that in all probability we would never worship with them again. The affectionate manner in which they took leave (of) us made the scene a very impressive one. We return to our lodgings at the Irving hotel and from thence I rode in my carriage to the President's House to collect some letters and manuscripts which I had left in my office on leaving it last evening. In the afternoon I rested at the Hotel, being much fatigued by the very severe duties of the past weeks. A few friends called in the evening and we saw them in our parlour. I feel exceedingly relieved that I am now free from all public cares. I am sure I shall be a happier man in my retirement than I have been during the four years I have filled the highest office in the gift of my countrymen.



"About 10 o'clock at night a military company from Baltimore with a fine band of music appeared before my lodgings at the Hotel and played. I saw the officers, who informed me they had called to pay their respects to me. As it was Sunday evening I did not invite them in, but made my appearance at the window, and bowed to them. I informed the officers that I would see them on to-morrow. After 12 o'clock two other companies appeared and played. They had fine bands of music.

"MONDAY, 5th March, 1849—Soon after breakfast this morning many of my friends called to see me and many strangers called to pay their respects. Among them were all the members of my late Cabinet and the ladies of their families. Between 11 and 12 o'clock a procession of military companies and citizens, conducted by many marshalls on horseback, moved from Willard's Hotel as an escort to General Taylor, the President elect of the U. S. On reaching the Irving Hotel, where I had my quarters, the procession halted and the open carriage in which General Taylor, was seated stopped immediately opposite to the Hotel. In pursuance of the arrangements made by the committee of the Senate, I was conducted to the same carriage and seated on the right of General Taylor, Mr. Seaton, the Mayor of Washington, and Mr. Winthrop, the late Speaker of the House Representatives, were seated in the same carriage. The procession moved to the Capitol. On arriving there we were met by the committee of the Senate, consisting of Senators Davis of Mississippi, Johnson of Maryland, and Davis of Massachusetts, and were conducted to the Senate Chamber, where the Senate were in Session. General Taylor and myself walked in together and were seated, I being on his right. My late Cabinet were seated on the floor of the Senate. After remaining a few minutes the whole body of persons proceeded to the Eastern front of the Capitol, General Taylor, and myself walking out together in the same manner we had entered the Senate chamber. After being there a few minutes General Taylor read his Inaugural Address. He read it in a very low voice and very badly as to his pronunciation and manner. The oath of office was administered to him by the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the U. S. As soon as this was over I advanced to him and shook him by the hand, saying to him, 'I hope, Sir, the country may be prosperous under your administration.' We were then conducted to the carriage in which we had come to the Capitol, and proceeded along Pennsylvania Avenue, Mr. Seaton and Mr. Winthrop being in the carriage with General, now President, Taylor and myself, towards the President's mansion. On arriving at my lodgings at the Irving Hotel the procession halted and I took leave of the President. He proceeded to the President's mansion. On preceeding to the Capitol and returning, I remained covered. General Taylor occasionally took off his hat and bowed to the people. When not making his respects to the people he was free in conversation.



On going up to the Capitol, California was alluded to, in conversation between Mr. Seaton and Mr. Winthrop and myself. Something was said which drew from General Taylor the expression of views and opinions which greatly surprised me. They were to the effect that California and Oregon were too distant to become members of the Union, and that it would be better for them to be Independent Gov(ern)ment. He said that our people would inhabit them, and repeated that it would be better for them to form an Independent Gov(ern)ment for themselves. These are alarming opinions to be entertained by the President of the U. S. I made no response, nor did Mr. Seaton or Mr. Winthrop. I have entertained serious apprehensions, and have expressed them in this diary, that if no Gov(ern)ment was provided for California at the late Session of Congress, there was danger that that fine territory would be lost to the Union by the establishment of an Independent Government. General Taylor's opinions as expressed, I hope, have not been well considered. General Taylor is, I have no doubt, a well meaning old man. He is, however, uneducated, exceedingly ignorant of public affairs, and I should judge, of very ordinary capacity. He will be in the hands of others, and must rely wholly upon his Cabinet to administer the Government. Upon reaching my quarters at the Irving Hotel, hundreds of persons called, and among others the military company from Baltimore who called last night, came in and I shook hands with them, I continued to receive company until 10 or 11 o'clock at night, when I went with Mrs. Polk to the Steam-boat to take my departure by the Southern route to my residence in Tennessee. All the members of my Cabinet with the females of their families called in the course of the afternoon. The demonstrations of kindness and respect paid to me on the eve of my departure from Washington, were highly gratifying, and all that I could have desired. Mr. Buchanan, Mr. and Mrs. Marcey, and Mr. and Mrs. Mason accompanied us to the Boat, though it was a wet night, where they took leave of us. Mr. and Mrs. Walker came after us. Mrs. Walker took leave of us and returned. Mr. Walker will accompany me as far as New Orleans. My late Private Secretary, J. Knox Walker, and his wife came to the boat about 12 o'clock and brought with them our two nieces, Miss Rucker and Miss Hays, who had been to the Inauguration Ball. J. Knox Walker and his wife took leave of us and returned. Daniel Graham and wife accompany us. We found the Boat much crowded with members of Congress and others going South. I was much fatigued, but had little rest. The Boat left at the usual hour, 3 o'clock in the morning. I take with me Henry Bowman my late steward to pay bills, take care of the baggage, and etc., I take with me also my servant (Henry) and Milly, a maid servant belonging to J. Knox Walker.

Starting at 3 a. m. March 6th, 1849, the ex-President commenced his journey to Nashville, which he reached on April 2d, following. The trip was a long one by boat, railroad and carriage, and embraced the entire South which later organized itself into the Southern Confederacy; his route lay through the very heart of Dixie. Cholera was raging in many places, and Mr. Polk was in bad health; he stood the journey only fairly well; it was plain that physically he was a broken man. But even with this serious drawback, his pleasure must have been intense and penetrated his innermost feelings. He was now a free man again, and the people were giving him a glorious welcome and a hospitality richer and heartier, more spontaneous and more unanimous, than was ever before extended to a royal conqueror or to a deliverer of a people oppressed. His toil of four years ought to have been, and probably was, forgotten, in the joy of knowing that the people of the South in their heart of hearts held him a benefactor and friend. His life-work was done, and he knew that the people knew he had done well. It is hard to conceive a more perfect felicity than must have been the ex-President's on this homeward journey. He had been the head and ruler of the great free Republic of the west, and had pushed that Republic's western limit towards the setting sun, until it touched the far away waters of the Pacific; he had proved to all mankind that he was as great as administrator as ever sat at the head of the nation; and now with an acclaim that came straight from the heart of the people to his innermost own, he was seeing and feeling and knowing the gratitude of those for whom he had so loyally, so patiently and so grandly toiled. Happy ex-President James Knox Polk! He did not then know that Clotho, Lachesis and Atropos, the fateful daughters of Themis, who sits by the side of Jove on his throne, to give him counsel, were even then spinning the thread of his destiny, and would in just three months and ten days from the date he left the Presidential chair, clip with their shears his thread in twain, and render him only a memory.

"MONDAY, 2nd April, 1849—I was much better this morning, but was quite feeble from the effects of medicine and my indisposition. A few miles below Nashville we met a Steamer having on board a committee of gentlemen and a number of my old acquaintances and friends. Among them was my brother-in-law, Dr. John B. Hays, of Columbia, who, hearing of my illness and detention at Smithland, had set out to meet me. He (his) daughter had spent the past winter in my family and was with me on her return home. On arriving in sight of the boat landing in Nashville, I discovered that the wharf was covered with people. I stood on the deck of the boat as she approached, and was enthusiastically cheered by the crowd on shore. As soon as the boat touched the shore many of my old acquaintances and friends came on board. After a few minutes I was conducted ashore, and in passing from

the boat to the carriage prepared to receive me, I was met by the dense crowd and warmly greeted by many old acquaintances and friends, with whom I shook hands. I was seated in an open carriage with ex-Governor A. V. Brown and two other persons, and conveyed up Broad and Cherry Streets, and thence to the public square in front of the Nashville Inn, where I was addressed by Gov. A. V. Brown, who warmly welcomed me back to my old State and to my home. A very large number of people had turned out on the occasion; and standing in the open carriage, though feeling scarcely able to do so I responded to his address. When I had done I was exceedingly feeble and exhausted. I was then conducted to the verandah House where quarters had been prepared for me. Here again I met and shook hands with many of my friends, who were in waiting at the Hotel, or called to see me. I was compelled very soon to retire to my room, where I remained during the balance of the day. A few old and intimate friends saw me in my room. The meeting of my old friends had produced an excitement which contributed to sustain me during the day and to enable me to bear the fatigue. I rested comfortably during the night.

"THURSDAY, 5th April, 1849—I set out after breakfast this morning, three or four of my old friends having met me at Cartwright's before I left. At the village of Spring Hill I stopped for half an hour, where I saw and shook hands with a number of my old neighbors and friends, male and female. On reaching my father's residence where I was a youth, which is on the roadside six miles from Columbia, I stopped a few minutes to see and shake hands with a number of the old neighbors and their descendants, who had collected to see me as I passed. Three or four miles before reaching Columbia, I was met by a committee of the place and by several hundred persons, ladies and gentlemen, in carriages and on horseback, who came out to meet me. I had here the inexpressible gratification to meet my old neighbors of both political parties, whom I had not seen for more than four years, when I left to proceed to Washington to enter on my duties as President of the U. S. I was here placed by the (committee), in an open barouche and the procession moved towards the town, increasing in its numbers as we proceeded. On approaching the near town, we met a band of music and some military, who wheeled and proceeded us. I was conducted through the public square of the town to the Branch of the State Bank, from the steps of which I was addressed in behalf of my old neighbors by Major General Gideon J. Pillow, to whom I responded from the carriage in which I was. Several hundred persons of both political parties were present, and I was greeted and received by all with a warmth and cordiality which could not be otherwise than highly gratifying. As soon as the reception was over I proceeded to my mother's house and embraced her. Our meeting was most gratifying. I can perceive that time has made its impression on her since I saw her, though

I was glad to find her in good health. She is now in the 73rd year of her age. I am the eldest of her children. I was born on the 2d of November, 1795, and on the 15th of the same month she was 19 years old, so that she wants a few days of being 19 years older than I am. All my relations, old and young, who are residing at Columbia, were assembled at her house. A large number of my old friends followed me to her house, with all of whom I shook hands. They continued to call during the remainder of the afternoon and evening. My journey on my return from the seat of Government is now over and I am again at my home, in the midst of the friends of my youth and of my riper years. My political career has been run and is now closed. Henceforth I shall be a private citizen. I cannot now undertake to review the past and to compare my present contented and happy condition with it. I have been much honored by my countrymen and am deeply grateful to them. I may say that I regard the distinguished marks of respect everywhere shown me by the people, without distinction of political party, on my journey homeward, as the most gratifying and highest honor ever paid me by any portion of my fellow-citizens. Though fatigued and feeble, I spent a delightful evening with my relatives and friends.

"TUESDAY, 24th April, 1849—After breakfast this morning, having made our visit to Mrs. Polk's relations, we left Murfreesboro and returned to Nashville, where we arrived about 3 o'clock. We stopped at our own house. The workmen had not finished it, but two or three rooms had been fitted up so that we could occupy them. Numerous boxes of furniture, books, groceries and other articles, forwarded from New York, New Orleans, and Columbia, Tenn., were piled up in the halls and rooms, and the whole establishment, except two or three apartments, presented the appearance of great disorder and confusion. Our faithful steward, Henry Bowman, had in our absence to Columbia and Murfreesboro, caused the carpets to be made and put down in some of the rooms and caused our furniture to be opened. Our servants had arrived from Columbia and were comfortably settled in the servants' house. We thought it best to take possession of the house at once, and superintend the arrangements necessary to put it in order. On this day, therefore, may be dated our first occupation of our new home in Nashville.

"SATURDAY, 12th May, 1849—I was occupied as usual to-day. In the afternoon in walking down into the town as I frequently do, I called in at Macomb's cabinet shop to examine some furniture. His shop stands on the corner of Spring and Cherry Streets. As I stepped out of the shop and turned down Cherry Street walking towards the Post Office, a person on horseback turned the same corner going in the same direction. On casting my eye towards him from the pavement on which I was, I discovered it was Col. M. P. Gentry of the House of Representatives in Congress. He spoke to me and I returned the



salutation. He turned his horse near the pavement and shook hands with me, and the usual interchange of civilities took place. He then remarked in substance and I think very nearly literally as follows: 'now that you are a private citizen I will say what I have intended to say if a suitable opportunity occurred, that whatever I may have said of you, Sir, which might seem to be harsh was political and not personal.' To which I replied, it was, I suppose, professional to which he responded, it was altogether so. He bid me good afternoon and rode on. Mr. Gentry made a bitter and abusive party speech in Congress a year or two ago, in which I understand he had spoken very harshly of me as President. It was reported to me at the time by some who heard it that he was drunk when he delivered it. He never afterwards called at the President's House, as he had before done; but after the lapse of some weeks his wife did call. I suppose he is ashamed of his speech, and hence his remarks to me this evening. He is a very bitter and unscrupulous Whig in politics.

"FRIDAY, 25th May, 1849—I called to see my nephew, Samuel P. Caldwell, at the Sewanee Hotel this morning. I found him in bed, and though not very ill, I insisted on him to return to my house and remain there until he was entirely well. In the afternoon I sent a servant with a carriage and brought him to my house. I met Edwin Ewing, Esqr., on the street this morning. He is one of the attos. of John M. Bass in my suit with him pending in Supreme Court, now in Session, relative to the title to the 50 feet avenue in front of my house. Mr. Ewing introduced the subject by inquiring if Mr. Bass and myself could not settle the matter by a compromise. I told him I was entirely willing to do so, and with that view had held several conferences with Mr. Bass. Mr. Ewing expressed the opinion that we could settle the dispute, and at his suggestion I agreed to meet Mr. Bass and himself at the law office of Messrs. Nicholson and Houston at 3 o'clock p. m. to-day. I attended accordingly and found Mr. Bass there. Neither Mr. Ewing nor either of my attoreyns were present. Mr. Bass and myself after a long conference agreed upon the terms of a compromise as contained in a paper drawn up by Mr. Nicholson, with certain modifications in its phraseology and terms, upon which we agreed: with the exception of a paragraph which Mr. Bass wished inserted, the object of which was to save his personal honor against the imputation of fraud or unfairness on his part, in the representation at the time of the sale of the Grundy property to my agent, Gov. A. V. Brown. Gov. Brown and Judge Catron, whose testimony had been taken in the case, differed from Mr. Bass in their understanding of the property sold. They both understood that the avenue of 50 feet was purchased, as much as the house and other grounds. Mr. Bass insisted that he intended to sell the right of way only in the Avenue, and not the fee simple title,

and this was the point of difference. I understood that I was buying the avenue as a part of the property: otherwise I would not have authorized Gov. Brown to make the purchase for me. The terms of comprise agreed upon were, in substance, that the fee-simple title should be conveyed to me, and that Mr. Bass and other adjoining property holders should enjoy the right of passage or of way through the same. The only point still open was the personal paragraph which Mr. Bass wished inserted. I objected to it in the form in which he had drawn it, because it left an implied imputation injurious to Gov. Brown and Judge Catron, I told him that the personal honour of these gentlemen as his own must be guarded and protected in any paragraph of the sort which was inserted; and with this view I proposed that his attos. and mine should draw such a paragraph. Towards the close of the interview Mr. West H. Humphreys. one of my attos., came in. Mr. Bass agreed to this suggestion and the paper was handed to Mr. Humphreys, and we agreed to meet again at 8 o'clock tomorrow morning. A few more cases of cholera occurred to-day.

"SATURDAY, 26<sup>th</sup> May, 1849—I met Mr. Bass at the law offices of Messrs. Nicholson and Houston at 8 o'clock this morning, according to appointment (see the Diary of yesterday). The paragraph deferred on yesterday had not been drawn up. Mr. Bass proposed other modifications of the paper containing the terms of the compromise upon which we had agreed on yesterday. I became impatient, and remarked that we had agreed upon the terms on yesterday, that I was ready on my part to abide by them; that if Mr. Bass was, the matter would be settled, but if he was not the case must be decided by the Court. The lawyers on both sides proposed that we should meet again at 12 o'clock. We did so, and the lawyers having agreed upon the personal paragraph desired, saving alike the personal honour of all concerned, the compromise was signed by Mr. Bass and Mr. Jacob McGavock as executors of Felix Grundy, and by myself, and so the matter was settled. The Supreme Court entered a decree in the afternoon conformably to the compromise, and a Deed was executed to me by the Clerk and Master. . . .

"SATURDAY, 2<sup>nd</sup> June, 1849—Immediately after breakfast this morning Mrs. Polk and myself took a ride in our carriage, and paid a visit to Mr. Daniel Graham and his family residing eight miles in the country. After our return, I remained the balance of the day at my house and was engaged in private business, devoting a part of my time to arranging my library of books in presses which I had caused to be made to hold them.

This was the last entry in the Diary; the President died June 15, 1849.

## CHAPTER 16.

James Knox Polk—Eleven Letters Connected with  
Nomination and Election for President—  
Speech at Nashville on his Election—  
Letter to Dr. J. G. M. Ramsey  
Declaring he Will not be a Can-  
didate for Re-election.

POLK TO A. J. DONELSON, NASHVILLE.

"Columbia, Tennessee, Oct. 19th, 1843.

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"Since I saw you I have received another letter from Gov. Yell, of Arkansas, under date of 5th Oct., '43, in which among other things, he says: 'Heretofore I was candid in expressing that I thought Col. Johnson the favorite in this State for the Presidency. I now doubt it, and if we have a full and fair convention (State Convention) I shall not be surprised if there was to be a majority for Mr. Van Buren and yourself for Vice-President. I am sure you are the strongest man in this State that could be selected and from that fact I am inclined to believe that your friends know to whom you should be connected, and besides, Mr. Van Buren has now and always had numerous friends. I am sure they cannot get up a delegation who would prefer any one over you for the Vice-Presidency.'

"Have you written the letters of which we spoke when I last saw you? It is most important, I think, that they should be written without delay. Our friends at the North and East should understand the true state of things in this part of the Union, and take bolder ground before the public in reference to the Vice-Presidency. By doing so they would concentrate public opinion in reference to both stations before the meeting of the convention, and thereby avoid much confusion and trouble. I do not understand Blair's course. I wrote Gen. Armstrong a letter on yesterday in reference to it, which he will show you. I do not think he is inclined to do me justice. Why, I know not, unless it be that he has strong attachments for Col. Johnson, and looks to his restoration with Mr. Van Buren. But Gen. Armstrong will show you my letter in which you will see the impression I have and the suggestions I make. I have only one other remark to make to you, and that is, that no one now is prominently presented for the Vice-Presidency, and that is the opinion of Gov. Yell, T. P. Moore and



MRS. JAMES K. POLK



PRESIDENT JAMES K. POLK





others of my friends that the ground should be preoccupied before Col. J. concludes to fall back upon it, as I think he will ultimately attempt to do. I will leave for my plantation in Mississippi on Monday next and concluded to write you promptly and without reserve what my views and impressions were. You will, of course, regard what I have said as strictly confidential. A letter addressed to me at Sommersville, Tennessee, any time within ten days or two weeks, will meet me on my way up.

"P. S.—I will be back before the meeting of the State Convention, and will be governed by the advice of my friends whether I will be at Nashville at that time or not. I must insist upon you to see Laughlin and Humphreys and have a proper address prepared before the convention meets."

POLK TO CAVE JOHNSON, WASHINGTON, D. C.

"Columbia, Tennessee, March 21, 1844.

"Confidential.

"This letter is intended for Brown as well as yourself. In a hasty note addressed to you jointly last night, I informed you that I had answered Mr. Fisk's letter declining to accept. Without any one here with whom to counsel, I concluded that it was better to decide promptly and for myself, than to keep the question open by referring it to Brown and yourself, as both of you suggested in your letters I might do. I took this course because I had really no wish to fill the place, and because my acceptance might have left the impression on the minds of some that I was among the discontents of the party, and towards Mr. Van Buren especially, who might possibly have been thereby weakened. I did not intend that by any act of mine, my motives or position should be questioned. My acceptance too would probably have been regarded as a retreat from anticipated defeat before the Baltimore Convention. By declining, my true position in the party and before the country will be preserved. By remaining at home, I may continue to render some service to our cause, and shall at all events be freed from all supposed participation in the political schemings and intrigues at Washington, for which I profess to have neither taste nor talents. I had reason to believe, too, that the influence of Tyler and his administration, as far as they may have any, would continue to be hostile to Mr. Van Buren, and I should have been placed in a false position, to have been compelled to hold confidential relations with him and his advisers. True, I was informed that in the event of my acceptance, no pledges as to men or measures were required, but that I should be free and untrammelled, to act as my own judgment might indicate as proper. My answer to Mr. Fiske was of course a civil one, but was at the same time decisive as to my declination of the proffered honor. I had the utmost confidence in the judgment of yourself and Brown, and of Mr. Wright, of New York, whom one of you informed me you would consult, in the event my decision was left open and referred

to you. I could not, however, foresee any possible state of things that could arise at Washington, which could change my opinion, and therefore I preferred to act myself, rather than to delay action and cast the responsibility upon you. Mr. Calhoun's appointment is well received here. If he accepts, I think it probable that he will see that it is his interest to co-operate thoroughly with the Democratic Party, so heartily for Mr. Van Vuren, harmonize his friends at the South, and make a great effort upon the Texas and Oregon questions, to place himself, if not at the head, in a very prominent position in the party. Placed as he is, this would undoubtedly be the sensible course. It is hard to tell, however, how far his feelings may control his judgment.

"The Union of today you will see has a strong article against the course of the discontented in our ranks, who continue to make efforts to produce division by still talking about General Cass. Laughlin will follow it up by articles of a like character, and you may have no apprehension that any scisme (schism) can be produced in the party in this State. There are a few who would desire it, but their numbers are too small to enable them to effect it.

"I see Col. J. (Johnson) has been nominated in Pennsylvania. Without speaking in reference to myself personally, you and all others in this State know, that if the same nomination be made at Baltimore, our defeat in this State is inevitable, and the success of the party in the Union is put in imminent jeopardy. Let me hear from you on receipt of this."

POLK TO CAVE JOHNSON, WASHINGTON, D. C.

"Columbia, Tennessee, May 4, 1844.

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"Confidential.

"Clay's anti-Texas letter reached Nashville last night. If Van Buren will now take ground for annexation, as I hope and believe he will, and the convention shall make a proper nomination for the Vice, the Democracy will certainly and beyond all doubt be again in the ascendancy in this State, as I have no doubt it will be in all the Southern and Southwestern States, unless it be Kentucky, and even there the contest will be doubtful. I have not in my letters disguised from you the fact that I feel an interest (I hope a proper one) in the result of the deliberations at Baltimore. I hope you will write to me often after you get this letter, giving me all the movements, developments and prospects as you may learn them. One thing I repeat in conclusion and that is, that my name will in no event be voluntarily withdrawn, but I desire to go before the convention, whatever the result may be. It is better for me that this should be so, though it was certain that I would be defeated. My interests are committed to my friends, and mainly to yourself. I hope you may be able by a proper appeal to General Anderson of Knoxville,

if he attends as a delegate, to prevent him from doing mischief. Farquharson of Lincoln who was the only other of our Delegates who was impracticable, will not go on, as I learn. Your credentials as the Delegate for the State at large in Coe's place were made out, and Cheatham told me they would have been sent on, but he had been waiting for Brown to pass on, by whom he had intended to send them. They will be forwarded by mail.

POLK TO CAVE JOHNSON, WASHINGTON, D. S.

"Nashville, Tennessee,

Monday night, May 13, 1844.

"Strictly Confidential.

"At the urgent solicitation of Major Donaldson, General Armstrong, and one or two other friends who wrote me, I came to this place on yesterday. Today General A. (Armstrong) and myself visited the Hermitage. On our way up we met Donaldson with a letter from General J. (Jackson) for publication in the Union, reiterating and reaffirming his views upon the subject of the annexation of Texas. He urges immediate annexation as not only important but indispensable. He speaks most affectionately of Mr. Van Buren, but is compelled to separate from him upon this great question, and says both he and Mr. Benton have by their letters cut their own throats politically. He has no idea that Mr. V. B. (Van Buren) can be nominated, or if nominated that he can receive any Southern support. He is not excited but is cool and collected, and speaks in terms of deep regret at the fatal error which Mr. V. B. (Van Buren) has committed. He says however that it is done and that the convention must select some other as the candidate. The truth is and should no longer be disguised from yourself and other friends, that it will be utterly hopeless to carry the vote of this State for any man who is opposed to immediate annexation. The body of the Whigs will support Clay, regardless of his opinions, but hundreds, indeed thousands of them will abandon him, and vote for any annexation man who may be nominated by the Baltimore Convention. If such a man shall be nominated we shall carry the State with triumph and with ease. If an anti-annexation man is nominated, thousands of Democrats and among them many leading men, will not vote at all, and Clay will carry the State. The Texas question is the all-absorbing one here and swallows up all others at present. It is impossible to arrest the current of the popular opinion and any man who attempts it will be crushed by it. What you can or will do at Baltimore God only knows. My earnest desire is that you shall harmonize and run only one man. General J. (Jackson) thinks that Mr. V. B. (Van Buren) becoming sensible that his opinions are not in harmony with those of the people, will withdraw and hopes he will do so. For myself, I attribute Mr. V. B.'s. (Van Buren's) course to Col.



B—ton. (Benton) General J. (Jackson) says the candidate for the first office should be an annexation man, and from the Southwest, and he and other friends here urge that my friends should insist upon that point. I tell them and it is true, that I have never aspired so high, and that in all probability the attempt to place me in the first position would be utterly abortive. In the confusion which will prevail and I fear distract your counsels at Baltimore—there is no telling what may occur. I aspire to the 2nd office, and should be gratified to receive the nomination, and think it probable that my friends may be able to confer it upon me. I am, however, in their hands and they can use my name in any way they think proper. General Pillow and Col. Laughlin left here last night. Wm. G. Childress leaves tonight and Major Donaldson on tomorrow night. They can give you more in detail the state of things here. I repeat that I wish my friends to place my name before the convention, no matter what the result may be.

"I deplore the distraction which exists in the party. It has all been produced by at most half a dozen leaders, who have acted with a view to their own advancement. Add to this the Texas question and I have great solicitude for our safety as a party. Surely there is patriotism enough among these leaders yet to save the party. This can only be done by uniting upon one candidate, and he must be favorable to the annexation of Texas. I have stood by Mr. V. B. (Van Buren) and will stand by him as long as there is hope, but I now despair of his election, even if he be nominated.

"The idea which has been suggested of running three candidates, Mr. Clay, the Whig, a Texas annexation Democrat in the South, and the anti-Texas annexation Democrat in the North, ought not to be entertained for a moment. If that is attempted it insures Clay's election. We would have triple tickets in almost all the States, which would enable a plurality, less than a majority, to give the electoral vote of the State to Clay. I shall expect you to write to me daily after the receipt of this until the Convention is over.

"P. S. I learn that General Jackson's letter will not appear in the Union tomorrow, the paper having no space for it. It will appear in Thursday's paper unless he changes his mind about its publication and withdraws it, which is not probable. W. G. Childress can give you its contents in detail."

JAMES K. POLK TO CAVE JOHNSON, WASHINGTON, D. C.

"Nashville, Tennessee, May 14, 1844.

"Confidential.

"I wrote to you last night. I learn that Donaldson took the letter back to General J. (Jackson) for further consultation. He will be down again today and will take the stage for Washington tomorrow morning. My opinion is that the General thinks his

reputation requires its publication at this time. If I am right in this, it will appear in the next Union. He is as kind to Mr. V. B. (Van Buren) as to his manner of expressing himself as he can be, to differ with him so widely as he does on the Texas question. If the letter appears, it will reach Washington on the Thursday evening before the meeting of the Convention. It will require care on the part of my friends to prevent Mr. V. B.'s (Van Buren's) friends from becoming excited at the letter and withdrawing from my support in the Convention. General J. (Jackson) says that Mr. V. B. (Van Buren) had his views before him when he wrote his letter. He says he has been misled and ruined unless he can find some plausible ground to modify his opinions. Even then the public mind has taken such a direction that it would be almost impossible to rally the Democracy for him. Judging at this distance, and from the additional lights given by your letter of the 5th which I received here after I had mailed my letter to you last night, the opinion of Armstrong and other friends is that I may receive the nomination, and that I will do so unless Mr. V. B.'s (Van Buren's) friends should abandon me. General J. (Jackson) has written a private letter to Mr. V. B. (Van Buren) and also to Blair in which he has spoken frankly and plainly. He is of opinion that Mr. V. B. (Van Buren) seeing the impossibility of his election, even if nominated, will and ought to withdraw. He has great confidence in his patriotism and thinks he will do so. He regards this step of Mr. V. B. (Van Buren) (his opinion on Texas) as the only great and vital error he has committed since he has known him. He thinks this single error, however, must be fatal to him. He thinks the candidate for the Presidency should be an annexation man and reside in the Southwest, and he openly expresses (what I assure you I had never for a moment contemplated) the opinion that I would be the most available man; taking the Vice-Presidential candidate from the North. This I do not expect to be effected. Nothing could effect it but the state of confusion which exists in the party. The much greater probability is that a new man for President, if one be taken up, will hail from the North, and in that event I would stand in a favorable position for the nomination for the second office. Should Mr. V. B. (Van Buren) be withdrawn, his friends will probably hold the balance of power and will be able to control the nominations for both offices, and therefore the great importance of conciliating them. It will never do for the Convention to break up in confusion, or without a nomination. Any and every sacrifice should be made to effect a nomination in harmony. This done and we are safe. It will never do to break up in confusion and thus force the party upon Tyler. This the Democracy can never do. In a word nothing can prevent Clay's election but a reunion of our party, and a harmonious support of the nominations to be made at Baltimore. I have but little hope that union or harmony can be restored

among the members of Congress, but I have hope that the Delegates 'fresh from the people,' who are not members of Congress, and have not been so much excited, can be brought together. Let a strong appeal be made to the Delegates, as fast as they come in, *to take the matter into their own hands, to control and overrule their leaders at Washington, who have already produced such distraction, and thus save the party.* The Delegates from a distance can alone do this. I suggest as a practical plan to bring them to act, to get one Delegate from each State, who may be in attendance to meet in a room at Brown's Hotel, or somewhere else, and consult together to see if they cannot hit upon a plan to save the party. If you will quietly and without announcing to the public what you are at, undertake this with energy and prosecute it with vigor, the plan is feasible, and I think will succeed. If the preliminary meeting of a Delegate from each State can agree upon *the man*, then let each one see the other Delegates from his own State, and report at an adjourned meeting the result. This is the only way to secure efficient action when the Convention meets. In this way let the few men at Washington who would break us up, be controlled. Something of the kind must be done to save us. I make these suggestions because I deem them important. Someone must take the lead, and no one can do it with more prospect of success than yourself. Show this to General *Pillow confidentially* who will be a most efficient man in carrying out such a plan. My old friend, Williamson Smith of Miss. is a delegate and will do any and everything he can. So will Turner of Alabama. In setting on foot such a movement, of course you should keep your own counsels, for if known to all there would be troublesome spirits who would set to work to defeat it. I am on the eve of starting home, and have written in great haste."

POLK TO CAVE JOHNSON, WASHINGTON, D. C.

"Columbia, Tennessee, May 17 (14), 1844.

"Highly Confidential.

"All that I have said in the enclosed letter is strictly true and expresses the opinions which I honestly entertain. I have, however, omitted to embrace in it some things which I design for your *own eye alone*. I thought it possible that you might think it useful to our cause or to myself individually, to show the enclosed (confidentially of course if you do so at all) to Silas Wright, and in that event I desire not to embrace in it what I am now about to say. It is this and is for yourself alone. Mr. Wright's declaration to you, in the conversation which you detail in your letter of the 8th that I was 'the only man he thought the Northern Democrats would support if Van Buren was set aside, because I was known to be firm and *true* to the cause', is precisely the opinion which General J. (Jackson) expressed to me when I

saw him two days ago. The General had previously expressed the same things to others. He thinks the man should come from the Southwest. You know that I have never aspired to anything beyond the second office, and that I have desired. Until recently I have regarded the nomination of Mr. V. B. (Van Buren) as certain and the contest for the Vice-Presidency to be between Col. J. ( ) and myself. The recent explosion at Washington, and the incurable split in the party there and elsewhere, puts a new face on things. 'Fortuna is in a frolic,' occasionally and in the midst of the confusion which prevails, there is no telling what may happen. In view of Mr. V. B.'s (Van Buren's) withdrawal by his friends, which is not only possible, but I think probable, his friends would undoubtedly hold in their hands the controlling power in the selection of the candidate, and therefore it will be very important to consolidate them before the event occurs. Among the Texas annexation delegates opposed to him I will undoubtedly have many friends, and if they and the friends of Mr. V. B. (Van Buren) can unite, the whole object will be effected. It will require judgment and delicacy in managing the matter. If, however it shall be first settled that V. B. (Van Buren) is to be withdrawn, I see no reason why my friends should not make the effort. If the feeling of the Northern Democrats continues to be such as Mr. Wright expresses it to be, in the conversation with you, they would probably yield to a compromise, if my friends in the South and Southwest would propose it as a compromise. These speculations, arising out of the unexpected events of the last few days, may turn out to be very ridiculous. If so, they are committed to yourself alone. If a new man is to be selected, my friends at Nashville think that my position and relations to the party give me more prominence than any other. You will be on the spot and will be best able to judge. Whatever is desired to be done, communicate to Gen. Pillow. He is one of the shrewdest men you ever knew, and can execute whatever is resolved on with as much success as any man who will be at Baltimore. Lead him therefore into all your views. He is perfectly reliable, is a warm friend of V. B.'s (Van Buren's) and is my friend, and you can do so with entire safety.

"After all, however, I think it probable that my chief hope will be for the second office, and if so, I wish my name to go before the Convention at all events. I have made up my mind that it would be better for me to be defeated by a vote, than to be withdrawn. Whatever is done will undoubtedly be settled upon at Washington before you assemble at Baltimore, and everything will depend upon the vigilance of my friends and their prudence in conciliating the Delegates who may be there (assembled). I calculate that this letter will reach you on the Friday before the meeting at Baltimore. If any new suggestion comes to me I will write to you by tomorrow's mail. I hope you will not fail to be a Delegate at Baltimore yourself.



"Our friend, A. V. Brown, cannot be back in time. The rumor here today is that his wife is dead. I think it probably true. Two days ago she was extremely ill, and her recovery had been despaired of by her physicians and friends.

"P. S.—I conclude to send the letter which purports to be enclosed in this, under a separate envelope, so that this will be seen by no one but yourself.

N. B.—If you think it best not to show the letter confidentially to Mr. Wright, retain it and do not do so. You will be the judge."

POLK TO CAVE JOHNSON, WASHINGTON, D. C.

"Columbia, Tennessee, June 8, 1844.

"Confidential.

"Your letter of the 29th ultimo, with others of the same date, conveyed to me the first reliable intelligence of my nomination at Baltimore. Rumors to the same effect had reached (me) the day before, but they were not of a kind to make it certain. The effect here and as far as I have heard has been to inspire a new spirit in our party. Many instances are reported of Whigs who say they will now act with us. I am under many personal obligations to my friends, and to yourself especially, for the agency which I know you had in bringing about the result.

"I have as yet received no official announcement of my nomination by the committee of the Convention, and cannot of course answer until I do. By a letter from Philadelphia, I learn that Mr. Dallas has been notified of his nomination for the Vice-Presidency and has accepted. In the *Globe* of the 30th ult., I see it stated that 'Mr. Hubbard, of New Hampshire, Chairman of the Committee to inform Messrs. Polk and Wright of their nomination, stated that they had forwarded communications to both these gentlemen.' If any was forwarded to me, it has not come to hand.

"I shall desire to see you as soon after your return as possible. In the new position which has been assigned me, there are several weighty matters about which I wish to consult you. Our people here have resolved to have a great public dinner at this place on the 29th instant, to which you will of course be invited. If you get home in time, you must not fail to attend. In the meantime, you will greatly oblige me by giving me any suggestions before you leave Washington, which you may think will be useful. I may expect to be interrogated upon all the great questions of the day, and at the same time I shall answer frankly and independently. I shall desire to do so prudently. I am already advised that I will probably be called on soon upon the subject of the tariff. I see in the *Intelligencer* of the 1st, which came today, a correspondence on that subject and in reference to my opinions between Mr. James Irvin of the House, and Mr. John J. Hardin, of Illinois. Whether the latter be a member or not I do not know. His article was manifestly written by Milton Brown and signed by Hardin. It is a repetition of my controversy with Brown at Jackson in the spring

of 1843, about which no one else but Mr. Brown had any information. This Mr. Hardin had merely lent his name to Brown and been used by him. Brown and the trick should be exposed. It contains a garbled and anything but a fair account of my views.

"If you have time before you leave, cause Brown to be exposed in the *Globe*. Write me on receipt of this.

POLK TO CAVE JOHNSON, CLARKSVILLE, TENNESSEE.

"Columbia, Tennessee, June 21, 1844.

"I received on yesterday your letter of the 21st from Louisville. I wrote to General Jackson today, putting him on his guard against any attempt which may be made to get up a sectional or Southern convention. No countenance must be given to any attempt should it be made.

"A great mass-meeting has been appointed for the 24th July, at Nashville. I think the time too short to enable our distant public men to attend. I have written to Gen. Armstrong to call the State Committee together immediately to consider of the propriety of postponing the day until about the middle of August. I should think that it should be so postponed and that invitations should be sent to every Democratic member of Congress and other leading citizens from the North, the South, the East and the West, to attend. Call upon the whole Democracy to attend the great mass-meeting and thousands would seize the occasion to make a pilgrimage to the Hermitage. The meeting would be what it ought to be, an immense assemblage. The moral and political effect, too, of bringing together the great men of the nation, would be incalculable. If such a thing is resolved on, the State Committee should make an appeal to the whole Democracy, beginning with Maine, then the granite State, and ending with Louisiana, calling upon all to come up to the great gathering in the vicinity of the Hermitage. What do you think of these suggestions?

"I wrote you to Washington, in time, as I thought, to reach you before the adjournment.

"In my letter of acceptance which was addressed as requested to Robert Rantoul, Jr., Esq., of Boston, I took occasion to express my determination in the event of my election, to retire at the end of four years. I said nothing to commit the party upon the one term principle, but expressed simply my own determination.

"I have received many letters, and especially from Pennsylvania on the subject of the tariff, and some of them pressing me for a redeclaration of my opinions. I have addressed a letter upon that subject to Hon. John K. Kane, of Philadelphia, with a request that he would show it to Mr. Dallas and Mr. Horn, and if, in their judgment, it was absolutely necessary, they were at liberty to publish it, but not otherwise. It is but a redeclaration of the opinions upon which I have acted on that subject; it was carefully prepared and upon its doctrines I am ready to stand. It is very

short. In the course of a few days I will know whether they deem it necessary to publish it or not.

"I desire very much to see you, and must do so as soon as I can. We will have a mass-meeting at this place on the 13th July (a dinner given to the Delegates to Baltimore, electors and members of Congress) at which you must not fail to attend. On next Saturday, the 29th, Turney and Bell have a meeting here. When can I meet you at Nashville? If you will name a day I will write you whether I can be there.

"My letters from all parts of the Union continue to give the most flattering prospects. The union of our party seems to be perfect, and the greatest enthusiasm is everywhere prevailing. My correspondence is immense. I am overwhelmed with letters. I endeavor to give very short answers to most of them.

"P. S.—I wish you to send to Gen. Armstrong, at Nashville, immediately a Congressional Directory of the present Congress, if you have (one), with a mark of note designating who are Whigs and who are Democrats. The object is to enable the Committee to send invitations to the Democratic members."

POLK TO CAVE JOHNSON, CLARKSVILLE, TENNESSEE.

"Columbia, Tennessee, July 1, 1844.

"Confidential.

"I received your letter of the 28th today. All your suggestions are sound and accord with my own opinions. I write now to say that it is important that you should be here on the 13th instant, at the dinner to be given to the Delegates, Electors, and Members of Congress. Coe has been written to, and I have no doubt will come. Our friends desire to make it the occasion of holding a consultation and laying down the plan of the campaign in the State, and of coming to an understanding of the part each is to act. There is another reason why you should come and bring as many as possible with you. It is this. The Whigs are making extensive preparations to have a grand rally here (at my door) with a view to effect abroad. Our friends desire very much that ours shall be a great meeting, otherwise the Whigs will give it out that it was a failure and that there is no enthusiasm at home. There is still another reason why you should not fail to come. You have been several times invited here, and have never attended. Our whole democracy are exceedingly desirous to see you. You must come to my house the night before the meeting. It will be impossible for me to meet you in Nashville or the Hermitage at the time you suggest. I have said to our friends that they could make it public that you would certainly be here. I suggest that you answer their letter immediately, that it may be published some days in advance of the dinner."



POLK TO CAVE JOHNSON, CLARKSVILLE, TENNESSEE.

"Columbia, Tennessee, October 30, 1844.

"Confidential.

"In the present aspect of probable results in the several States, it has become vastly important that we should carry Tennessee. If possibly we should lose New York, the vote of Tennessee may, and probably will decide the contest, in the Union. My friends in New York write to me up to the 16th inst. expressing great confidence that they will carry that State, but they may be mistaken. A powerful effort is now making to induce the Natives and Abolitionists to unite with the Whig party proper. If this movement is successful, and a complete union of these factions with the Whigs shall be effected, the contest in New York will be close and the result doubtful. I think the following States may be put down as sure for the Democracy, to wit: Maine, New Hampshire, Pennsylvania, Virginia, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Arkansas, Missouri, Illinois, Michigan and Indiana. These States give 134 electoral votes, and if we carry little Delaware, (for which our chances are best) we will have 137 electoral votes, or within one vote of enough to make our election, it requiring 138 electoral votes to make choice by the Colleges.

"Our opponents must carry all of the five closely contested States of Connecticut, New Jersey, Maryland, North Carolina and Ohio, and also both New York and Tennessee, to enable them to succeed. If they lose any one of them, they will be defeated. They think they will carry the five first named States. Of New York and Tennessee they have more doubt.

"How vastly important therefore is it, that we shall carry Tennessee. We can and we must save her, but to do it will require our whole energy, and the unceasing labor of every man whether he be a debater or not, every hour until the election is over. My information satisfies me the State is now safe, but by a close vote, and if we lose her, it will be by the superior vigilance of our opponents, or by fraudulent and illegal voting. There is great danger of double voting and of imported Whig votes from Kentucky. Two or more active men should be appointed to watch every poll and challenge suspected persons who offer to vote. Let every man who offers to vote out of the civil District in which he resides, be sworn that he has not voted at any other place and that he will not offer to vote at any other place in that election. This is very important and especially in the border and strong Whig Counties. For the few remaining days before the election, I hope that our leading friends at Clarksville will mount their horses and ride through Robertson and Montgomery and have these suggestions carried out. Let our friends ride on Saturday and Monday through every (————) District, see every Democratic voter, and urge him to attend the polls. Let no Democrat, not one, remain at home on the day of the election. I make these suggestions



to you because I am deeply impressed with their importance and because if they are observed throughout the State, we must, I think, carry the State by a handsome majority.

"P. S.—After writing this letter, it occurred to me that you might be absent at the Gallatin meeting on Friday, and therefore I address it jointly to yourself and Mr. Garland."

POLK TO CAVE JOHNSON, WASHINGTON, D. C.

"Columbia, Tennessee,

December 21, 1844.

"Private and Confidential.

"I have received your several letters of the 1st, 6th and 12th inst., for which I thank you. I should have written you more frequently but that every moment of my spare time has been occupied by company or other indispensable engagements, and even now I seize a moment to write you very hastily. I will leave here between the 1st and 10th of February, it being my intention to reach Washington about the 20th. I prefer to stop at Coleman's (formerly Gadsby's) to any other place. On yesterday I wrote to Brown and Judge Catron to engage apartments at Coleman's for me, provided they could make a bargain in advance that I might know precisely what I had to pay. You know I have no money to spend unnecessarily, and to avoid being suspected of an extravagant or enormous charge, it is necessary that a distinct bargain shall be made in advance. A gentleman called on me on yesterday who left Washington ten days ago. He informed him (me?) that Coleman showed him rooms which he had reserved for me; that he asked him what he charged for them, and that Coleman replied 'just what I pleased.' Now, I shall not take them upon such terms. I must know beforehand distinctly what his terms are. I greatly prefer to go to Coleman's and will do so, if his charges are not exorbitant and beyond all reason. Will you see Brown and tell him so. As to the route which I will travel I take the same view that you do. I shall take a boat at Nashville and travel the usual route by the River to Wheeling, and then direct to Washington. I have already declined numerous invitations to depart from the main route and visit various places. I shall travel with as little ostentation or parade as possible, stopping only a few hours as I shall be compelled to do, at the principal towns on the route. Such an idea as visiting Phila. and New York never entered my mind.

"All the speculations at Washington and in the newspapers about my Cabinet you may rely upon it are mere speculations. I would write you freely upon this subject, but for the danger that my letter might possibly fall into other hands before it reached you, and because I expect to see you in full time (20th Feby.) to confer freely and unreservedly with you. In the meantime I will thank you to keep me advised of all the speculations,

opinions, and wishes which you may have on the subject. One thing I can say to you, and that is, that I am under no pledges or commitments to any of the cliques (if such exist) mentioned by the newspapers. My object will be to do my duty to the country, and I do not intend if I can avoid it, that my counsels shall be distracted by the supposed or not conflicting intents of those cliques. Another thing I will say, that I will if I can have a united and harmonious set of cabinet counsellors, who will have the existing administration and the good of the country more at heart than the question who shall succeed me, and that in any event I intend to be myself President of the U. S. I shall rely much on you for the information which you may give me, which I hope may be free and unreserved. As to the press which may be regarded as the Government organ, one thing is settled in my mind. It must have no connection with, nor be under the influence or control of any clique or portion of the party which is making war upon any other portion of the party, with a view to the succession, and not with a view to the success of my administration. I think the view you take of it proper and of the proposed arrangement the best that can be made. I hope it may be effected.

"P. S. May I ask you to see Brown and Judge Catron, and if necessary confer with them about engaging apartments at Coleman's. I prefer that to any other house, if the terms are at all reasonable."

#### SPEECH AT NASHVILLE.

On November 28 the result of the election was known and Mr. Polk visited Nashville, where the Democrats gave him a public reception, and a civic and military procession escorted him to the public square to hear a speech from him. Hon. A. O. P. Nicholson, on behalf of the audience, made a very complimentary speech of congratulation, to which Mr. Polk replied:

"I return to you, Sir, and to my fellow-citizens, whose organ you are, my sincere and unfeigned thanks for this manifestation of the popular regard and confidence, and for the congratulations which you have been pleased to express to me, upon the termination and result of the late political contest. I am fully sensible that these congratulations are not, and cannot be, personal to myself. It is the eminent success of our common principles which has spread such general joy over the land. The political struggle through which the country has just passed has been deeply exciting. Extraordinary causes have existed to make it so. It has terminated—it is now over—and I sincerely hope and believe, has been decided by the sober and settled judgment of the American people.

"In exchanging mutual congratulations with each other upon the result of the late election, the Democratic party should remem-

ber, in calmly reviewing the contest, that the portion of our fellow citizens who have differed with us in opinion have equal political rights with ourselves; that minorities as well as majorities are entitled to the full and free exercise of all their opinions and judgments, and that the rights of all, whether of minorities or majorities, as such, are entitled to equal respect and regard.

"In rejoicing, therefore, over the success of the Democratic party, and of their principles, in the late election, it should be in no spirit of exultation over the defeat of our opponents; but it should be because, as we honestly believe, our principles and policy are better calculated than theirs to promote the true interests of the whole country.

"In the political position in which I have been placed, by the voluntary and unsought suffrages of my fellow-citizens, it will become my duty, as it will be my pleasure, faithfully and truly to represent, in the Executive department of the government, the principles and policy of the great party of the country who have elected me to it; but at the same time, it is proper to declare, that I shall not regard myself as the representative of a party only, but of the whole people of the United States; and, I trust, that the future policy of the government may be such as to secure the happiness and prosperity of ALL, without distinction of party."

POLK TO DR. J. G. M. RAMSEY.

"Washington City, May 19, 1848.

"Dear Sir:—From speculations which have appeared in some of the public journals, and from frequent inquiries which have been made of me, by many political friends, some of them delegates to the Democratic National Convention, which will assemble at Baltimore on the 22d instant, I am induced to suppose that it may be the desire of some of my friends to propose my renomination as the candidate of the Democratic party, for the office of President of the United States. Should you ascertain that such is the intention of any of the delegates, I desire, through you, to communicate to the Convention that I am not a candidate for the nomination, and that any use of my name with that view which may be contemplated, is without any agency or desire on my part.

"The purpose declared in my letter of the 12th of June, 1844, in accepting the nomination tendered to me by the Democratic National Convention of that year, remains unchanged; and to relieve the Convention from any possible embarrassment which 'the suggestion of my name might produce in making a free selection of a successor who may be best calculated to give effect to their will, and guard all the interests of our beloved country,' I deem it proper to reiterate the sentiments contained in that letter. Since my election, I have often expressed the sincere desire, which I still feel, to retire to private life at the close of my present term.

"I entertain the confident hope and belief that my democratic friends of the convention will unite in the harmonious nomination of some citizen to succeed me, who, if elected, will firmly maintain and carry out the great political principles introduced in the resolutions adopted by the Democratic National Convention in 1844—principles which it has been the earnest endeavor and the constant aim of my administration to preserve and pursue—and upon the observance of which, in my opinion, mainly depend the prosperity and permanent welfare of our country.

"If, on reviewing the history of my administration, and the remarkable events, foreign and domestic, which have attended it, it shall be the judgment of my countrymen that I have adhered to these principles and faithfully performed my duty, the measure of my ambition is full, and I am deeply compensated for all the labors, cares, and anxieties which are inseparable from the high station which I have been called to fill.

"I shall ever cherish sentiments of deep gratitude to my fellow-citizens for the confidence they reposed in me, in elevating me to the most distinguished and responsible public trust on earth.

"It is scarcely necessary that I should add that it will be no less my duty than it will be my sincere pleasure, as a citizen, to unite with my democratic friends in the support of the nominees of the convention, for the offices of President and Vice-President of the United States. With great respect, I am your obedient servant,

"JAMES K. POLK.

"To Dr. J. G. M. Ramsey."



## CHAPTER 17.

### Andrew Jackson—The Hermitage and President Roosevelt's Visit and Speech.

On April 5th, 1889, the Legislature of Tennessee passed an Act approved by Governor R. L. Taylor April 6th, conveying to a Board of nine trustees, to be appointed by the Governor, twenty-five acres of the Hermitage farm, including the mansion and outhouses; two of these trustees to come from East Tennessee, five from Middle Tennessee, and two from West Tennessee.

This Act also authorizes the Ladies' Hermitage Association to be given possession of the twenty-five acres, and placed in charge thereof. The title to the property was placed in these trustees, but the right to make by-laws for the Ladies' Hermitage Association was placed in the Association, subject to the approval of the trustees. Governor Taylor appointed as the first Board of Trustees, Adolph S. Ochs of Chattanooga and H. H. Ingersoll of Knoxville, for East Tennessee; Dr. J. Berrien Lindsley, Gen. W. H. Jackson, ex-Governor John C. Brown, L. F. Benson, all of Nashville, and W. R. French, of Tullahoma, for Middle Tennessee; ex-Governor James D. Porter of Paris and E. S. Mallory of Jackson, for West Tennessee.

At the first meeting of the Board of Trustees, ex-Governor Porter was elected President, and Dr. Lindsley, Secretary.

The Ladies' Hermitage Association became a chartered institution before the passage of the Legislative Act, and the clause of the charter applying for the same was as follows: "We, the undersigned, apply to the State of Tennessee by virtue of the laws of the land for a charter of incorporation for the purposes and with the powers declared in the foregoing instrument.

"This the 19th day of February, 1889. (Signed)  
 "Mrs. Rachel J. Lawrence,                      "Mrs. E. L. Nicholson,  
 "Mary W. May,                                      "Miss Louise Grundy Lindsley,  
 "Mrs. Mary Hadley Clare,                      "Mrs. Henry Heiss."

"Mary C. Dorris, witness to above signatures."



The Hermitage—Entrance Hall.



The by-laws of the Association provided that the first biennial meeting of the Association should be held on the third Wednesday in May, 1889, and every two years thereafter, at such place in Nashville, Tennessee, as may be designated in the call.

The inspiration of founding the Ladies' Hermitage Association came to Mrs. Andrew Jackson III., wife of General Jackson's grandson. Before marriage she was Miss Amy Rich, of Hamilton, Ohio. Andrew Jackson III. married Miss Rich and brought her as a bride to the Hermitage, and she was therefore acquainted with all the conditions, memories and traditions connected with Andrew Jackson's old home. Proceeding from this inspiration of Mrs. Jackson, the founders of the Ladies' Hermitage Association became Colonel Andrew Jackson III. and wife, Mrs. Amy Jackson, Mrs. Mary C. Dorris, W. A. Donelson and wife, Mrs. Bettie M. Donelson.

Dr. and Mrs. Berrien Lindsley were strong friends in getting the bill through the Legislature granting the twenty-five acres to the Ladies' Hermitage Association, and the first Board of Directors of the Association was elected May 15, 1889, and consisted of Mrs. Mary L. Baxter, Regent; Mrs. A. S. Colyar, First Vice-Regent; Mrs. J. M. Dickinson, Second Vice-Regent; Mrs. Mary C. Dorris, Secretary; L. F. Benson, Treasurer; Mrs. William Morrow, Mrs. John Ruhm, Mrs. Bettie M. Donelson.

The Legislature authorized the Ladies' Hermitage Association to take over the twenty-five acres, the mansion and the out-buildings, but the expense of caring for and improving the property was to be exclusively on the Association—not a dollar was appropriated by the Legislature, and no appropriation for current expenses was ever made by the Legislature until 1895, when the State gave \$600.00 a year, and this continued up to 1911, when it was increased to \$1,200.00 a year, and so continued to 1915, when it was increased to \$1,800.00 a year, and this is now the amount appropriated.

#### APPEAL TO THE PUBLIC.

Knowing that considerable sums would be needed to make badly needed repairs and pay for current expenses, the Hermitage Association made an appeal to the public for funds, which was printed in a booklet and spread broadcast. This appeal was as follows: "The General Assembly of the State of Tennessee has assigned to the care of the Ladies' Hermitage Association the



house and tomb of General Jackson and twenty-five surrounding acres to improve, beautify and keep forever in perpetual memory of the great hero.

"The Association proposes to do its work thoroughly—to purchase the relics, to renovate the house, to beautify the grounds and to make the Hermitage the most beautiful, as it has been the most interesting spot, in all the Southland. It will be a national museum, inviting pilgrims from the North, the South, the East and the West, who will delight to honor the memory of him who said: 'The Federal Union must be preserved!'

"The Association proposes to keep in continual repair the house, tomb and grounds; for many years nothing has been done in this regard. There is consequently great need for a repair fund, and the first money collected into the treasury will be devoted to restoring to its original beauty the grand old historic mansion, the tomb, and to adorning the grounds. The Association also wishes to purchase the relics and furniture now at the Hermitage and owned by Colonel Andrew Jackson, and which have been pledged to said Association. These relics are both valuable and interesting, and a large sum of money will be required to purchase them. It will readily be seen that to put the homestead in thorough repair, to purchase the relics, to create an endowment fund by which the Association is to become self-sustaining, a large sum of money will be required.

"The Association is national in its character, as Andrew Jackson was national in his reputation. He belonged to the people, and to them the Association now appeals for assistance in this great work. The by-laws require a membership fee of one dollar; by this means the Association hopes to realize at least one hundred and fifty thousand dollars, as it is the belief that there are fully that many citizens of the United States who would gladly give that sum to the restoration of 'Old Hickory's' home. Contributions of any sum from one dollar or less to any great sum a munificent benefactor may be willing to give. Any contribution may be sent to the Treasurer, L. F. Benson, Nashville, Tennessee, and will be receipted by him and placed to the credit of the Association. We hope that this appeal will strike the keynote of patriotism and that in a very few years the home of Andrew Jackson, the beautiful Hermitage, will be the Mecca of all true patriots in the United States, and of historic interest to the touring stranger.

"Mrs. Nathaniel Baxter, Sr. Regent.

Mrs. A. S. Colyar, First Vice Regent.

Mrs. J. M. Dickinson, Second Vice Regent.

Mrs. D. R. Dorris, Secretary."

As the years went by the ladies resorted to various expedients to raise money and with general success. The Hermitage now is

practically the same as when Andrew Jackson lived in it; the furniture is in the same rooms it occupied when Old Hickory was there. The Association has spent fifteen thousand dollars in buying the Jackson relics from Colonel Andrew Jackson III., and the building is most punctiliously cared for, and, to an American citizen, is one of the most interesting spots in the world. Time and again the question has been asked why the Legislature of Tennessee placed upon a band of devoted, patriotic women the heavy responsibility of restoring the run-down piece of property and making it a shrine to which American patriotism can go and worship. It would seem that the State of Tennessee ought to have been, and should be now munificent in its appropriations for this purpose, but such has not been the case.

General Jackson, by will, gave the Hermitage to his adopted son, Andrew Jackson Jr., who, in 1856, sold it to the State of Tennessee for \$48,000.00, and then left the Hermitage with his family, but returned in 1860 at the invitation of Governor Isham G. Harris, to take charge of the property until the Legislature could determine what should be done with it. The State intended to offer the property to the United States Government for an Academy, like that at West Point, but the Civil War came on, and nothing came of the matter. During the Civil War Andrew Jackson, Jr., remained at the Hermitage, and he died there, leaving his widow, Mrs. Sarah Yorke Jackson, and her sister, Mrs. Marion Adams, as the occupants. Mrs. Sarah Jackson remained at the Hermitage by permission of the Legislature until 1888, when she died. Her sister, Mrs. Adams, died before her, and both are buried in the garden.

#### HISTORY OF THE HERMITAGE.

General Jackson built, in 1804, a two story log house where he was visited by Aaron Burr in 1805; and the General was living in that log house in 1815 when he won the Battle of New Orleans. The present site was selected for the new Hermitage by General Jackson because it was the preference of Mrs. Jackson. One day when the General and Major Lewis were on that spot, he told Major Lewis that the house would be built there because Mrs. Jackson wanted it. The mansion was constructed in 1819, and LaFayette was entertained there in 1825. It was burned October 14, 1834, and immediately rebuilt and reoccupied in May, 1835. It is colonial in its architecture, with two-story verandas both front and rear, with a wide hall-way with double

rooms on either side, and wings, making eleven rooms altogether, besides kitchen and other necessary small rooms, with smoke-house and outhouses. General Jackson bought six hundred and fifty acres of what afterwards became the Hermitage Farm for eight hundred dollars, and after his mansion was built, it can be truthfully said that he came as near keeping open house for every one asking his hospitality free of charge, as any man that ever lived.

It was here that he raised the Indian boy he brought back from the battlefields of Talluschathe where he found a slain Indian woman still holding a living infant. He tried to get Indian women there to nurse the child, which they declined to do, and by some means the General succeeded in keeping the infant alive, and getting it to Nashville, where Mrs. Jackson received it and it grew up in the family and was treated by the General and his wife as a son. The boy was named Lincoyer, and was educated and finally taken by General Jackson to Nashville and there given a choice of trades to learn, and Lincoyer selected harness-making; but the seeds of consumption were in him, and he finally died at the age of seventeen.

Illustrative of General Jackson's hospitality, which was an innate and intrinsic part of the man—both at the Hermitage and at Washington, two quotations may be made from Parton:

"In an establishment so restricted, General Jackson and his good-hearted wife continued to dispense a most generous hospitality. A lady of Nashville tells me that she had often been at the Hermitage in those simple old times when there was, in each of the four available rooms not a guest merely, but a family; while the young men and solitary travelers who chanced to drop in disposed of themselves on the piazza, or any other half-shelter about the house. 'Put it down in your book,' said one of General Jackson's oldest neighbors, 'that the General was the prince of hospitality; not because he entertained a great many people, but because the poor belated peddler was as welcome as the President of the United States, and made so much at his ease that he felt as though he had got home.'"

Parton says again: "Amid the bustle and throng and strife of Washington, General Jackson maintained the same easy and profuse hospitality to which he had been accustomed at the Hermitage, and every one of his thousands of guests brought away something curious to tell of him. He was one of those positive and peculiar men whose commonest action becomes an anecdote, and I have consequently accumulated a mass of anecdotal reminiscences of him which I cannot withhold, but know not how to press within reasonable compass. I may add, before

going further, that the liberal hospitality of the White House compelled the President to eke out his salary by drawing upon the proceeds of his farm. Before leaving Washington in 1837 he had to send for six thousand dollars of the proceeds of his cotton crop in order to pay the debts which his last year's salary failed to cover. In the spring of 1836 when the Hermitage was damaged by fire to the extent of three thousand dollars, he was really embarrassed to find the means of repairing and refurnishing it. He wrote to a friend in Philadelphia: 'I have directed my son to offer for sale a peice of valuable land in Tennessee. I find this will be necessary before I can venture to incur the responsibility of another purchase. Here I have no control of my expense, and can calculate nothing on my salary.' "

The part of the five hundred acres purchased from Andrew Jackson, Jr., by the Legislature, that has not been transferred to the Ladies' Hermitage Association is being used for a Confederate Soldiers' Home, but it cannot be many years that this use will continue.

In 1917 the Board of Directors of the Ladies' Hermitage Association and the Board of Trustees issued an appeal to the people of Tennessee that the entire five hundred acres of the Hermitage tract should be placed in the possession of the Ladies' Hermitage Association after it was no longer used for a Confederate Soldiers' Home, and that appeal should meet with a response in the breast of admirers of Andrew Jackson everywhere. It follows:

"An Appeal to the People of Tennessee to Forever Preserve the Hermitage Farm in its Entirety as a Suitable and Lasting Monument to Major General Andrew Jackson.

#### "THE HERMITAGE.

"In 1856 the State of Tennessee purchased the five hundred acres of land known as The Hermitage. General Andrew Jackson's adopted son, Andrew Jackson, Jr., in his published letter quotes him as saying: 'If you ever find it necessary to sell The Hermitage, sell it to my own beloved State,' and so this desire was fulfilled. But each successive legislature has been petitioned, and promoters of various kinds have had plans to convert this cherished spot into other than a memorial to Jackson.

"The Ladies' Hermitage Association has been kept on the alert as the years have gone by, trying to meet and defeat all such endeavors, and it has been difficult, since none of us are experienced or paid lobbyists, but merely women interested in the highest institutions in the world—the home, the school and the church. We are anxious that the people of Tennessee should aid us in this



endeavor, and by expressions of approval through the press, in public school debates and individual expressions, to create a sentiment so strong that we may never have to meet and defeat any future plans in legislative halls.

"In 1889 the legislature passed the Confederate Soldiers' Home Bill with suitable appropriations, and at the same time passed the bill creating the Ladies' Hermitage Association without any appropriation, and transferring to the Association the mansion and twenty-five acres of land. The Association has grown larger and stronger each year, and hopes to control and beautify the land now held by the Trustees of the Confederate Soldiers' Home whenever it ceases to be used for the aged soldiers.

"By this appeal we urge every Tennessean to be a sentinel on the watch tower, to protect and secure this entire historic farm as a memorial to Andrew Jackson, so that the time will never come when it will be given over for any other purpose, or be swallowed up in commercial greed, under any pretext whatever. Tennessee is sufficiently rich to hold it without assaulting Jackson's great memory. He was a national figure, and history records of him that he never left his home in those old pioneer days of peril that he did not render his State and country some signal service, a service which gives this generation the privilege of enjoying to the fullest the advantages and comforts of the present age. Had he not performed those wonderful feats in Southern territory it would have been years before the white man could have lived in peace therein. He was crowned with honors and filled the highest offices within the gift of a democratic people. Citizens from all over the country came to his home to do him honor, to seek his advice, to enjoy his society and to discuss with him the affairs of his country. He sleeps at his quiet and beautiful Hermitage in a tomb provided by him for himself and his beloved wife, and it is meet and proper that the State of Tennessee should retain the entire property there as a deserving monument to his memory. It should be the pride and boast of every Tennessean that he feels himself a guardian of the Hermitage lands.

#### "THE LADIES' HERMITAGE ASSOCIATION.

"Had it not been for the Ladies' Hermitage Association there would be no Hermitage today. Instead, it would be just like Jackson's law office on Union Street in Nashville, which has a tablet on it saying, 'This was once Andrew Jackson's Law Office.' In 1889 the Hermitage mansion would have been demolished or remodeled for the Confederate Soldiers' Home had not the Ladies' Hermitage Association asked and received permission from the Legislature to preserve it, and with its own funds, through its own endeavors, the Association has purchased all the valuable relics needed to make the mansion complete, and, unlike George Washington's home, it is replete with genuine relics and not reproductions.

"The shadows are growing long toward the evening of life for the old Confederate heroes, and in a short time something will be done with that part of the land surrounding the Hermitage mansion. The time will come, all too quickly, when the last Confederate veteran will have answered the last roll call, taps will have been sounded, and the old soldier will sleep his last sleep. It is for such a time as this that the Ladies' Hermitage Association desires to make another plea for the possession of the entire Jackson farm, in order that the people of this broad Union may be able to visit the home and haunts of Old Hickory, draw inspiration from his great name and great fame, take a lesson in patriotism by recalling his history and viewing his home and his lands, and compare the greatness of Jackson with the greatness of today.

"The Ladies' Hermitage Association does not seek any additional appropriation whatever, only that the added trust which they ask be placed in their hands. The Association feels that it has fully demonstrated its ability to take care of the greater trust as it has taken care of the twenty-five acres around the mansion which were entrusted to it in 1889.

"For the first six years after the organization of the Ladies' Hermitage Association the Legislature never gave a dollar toward the upkeep of the property, and it was in a state of extreme dilapidation, but today the home and grounds are in a high state of preservation, beautifully kept and exquisitely furnished with the genuine belongings of General Andrew Jackson, himself.

"The Association feels that the name and fame of Jackson are great enough for the Legislature of Tennessee to erect any monument, no matter how expensive it might be; and it also feels that it is not asking too much of Tennessee that the entire farm, once owned and tilled by Jackson, should be held in its entirety, to the memory of the great hero. The property all belongs to the State, so that no purchase money will be required to possess it. Surely this great commonwealth can afford to honor itself by giving into the care and trust of the Memorial Association this beautiful tract of land of such intense historic interest for the present generation, and which will continue so for all generations of Tennesseans that are to come."

#### BOARD OF DIRECTORS.

Mrs. B. F. Wilson, Regent.  
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 Mrs. A. M. Shook, 2nd Vice Regent.  
 Mrs. Mary C. Dorris, Secretary.  
 Mrs. Maggie L. Hicks, Treasurer.  
 Mrs. Bettie M. Donelson.  
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## PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT AT THE HERMITAGE.

On October 22, 1907, upon the invitation of the Governor of the State, the Mayor, Board of Trade and leading citizens of Nashville, President Theodore Roosevelt visited The Hermitage and was accorded a very cordial reception. A distinguished assembly of citizens came together there to greet him, and he was shown every mark of that high courtesy due the President of the United States. He was met at the entrance by Mrs. Mary Dorris, Regent of the Association, and Mrs. Rachel Jackson Lawrence, granddaughter of General Jackson, and was conducted through the mansion, grounds and gardens, and his friends insisted that his photograph be taken while standing at the tomb of Jackson, which was done; and the photograph is now one of the prized possessions of the Ladies' Hermitage Association. One of his very first utterances after arriving was to say, "At the very beginning I want to ask you ladies, have you any objection to Congress appropriating money to help your Association in your beautiful and patriotic work?" This question was graciously answered, and later he was formally and officially answered by resolution of the Board of Trustees of The Hermitage appointed by the Governor of the State, and of the Board of Directors of the Ladies' Hermitage Association, thanking him for his interest in the Home and Tomb of Jackson, and accepting any appropriation Congress might see fit to make.

From the Tomb, President Roosevelt addressed the audience present and said:

## THE PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS.

"Oh, my friends, think how much it means to all our history, think how much it means to our people of today, that we should have this Hermitage as a place of national pilgrimage for all citizens who wish to learn, to study, who wish to quicken their



The Heritage—Dining-room.





patriotism in the present by being here in the abode, in the living place of one of the great patriots of the nation's past.

"On behalf of the nation I wish to thank the Ladies' Hermitage Association who have preserved it. But I do not think it just or fair that the burden which should be supported by the nation should be a drain upon private purses.

"It is greatly to your credit that you have done this work which the nation ought to have done, but I shall do all that I can do to see that the nation relieves you, not of the management, but of the expense of the management. And I shall count on the hearty support of all the senators and congressmen from Tennessee and from every other State. I want to say that Andrew Jackson was a Tennessean, but Andrew Jackson was an American, and there is not a State in this nation cannot claim him, that has not the right to claim him as a national hero.

"And surely no use of the public money can be better, can be wiser spent than in keeping up, for the instruction of the future, the home of the great statesman.

"I know the objection will be made that if we begin to take care of this house we shall be expected to take care of the houses of all the presidents. I draw a sharp distinction between Old Hickory and a great many Presidents.

"The Hermitage should be cared for by the nation in the same spirit that we now care for Mount Vernon. Of course Mount Vernon stands absolutely unique among all places, but The Hermitage represents the home of one of the three or four greatest presidents this nation has ever had; of one of the three or four greatest public men that any nation has developed in the same length of time.

"Andrew Jackson was a great national figure. His career will stand ever more and more as a source of inspiration for boy and man in this republic. A soldier, a statesman, a patriot, devoted with a single mind to the welfare of his whole country. Let his whole country make it their object, acting through the national government, to see that hereafter there is no question of keeping up The Hermitage and all its surroundings.

"My friends, I have but a moment here in which to greet you. I did not come here to teach, but to learn. I did not come to speak, but to pay my respects to the Home and Tomb of Andrew Jackson.

"Public questions change from time to time. One generation has to meet and solve a given set of problems; the next generation has to meet and solve another set of problems; but the spirit in which these problems must be met, if they are to be successfully solved, cannot change. The man who has the stuff in him to make a good citizen in one generation would be a good citizen in any other generation. That is true of civic life exactly like it is true of military life.

"At New Orleans General Jackson's troops fought with the long, heavy Pea rifle—the old flint-lock—the weapon that the

first hunters carried when they came over the mountains into Tennessee and Kentucky. Weapons change, tactics change, but the spirit of the soldier who wins victories remains unchanged from generation to generation. And I believe that, at need, the American people would do well now in war, because I believe that we have among us men who would be borne up by the same spirit to which Andrew Jackson was able successfully to appeal on that misty January morning when the fog lifting, showed the scarlet ranks of the gallant British regulars advancing to die on the breastworks at New Orleans.

"So it was true of you men of the great war. You fought with the muzzle loader. Some of them were flint locks, I guess. Now we have the high-power, small caliber rifle; the rifles that were new in your day, or unknown in your day, are antiquated now. The tactics change. They wear khaki instead of blue or grey; but if ever the crisis comes, our men can only win if they show that they have now the same spirit that sent on to battle the men in blue and the men in grey in the dark years from 1861-65.

"The spirit does not change; and it is the spirit of the man that counts as the ultimate and decisive factor in battle. We need organization; we need generalship, but organization and generalship cannot avail unless the private soldier in the ranks, unless the average man with a musket, has got the right stuff in him, for if he has not got the right stuff in him, you cannot get it out of him because it is not there to get out.

"Just as it is in time of war, so it is in time of peace. Since Andrew Jackson's time, in the seventy years that have elapsed since he was President, the problems have changed. We have seen the growth of a great complex civilization; we need different laws and therefore different methods of administering the laws. But we must administer it in the spirit of Andrew Jackson—must administer all laws and enact them in the spirit of Andrew Jackson if our government is to continue to be a success.

"I should not say that Old Hickory was faultless. I do not know very many strong men that have not got some of the defects of their qualities, but Andrew Jackson was as upright a patriot, as honest a man, as fearless a gentleman as ever any nation had in public or private life. His memory will remain forever a precious national heritage and his public career should be studied and stimulated by every public man who desires to be in good faith the servant of the whole people of the United States."

In his next message to congress the President said:

"I solemnly recommend to the Congress to provide funds for keeping up The Hermitage, the home of Andrew Jackson, these funds to be used through the existing Hermitage Association for the preservation of the historic building which should be ever dear to America."

On January 8, 1908, Hon. John W. Gaines, member of the

Board of Trustees of The Hermitage, introduced in Congress a bill following the recommendation of the President, and making an appropriation for The Hermitage, and supported the bill by an extended speech covering the career of General Jackson, the history of The Hermitage and its preservation, and the patriotic care due it both from the Government and the State. All the other members of Congress from Tennessee, in both the House and the Senate, earnestly supported the move for an appropriation, and the bill finally passed granting \$5,000.00 from the national treasury to The Hermitage Association in accordance with the President's recommendation.

The act passed by the Legislature of Tennessee in 1856 authorized the purchase from Andrew Jackson, Jr., of 500 acres of the Hermitage farm and was in these words:

#### ACT TO PURCHASE THE HERMITAGE.

"Whereas, it is good policy in a republican government to encourage the habits of industry and to inculcate sentiments of veneration for those departed heroes who have rendered important services to their country in times of danger; and

"Whereas, Tennessee acknowledges no superior in feelings of patriotism and devotion to the Union in whose cause the lamented Andrew Jackson acquired so much distinction; therefore

"Section 1. Be it enacted by the General Assembly of the State of Tennessee that the Governor of the State be empowered and it is hereby made his duty to purchase for the State of Tennessee 500 acres of the late residence of Andrew Jackson, deceased, including the Mansion, Tomb and other improvements known as "The Hermitage".

"Section 2. Be it further enacted that whenever the said purchase is made and the title to said property secured to the State, that the Governor is hereby authorized to cause the bonds of the State to be issued and to endorse the same in an amount not exceeding \$48,000.00, the proceeds of which to be appropriated by him in carrying into effect the provisions of this act: Provided, that the Governor and the Secretary of State upon investigation shall be satisfied said price is not exorbitant;

"Section 3. Be it further enacted that the Governor of the State be authorized and required to tender the said property to the General Government of the United States upon the express condition that it be used as a site for a branch of the Military Academy at West Point; and in the event the General Government does not accept the tender thus made in two years from the expiration of this session of the General Assembly, then the Governor shall be authorized and required to have fifty acres laid off, including the Tomb, the Mansion, and the spring and the spring



houses, and expose the balance to public sale either as a whole or in lots, on time or for cash as to him may seem best, and make his report to the Legislature of 1859-60.

The coming on of the Civil War prevented any steps for converting The Hermitage into a branch of the Military Academy, and the tender to the Government required by this act was never made.

The following boards have had control of the Association since its organization:

Elected May 15, 1889:

Mrs. Mary L. Baxter.....	Regent
Mrs. A. S. Colyar.....	First Vice Regent
Mrs. J. M. Dickinson.....	Second Vice Regent
Mrs. Mary C. Dorris.....	Secretary
L. F. Benson.....	Treasurer
Mrs. Wm. Morrow	
Mrs. John Ruhm	
Mrs. Bettie M. Donelson	
Mrs. Duncan B. Cooper	
Mrs. Felix DeMoville	

Elected May 20, 1891:

Mrs. Mary L. Baxter .....	Regent
Mrs. Albert S. Marks.....	First Vice Regent
Mrs. J. Berrien Lindsley.....	Second Vice Regent
Mrs. Mary C. Dorris.....	Secretary
Dr. William Morrow.....	Treasurer
Mrs. Wm. Morrow	
Mrs. John Ruhm	
Mrs. Bettie M. Donelson	
Mrs. John C. Gaut	
Mrs. Maggie L. Hicks	

Elected June 7, 1893:

Mrs. Mary L. Baxter.....	Regent
Mrs. Albert S. Marks.....	First Vice Regent
Mrs. J. Berrien Lindsley.....	Second Vice Regent
Mrs. Mary C. Dorris.....	Secretary
Mr. Edgar Jones.....	Treasurer
Mrs. John Ruhm.....	Auditor
Mrs. John C. Gaut	
Mrs. Bettie M. Donelson	
Mrs. Isabel M. Clark	
Mrs. J. M. Dickinson	

Elected October 30, 1895:

Mrs. Mary L. Baxter.....	Regent
Mrs. Albert S. Marks.....	Acting Regent
Mrs. J. Berrien Lindsley.....	Second Vice Regent
Mrs. Mary C. Dorris.....	Secretary
Mrs. John Ruhm.....	Auditor
Mrs. P. H. Manlove.....	Treasurer

Mrs. Hugh Craighead  
 Mrs. Bettie M. Donelson  
 Mrs. John C. Gaut  
 Mrs. Isabel Clark

Elected May 19, 1897:

Mrs. Mary L. Baxter.....	Regent
Mrs. Albert S. Marks.....	Acting Regent
Mrs. J. Berrien Lindsley.....	Second Vice Regent
Mrs. Mary C. Dorris.....	Secretary
Mrs. P. H. Manlove.....	Treasurer

Mrs. R. G. Throne  
 Mrs. J. M. Dickinson  
 Mrs. M. S. Cockrill  
 Mrs. A. M. Shook  
 Mrs. John C. Gaut

Elected May 17, 1889:

Mrs. J. Berrien Lindsley .....	Regent
Mrs. J. M. Dickinson.....	First Vice Regent
Mrs. Eugene C. Lewis.....	Second Vice Regent
Mrs. Mary C. Dorris.....	Secretary
Mrs. A. M. Shook.....	Treasurer

Mrs. R. G. Throne  
 Mrs. M. S. Cockrill  
 Mrs. A. M. Shook  
 Mrs. John C. Gaut  
 Mrs. J. C. Buntin

Elected May 15, 1901:

Mrs. J. Berrien Lindsley.....	Regent
Mrs. A. M. Shook.....	First Vice Regent
Mrs. M. S. Cockrill.....	Second Vice Regent
Mrs. Mary C. Dorris.....	Secretary
Mrs. J. Walter Allen.....	Treasurer

Mrs. Wm. J. McMurray

Mrs. Thomas M. Stegar

Mrs. John C. Gaut

Mrs. J. C. Buntin

Elected May 13, 1903:

Mrs. J. Berrien Lindsley.....	Regent
Mrs. A. M. Shook.....	First Vice Regent
Mrs. M. S. Cockrill.....	Second Vice Regent
Mrs. Mary C. Dorris.....	Secretary
Mrs. J. Walter Allen.....	Treasurer

Mrs. John C. Gaut

Mrs. W. J. McMurray

Mrs. Thomas M. Stegar

Mrs. J. C. Buntin

Mrs. Lindsley expiring July 5, 1903, Mrs.

A. M. Shook was elected Regent, Miss  
Louise Lindsley a director.

Elected May 17, 1905:

Mrs. Mary C. Dorris.....	Regent
Mrs. M. S. Cockrill.....	First Vice Regent
Miss Louise Lindsley.....	Second Vice Regent
Mrs. J. Walter Allen.....	Secretary
Mrs. P. H. Manlove.....	Treasurer

Mrs. W. J. McMurray

Mrs. Thomas M. Stegar

Mrs. J. C. Buntin

Mrs. A. M. Shook

Elected May 15, 1907:

Mrs. Mary C. Dorris.....	Regent
Miss Louise G. Lindsley.....	First Vice Regent
Mrs. A. M. Shook.....	Second Vice Regent
Mrs. Walter Allen.....	Secretary
Mrs. P. H. Manlove.....	Treasurer

Mrs. M. S. Cockrill  
 Mrs. Thomas M. Stegar  
 Mrs. B. F. Wilson  
 Mrs. Joseph M. Ford

Elected May 19, 1909:

Miss Louise Grundy Lindsley.....	Regent
Mrs. Walter Allen.....	First Vice Regent
Mrs. A. M. Shook.....	Second Vice Regent
Mrs. Mary C. Dorris.....	Secretary
Mrs. P. H. Manlove.....	Treasurer

Mrs. M. S. Cockrill  
 Mrs. Cleves Symmes  
 Mrs. B. F. Wilson  
 Mrs. Joseph M. Ford

Mrs. M. S. Cockrill expired 1910; Mrs. D. Shelby Williams elected Director.

Elected May 17, 1911:

Miss Louise Grundy Lindsley.....	Regent
Mrs. J. Walter Allen.....	First Vice Regent
Mrs. B. F. Wilson.....	Second Vice Regent
Mrs. Mary C. Dorris.....	Secretary
Mrs. P. H. Manlove.....	Treasurer

Mrs. J. Cleves Symmes  
 Mrs. John C. Brown  
 Mrs. A. M. Shook  
 Mrs. James H. Campbell



Elected May 21, 1913:

Mrs. B. F. Wilson.....	Regent
Miss Louise B. Lindsley.....	First Vice Regent
Mrs. A. M. Shook.....	Second Vice Regent
Mrs. Mary C. Dorris.....	Secretary
Mrs. P. H. Manlove.....	Treasurer

Miss Carrie Sims  
Mrs. R. A. Henry  
Mrs. Bettie M. Donelson  
Mrs. Maggie L. Hicks

Elected May 19, 1915:

Mrs. B. F. Wilson.....	Regent
Miss Louise G. Lindsley.....	First Vice Regent
Mrs. A. M. Shook.....	Second Vice Regent
Mrs. Mary C. Dorris.....	Secretary
Mrs. P. H. Manlove.....	Treasurer

Miss Carrie Sims  
Mrs. R. A. Henry  
Mrs. Bettie M. Donelson  
Mrs. Maggie L. Hicks

Elected May 16, 1917:

Mrs. Bettie M. Donelson.....	Regent
Mrs. B. F. Wilson .....	First Vice Regent
Miss Louise G. Lindsley.....	Second Vice Regent
Mrs. Mary C. Dorris.....	Secretary
Mrs. Maggie L. Hicks.....	Treasurer

Mrs. A. M. Shook  
Mrs. R. A. Henry  
Mrs. Porter Phillips  
Mrs. J. Washington Moore

The following gentlemen have served on the Board of Trustees,  
in addition to the members of the present Board:

\*Ex-Gov. John C. Brown  
\*Ex-Gov. Jas. D. Porter  
\*Dr. D. F. Porter

\*L. F. Benson  
 \*Hon. Julian A. Trousdale  
 \*Hon. E. S. Mallory  
 \*Judge H. H. Ingersoll  
 \*Hon. H. S. Chamberlain  
 \*Gen. W. H. Jackson  
 \*W. R. French  
 \*Dr. J. Berrien Lindsley  
 \*Gen. John F. Wheless  
 \*Dr. Thomas A. Atchison  
 \*Nat Baxter  
 \*Gen. G. P. Thurston  
 Judge J. M. Dickinson  
 Hon. A. C. Floyd  
 Gen. John A. Fite  
 Lewis R. Donelson  
 Hon. J. M. Head

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\*Deceased.

## CHAPTER 18.

### Andrew Jackson—The Hermitage and Relics of Jackson.

Nothing so impresses the thoughtful visitor at the Hermitage as the very high degree of taste and elegance displayed by the person, whoever it may have been, that selected the furniture, decorations, pictures, chinaware, silverware and the hundred other things that make up this beautifully equipped home. Yet beautifully equipped it was (and still is) and that too, only a few years after the first steamboat whistled for the Nashville landing; when the public highways could not truthfully be called roads; when there was not a railroad in the State and hardly one in America; when schools were few at best and only nominal educational factors in the life of the day; when art was not taught in the schools in any of its forms, and was practically unknown, unless introduced from beyond the State; when manufacturing was not yet born in Tennessee and was in its infancy all over the United States; and when, in every aspect of life, the simplicity of the pioneer was over everything. The wall paper on the Hermitage was ordered by General Jackson from Paris, France, and represents Telemachus in search of Ulysses, a classical story. How came Old Hickory to import so splendid a wall covering for his home? Who selected it for him? Or did, as was most probable, he select it for himself? Whose taste picked out the beautiful cut glass chandeliers, that, eighty-two years after they were hung, will stand comparison with even the ornamental light fixtures of today? Where was the furniture made and who selected it? We are curious to know these things, and many other things about this home in the then wilds of the western country.

Old Hickory's enemies used to say that he did not, and could not, write his messages and other public communications, and that they were the work of friends, or employed writers. If so, he had a most marvelous insight in selecting the men who understood his exact purposes and could give the very highest distinc-

tion to his official communications, for his State papers rank among the very greatest. But did he also select some one to furnish and beautify his home for him? If so, he had again, marvelous intuition in selecting exactly the right person. Is it not wonderful that the son of a poor Irish immigrant was so refined in his taste, and so appreciative of beautiful things that he was willing to go to the necessarily heavy expense of equipping such a home as he had in that backwoods country? That home was remarkable, but it was only one of many remarkable things about Andrew Jackson. His enemies held him up as being the next thing to an untamed savage, even when at his best, and not tamed at all when his temper was aroused. Yet, in his home, his soft, gentle, humanizing deportment, his highbred courtesy, his unfailing kindness, his lavish hospitality not only to friends but to any sojourner within his gates, were all patent to any one privileged to become his guest. In that home the observer could see that there was no lack of appreciation of, or indifference to, the beauty and refinement of his surroundings, but that he accepted every delightful and refining accessory as if he "was to the manor born." Jackson knew intuitively and took in in advance, things that had to be drilled into others by the process of the school, or long contact, or continued observation. If Fortune was unkind to him in his early days, and did not give him long or thorough academic training, Nature, his good mother, was lavish in her intellectual gifts, and in endowing him with mental insight that did not require the training of schools to develop it, but came, like the flash of electricity from the clouds. It was just this intellectual acumen that made long schooling for Andrew Jackson unnecessary; it was just this mental quickness that caused that marvelous development of the man, as any one could see by comparing his crude young days at Nashville, with the polish and development that came in a very few years, and came not through or by any formal training, but simply by association with his fellowmen and assimilating qualities and capacities that made up for the things that he lacked. Therefore, we have ample ground on which to base the conclusion that in everything connected with a life of intellectual, refined, cultivated people who were capable of knowing the best in the social intercourse of life, that Andrew Jackson was fully able to stand comparison.

Let the reader now take a walk through the Hermitage, and study every feature of every room, and bear in mind that the



Hermitage of today is the Hermitage that Andrew Jackson built and furnished and loved and lived in and invited the world to share with him.

#### THE HALL.

Entering the hall, which is large and commodious, one notes at first glance number

1. The pictorial wall paper, ordered by General Jackson from Paris, France, when the house was rebuilt in 1835. It was shipped by way of New Orleans up the Mississippi and Cumberland Rivers. It represents the legend of the travels of Telemachus in search of Ulysses, his father, and is that part of the story of his landing on the Island of Calypso. He is accompanied by Mentor. The first scene is the landing and the Queen advancing to meet them.

Scene II. Is Telemachus relating the story of his travels to Calypso, the faithful Mentor by his side.

Scene III. Calypso gives a fete in his honor, and Cupid begins to play a part.

Scene IV. Telemachus resolves to escape; Calypso's maidens burn his boat and he jumps from the cliffs.

2. Oil painting of Christopher Columbus.

3. Mahogany sofa in the position General Jackson loved to see it.

4. Pier table. The mate to it is in the dining room.

5. Bust of Lewis Cass, Secretary of War and Minister Plenipotentiary to France under Gen. Jackson.

6. Gen. Jackson's hatrack.

7. Gen. Jackson's umbrella stand.

8. Original stair carpet and rods of Gen. Jackson. The floor covering was furnished by the Association. The original oilcloth is in the house, but is much too frail for use.

A. The desk was used in the exhibit of the Ladies' Hermitage Association at the World's Columbian exposition; also.

B. The chair at desk.

9. Hall chandelier used for fifty years.

10. Oil portrait of Jackson by Earl. One of his best.

11. Flags used in the decoration at Horse Shoe Bend on the one hundredth anniversary of the battle. Presented by Mrs. B. F. Wilson.

12. Oil portrait of Andrew Jackson, Jr., adopted son of Gen. Andrew Jackson. Was adopted and named Andrew Jackson,





The Hermitage—The Double Parlor.

Jr., in 1800, when but three days old. Loaned by Mrs. Amy Jackson, widow of Col. Andrew Jackson.

13. Mrs. Sarah Yorke Jackson, wife of Andrew Jackson, Jr. Was married while Jackson was President, and was taken a bride to the White House in 1831. Presided as Lady of the White House. Loaned by Mrs. Rachel Jackson Lawrence.

14. Portrait of Mrs. Rachel Jackson Lawrence, daughter of adopted son. Loaned.

15. Poem by Mrs Scott.

16. Glass celande or hurricane shade.

17. "The Hermitage," a poem written by and presented to the Ladies' Hermitage Association by J. C. L. Byrnes, of Philadelphia.

18. Old brass candlestick, presented by Mrs. Percy Warner.

19. Case of souvenirs which are for sale. Plates, post cards and catalogues.

#### GEN. JACKSON'S PARLORS.

1. Crystal chandelier used at the Hermitage for over fifty years.

2. Six mahogany chairs used in Gen. Jackson's parlors.

3. Engraving, "Sortie on Gibraltar."

4. Engraving, "Siege on Gibraltar."

5. Pair of Dresden vases on wall brackets.

6. Papier-mache table bought by Andrew Jackson, Jr.

7. Papier-mache chair, match to the table.

8 and 9. Silver lustre vases sent to Gen. Jackson from Russia.

10. Mahogany sofa bought by Mr. Hoffstetter at the sale of the adopted son's effects in 1865, presented to the Association in 1897 by Miss Bettie Hoffstetter.

11. Pier table A.

12. Pier table B—the pair placed where Gen. Jackson had them.

13. Bust of Levi Woodbury of Gen. Jackson's Cabinet, with the autograph letter of presentation and Gen. Jackson's autograph note of reply.

14. Silk damask curtains.

15. Mantel mirrors, in front and back parlors.

16. Mantel of Italian marble.

17. Duplicate mantel in Tennessee marble.

18. Japanese bronze clock inlaid with enamel, hand wrought.



19. Candelabra to match Japanese clock; figure of men holding branch of candles.

20. Velvet chair of the old Hermitage furnishings.

21. Chair with back inlaid with mother of pearl.

22. Parlor andirons.

23. The original carpets used in the Hermitage for over fifty years.

24. Parian marble vases.

25. Mahogany cabinet.

26. Portrait by Earl of Gen. Jackson on Sam Patch, a magnificent white horse presented to him in 1833 by the citizens of Pennsylvania. Gen. Jackson rode this horse in a grand civic and military parade given in his honor in Philadelphia, after which it was sent to Nashville and died during the Civil War. A Federal soldier whom Gen. Geo. H. Thomas had placed as guard at the Hermitage fired a military salute over the grave. In 1913 this old soldier visited the Hermitage and located the grave of Sam Patch. A marker will be placed on the spot.

27. Portrait of Mrs. Jackson in ball dress. By Earl.

28. Bust of Mrs. Mary L. Baxter, first Regent of the Association. By Zolnay.

29. Marble pedestal presented to the Association by Mrs. Bond, of the East Tennessee Stone & Marble Co., from the Knoxville Building at the Tennessee Centennial Exposition.

30. Velvet divan.

31. Bust of Gen. Jackson by Hiram Powers. This Powers bust of Jackson presented by the sculptor before he went to Italy for study, is one of the best examples of pure American art.

32. Portrait of Jackson, presented by Mrs. Thomas M. Steger

#### BACK PARLOR.

33. Crystal chandelier.

34. Mahogany chairs used in Gen. Jackson's parlors.

35. Velvet divan.

36. Parian marble vase, mate to No. 24.

37. Handsome pair of Dresden vases.

38. Marble bust of Jackson, presented by Hon. Lawrence Cooper, Huntsville, Alabama.

39. a, b, c, d. Handsome gilt wall brackets bought by Andrew Jackson, Jr.

40. Gen. Coffee.





The Hermitage—Room in which General Jackson died.

41. Gen. Bronagh.

42. Col. Gadsden.

43. Lieut. Eastin.

(These four constituted the Staff Officers generally called "Gen. Jackson's military family.")

44. Portrait of Jackson with spectacles on. One of Earl's best.

45. Flag from the grave of Lafayette procured for the Association by Miss M. E. Ford.

46. Original Jackson piano, presented by Col. Andrew Jackson.

47. Chair from the Chateau de LaFayette presented to the Association in 1890 by Senator Edmand de LaFayette, grandson of Gen. LaFayette.

48. Beaded mats for candle sticks.

49. Candle stick of German silver.

50. Music book of Mrs. Emily Donelson, Lady of the White House during the early years of Jackson's administration. Presented by Mrs. Bettie M. Donelson.

51. Clock that was in the Hermitage before the death of Mrs. Rachel Jackson, one of the oldest relics. The hands were set at the hour Jackson died.

52. Mahogany centre table. The only piece remaining of the set presented to General and Mrs. Jackson when on a visit to New Orleans after the battle.

55. Carved mahogany sofa.

#### GEN. JACKSON'S BEDROOM.

This room is as it was the day he died, with the same furniture he used, the bed he died upon, the chair he sat in, etc. The furniture consists of bedstead, bureau, wardrobe, washstand with six china pieces, table, chair, settee or sofa, carpet, curtains, andirons and fender, mirror, brass candle stick, etc. The same pictures are on the wall.

1. Portrait of of his wife, over the mantel, upon which his dying gaze rested.

2. Portrait of his adopted son, Andrew Jackson, Jr., in childhood.

3. Portrait of the granddaughter, now Mrs. Rachel J. Lawrence, eldest child of the adopted son, the pet and companion of his declining years.



4. Portrait of Jackson by Mr. Alexander. It bears the inscription, "No free government can exist without virtue in its people."

5. Curtains and drapery of Gen. Jackson's bed. Used in the winter, but removed always in the summer.

6. Chinese Mandarin smelling bottles. Belonged to Mrs. Jackson.

7. Shell vases and box. Belonged to Mrs. Jackson.

8. Steel engraving, the "Sixth Seal."

9. Colored print, "Battle of the Thames."

10. Colored print, "Battle of North Point."

11. Tobacco box, used constantly by the old General.

12. Silk dressing gown worn by the old hero.

13. Linen shirt with ruffles in front, as was then the fashion. One of a dozen made by hand by the house seamstress.

14. Leather hat box.

#### MRS. JACKSON'S ROOM.

This room was occupied by Mrs. Sarah Yorke Jackson, wife of the adopted son, Andrew Jackson. The furniture was bought and placed here by General Jackson, and was a counterpart of the set placed in his room at the same time in 1835, when the house was restored after the fire.

1. One of the original mahogany beds.

2. Bureau, facsimile to the one in Jackson's room.

3. Chest of drawers of Jackson's.

4. Washstand of Jackson's.

5. Mahogany table with marble top, mate to the one in Jackson's office.

6. Brass andirons.

7. Portrait of Gen. Jackson.

8. Washbasin, only piece left of the original set.

9. Lamps with cut glass shades, presented by Mrs. Andrew Jackson, III.

#### SIDE HALL.

1. Holland House, in Shelbyville, where Jackson danced at a ball in 1828. Presented to the Ladies' Hermitage Association by W. D. Corbitt, photographer.

2. Col. Wm. H. Knauss, of Ohio, presented flag, his picture and \$5.00 to L. H. A.

3. The oldest house in Mobile, where Jackson had his headquarters in 1814.

4. The courtroom in Royal Street, New Orleans, where Gen. Jackson was fined \$1,000.00 for declaring martial law. Presented by E. A. Saucier.

5. Interior views before Col. Jackson moved from the Hermitage.

6. Interior of hall.

7. Photo of Jackson's Masonic apron.

8. Interior view of parlor.

9. Photo of Jackson when 21 years of age.

10. Interior of dining-room, with table, chairs and sideboard.

11. Photo of pearl miniature of Mrs. Jackson.

12. Photo of January 8th mantel in dining-room.

13. Photo of letter presenting phaeton.

14. Interior of Jackson's bedchamber.

15. Admiral Dewey at the grave of Andrew Jackson, May 11th, 1900.

16. Engraved copy of the miniature of Jackson, by Dodge.

17. Photos of the wooden figurehead of the old ship Constitution. A representation of President Jackson. On account of the Nullification Act, there was great opposition to him in some of the New England States. The vessel was in the harbor at Boston, and was lying between two men-of-war. Some person, for a long time unknown, succeeded in cutting off the head of the figure within six feet of an armed guard, a stormy night aiding the perpetrator. The latter was at a later date brought before the President with the wooden head in his hand. Jackson, in looking at it, remarked: "My friend, whenever you see as poor a representative as that of myself, you have my full permission to cut off its head." The figure is now in a part of a New England city.

18. Admiral Schley at the tomb of Jackson, February 2, 1902.

19. Mrs. Emily Donelson, wife of Andrew J. Donelson, private secretary to Jackson. Presented as Lady of the White House.

20. Mrs. Sarah Yorke Jackson, wife of Andrew Jackson, Jr., the adopted son of Gen. Jackson. Presided as Lady of the White House.

21. The little Rachel, granddaughter of Andrew Jackson. Now Mrs. Rachel Jackson Lawrence.

22. Uncle Afred, the faithful old servant.

23. Uncle Alfred.

24. Case of books, with autographs and inscriptions.

25. President Roosevelt at the tomb of Jackson. The President visited the Hermitage October 22, 1907. He was the eighth

President who ever came into this historic diningroom. He was instrumental in having Congress vote an appropriation for the Ladies' Hermitage Association.

26. Mrs. Rachel Jackson Lawrence's birthday party at the Hermitage, October 31, 1908. Age, 76. Presentation of loving cup by Ladies' Hermitage Association.

27. Mrs. Rachel Jackson Lawrence and some of her descendants.

28. Japanese tea celebration of January 8, 1906, under the management of Mrs. B. F. Wilson.

20. International reception January 8, 1907. Young ladies costumed in all nations, under the management of Mrs. Joseph Warner.

30. Patriotic drill by children, January 8, 1908, managed by Mrs. Joseph Warner.

31. Virginia reel in patriotic costumes, January 8, 1909, managed by Mrs. Percy Warner.

32. Costume worn by Mrs. Mary C. Dorris, the Regent, at the January 8th ball, 1909.

33. Scenes from bal poudre given January 8, 1910, managed by the Regent, Miss Louise G. Lindsley.

34. Settee, made from wood from Haywood County.

35. Tomb.

36. Gen. Jackson's Cabinet.

37. Uncle Alfred's room and funeral.

38. Col. Jackson's sons.

#### GLASS CASE.

1. Showcase was presented by Maj. E. B. Stahlman.

2. Programmes of menu for Tennessee Society, St. Louis.

3. Invitation and programme to the Ladies' Hermitage Association.

4. Pen portrait of R. E. W. Earl and pamphlet of lineage.

5. Part of a chain given Mrs. Sarah Yorke Jackson by the President when she was bride at the White House.

Presented to the Association by Mrs. Joseph J. Thompson.

6. Shell card rack and letter. Presented by Mrs. Hayne in 1828.

7. Box for epaulettes.

8. Brooch of the battle of New Orleans, presented by Mrs. Ellen Call Long.

9. Leather shot pouch, belonging to Andrew Jackson, Jr.

10. Autograph letter of Byron written to "Catignani's Messenger" in 1819.

11. Bronze medal of Jackson, presented by Gen. G. P. Thruston.

12. Locket containing Jackson's hair. Loaned by Miss Pearl Wright.

13. Fourteen-blade knife of Andrew Jackson. Col. Jackson gave it to J. H. Baker, who presented it to the Association.

14. The Land Grant, dated 1830, with Jackson's signature. Presented by Mrs. Fannie Patterson Taliaferro, of Huntsville, Ala., daughter of Gen. Benjamin Patterson, a warm friend of Jackson. Presented through Mrs. W. H. Selph.

15. Glass knobs, with the following tag: "Taken from the Hermitage dining-room in May, 1880, by a vandal who feared neither God, nor regarded man. Returned by request of a young lady who witnessed the act."

16. Address to citizens of Connecticut by Andrew Jackson, by Charles F. Thayer, of Norwich, Conn.

17. Walking cane of Jackson.

18. Letters and invitations presented by Mrs. Dorris.

19. Scrap book presented by Mrs. Dorris.

#### THE OFFICE OR LIBRARY.

For thirty years the Hermitage was the political center of the United States, and Andrew Jackson was the most influential man of his party. Many visitors, political and otherwise, were constantly being received by Gen. Jackson. This office was used for all business.

The books are those that constituted Gen. Jackson's library and the bookcases were his own. The books are works of fiction, travel, poems, history, Chinese works, medical and other miscellaneous books, comprising 450 volumes.

1. 2, 3. Cherry bookcases.

4. Mahogany bookcase.

5. The walnut office desk, used constantly when he was a practicing attorney. Interesting, having a number of secret drawers.

6. Curtains that formerly belonged to the upstairs bedrooms.

7. Chair, presented to Jackson by Chief Justice Roger B. Taney.

8. Chair, made from the wood of the frigate, Constitution, presented to Levi Woodbury, Secretary of the Navy, 1837; Secretary of the Treasury, 1834, to March —1837, during the administration



of President Jackson. Presented to the Hermitage by Miss Ellen C. Woodbury, daughter of Levi Woodbury, in 1900.

9. Table of mahogany.

10. Case, made of historic wood taken from the old building first used as a State House in Nashville, 1812-1815. The case was made to protect the bound columns of newspapers of Jackson's day. Wood given by Mrs. Jennie C. Buntin.

11. Steel engraving of George Washington.

12. Certificates of membership in the Hibernian Society of Philadelphia.

13. Steel engraving of Jackson.

14. Steel engraving of William IV.

15. Oil painting of the monument of Chalmette. Presented by Mrs. Mary L. Baxter.

16, 17. Brass candlesticks.

18. Invalid chair presented to Gen. Jackson by the mechanics of Nashville.

19. Old map of New Hampshire.

20. Mahogany candle stand, upon which Gen. Jackson always opened his mail.

21. Pair bronze lamps.

22. Cut glass celande or hurricane shade.

23. Mahogany table, with marble top; mate in Mrs. Jackson's room.

24. Mahogany chair.

25. Old newspapers, bound, of Jackson's time, presented by Mrs. Lawrence.

#### MUSEUM.

This room was used in Gen. Jackson's time as a nursery for his adopted son and for the adopted son's children. Not being able to find the original furniture, in 1911 the Regent, Miss Louise G. Lindsley, converted it into a museum, and this room has become one of the most interesting rooms in this historic house.

1. Jackson's veto message.

2. Jefferson's letter.

3. Inaugural message of 1833, on satin. Presented by Mrs. Kindall Stickney, of Monrovia, Cal.

4. The Boston Tea Party. Presented by C. F. Gunther, of Chicago.

5. Gen. Jackson's farewell address. Printed on white satin, was carried as a banner in his funeral procession in Nashville.

He died in 1845. Presented by Mrs. Wm. W. Bell, of Chicago.

6. Blue prints showing the battlefield of Chalmette at New Orleans. Blue print operations at New Orleans. Both presented by the Hon. John Wesley Gaines.

8. Equestrian statue of Jackson. This picture hung in President James K. Polk's room at the White House, Washington, D. C. Presented by Mrs. George William Fall.

9. Picture of Sam Houston.

10. Picture of Thomas H. Benton.

11. Photograph showing the four sides of the sarcophagus of the Emperor Alexandier Severus, which was brought by Commodore Elliott on the ship "Constitution" from Syria. Presented to the Ladies' Hermitage Association, February 18th, 1911, by Secretary of War, Jacob McGavock Dickinson.

12. Letter of Commodore Elliott, presenting the sarcophagus of Emperor Severus to General Jackson.

13. Gen. Jackson's letter declining the same. These two presented by the Hon. John Wesley Gaines.

14. Steel engraving of Jackson. Copy of Dodge's miniature. Presented by Mr. and Mrs. John C. Kennedy.

15. Framed Declaration of Independence.

16. Badge of the Ladies' Hermitage Association.

17. Battle of New Orleans. Presented by C. F. Gunther, of Chicago.

18. Certificate of membership in the Ladies' Hermitage Association.

19. Map of the Hermitage plat of twenty-five acres.

20. Steel engraving of Judge John Overton, lifelong friend and law partner of Andrew Jackson. Presented by his granddaughter, Mrs. J. M. Dickinson.

21. Souvenir of concert given in Washington, D. C., under the patronage of Mrs. John G. Carlisle, netting \$600.00 to the Association's treasury.

22. Old land grant.

23. Picture of Jackson, copied from one hanging in the office of Secretary of State at Washington. Presented by the Hon. John Wesley Gaines.

24. Picture of Jackson at the Hermitage in 1830.

25. Picture of Jackson.

26. Diploma of Honorable Mention given to the Ladies' Hermitage Association at the exposition in 1897 of the Tennessee Centennial.

27. Death of Pakenham, presented by C. F. Gunther, of Chicago.

28. Letter presenting the phaeton made from the timbers of the old Constitution. See the carriage house.

29. Oil painting of the Hermitage Church. Built by Gen. Jackson in 1823, that his wife might have church privileges near the Hermitage. Painted by Cornelius Hankins and presented to the Association.

30. Picture of Jackson.

31. Oil painting of old historic cabin as it was when the Ladies' Hermitage Association took possession of the place. Presented by Cornelius Hankins.

32. First Message of Andrew Jackson to Congress, on silk, presented by Mrs. Kendall Stickney, Monrovia, Cal.

33. Engraving of the Hermitage in 1855.

34. Picture and engraving of Jackson.

35. Lace cap of Mrs. Rachel Jackson.

36. Case of souvenirs of President Roosevelt's visit in October, 1907. Special register, with autograph signature, and cup from which he drank his coffee, handed to him by Mrs. Rachel Jackson Lawrence.

37. Door-scraper, one of the pair used at the front of the house.

38. Cannon ball cast for the war of 1812.

39. The regalia used by Gen. Jackson on the annual reunion at New Orleans.

40. Letter to Gen. Jackson from Bishop Connell, Roman Catholic Bishop of Philadelphia, written when he was in Rome, containing a picture of Pope Leo XII.

41. Lace veil that was intended for Mrs. Rachel Jackson to wear at the inauguration of her distinguished husband in 1829. Mrs. Jackson died December 22, 1828. This veil was presented by the ladies of Cincinnati. Each letter in the name of Jackson is made into an exquisite and different pattern of lace. Just above the name are 24 stars, representing the 24 States. In the center is the emblem of peace. This veil was inherited by Miss Mary Wilcox from her grandmother, Mrs. Andrew J. Donelson, whose husband was Andrew Jackson's private secretary. Miss Wilcox presented it to the Tennessee Woman's Historical Association.

They presented it to the Ladies' Hermitage Association with the consent of Miss Wilcox.

42. Old block house built in 1835 near Benton, Tenn., on the Hilderbrandt farm. Presented by Mrs. P. H. Manlove.

43. View of Monticello.

44. Old Holland House in Shelbyville, where Jackson danced at a ball in 1824.

45. Mrs. Rachel Jackson.

46. Medallion bust of Jackson. Presented to the Association during our Centennial Exposition by Miss Eleanor Wheatley, the artist, of Memphis, Tennessee.

47. Glass case, letters and papers of Gen. Jackson.

48. An old print of Andrew Jackson. Presented by Mr. John Boyle, of Washington, D. C., through Hon. John Wesley Gaines.

#### CONTENTS OF GLASS CASE.

1. The ledger and account books kept at Hunter's Hill and Clover Bottom.

2. Silver spoon; the handles were moulded into the Columbia Liberty Bell, one of which is from a set of Jackson's spoons, and the other belongs to a set of Felix Grundy's.

3. Small Liberty Bell made from the overflow of the Columbia Liberty Bell. These bells were purchased by patriotic associations, to be rung on patriotic occasions.

4. Candlestick used by Jackson at the Masonic Lodge in Gallatin. Presented to the Association by Col. Thomas H. Boyers.

5. Sword used by Gen. John Coffee at the battle of New Orleans.

6. Sword captured at the battle of New Orleans in 1815 by Gen. Jackson. Presented to the Association by Armond Hawkins at the Tennessee Centennial Exposition in 1897.

7. Cannon sight. Presented by Capt. E. W. Averall. Used at the battle of New Orleans in 1815.

8. Wood from the old dining-room floor.

9. Curious lock from one of the doors in the house.

10. Penholder from Mt. Vernon. Presented by Mrs. Addie C. Benson.

11. United States silk flag. Souvenir of the ball given January 8, 1893. It was purchased then by Mr. E. P. Baldwin, the Arctic explorer. Carried by him to North Greenland and placed by him in the hand of Baby Peary, daughter of Lieut. Peary, January 8, 1896, and presented by Mr. Baldwin to the Association.



12. Fragments of the bridge from Fort Barancas, Fla.
13. Hair of Gen. Jackson.
14. Letters, papers, etc.
15. Pieces of marble from the original tomb of Mary Washington, the corner stone of which was laid by Jackson in 1833. Presented by Mrs. Walter B. Palmer.
16. Rifle ornamented with plates of German silver. Beautifully chased. Was given by the Hermitage family in 1861, when a call was made for guns for the Southern Confederacy. Purchased at Clarksville, Tenn., by a Federal soldier, whose son sold it to Mrs. B. F. Wilson, who presented it to the Association.
17. Blade of sword presented to Andrew Jackson by the city of New Orleans, and bequeathed at his death to Col. Andrew Jackson Coffee, son of Gen. Coffee. This was a magnificent sword, its blade being made of gold and studded with precious stones. Unfortunately, it was mutilated during the Civil War while in possession of Col. Coffee's mother near Florence, Ala., when her home and its contents were burned. Presented by the Hon. Alexander Donelson Coffee, son of Gen. Coffee.
18. Missouri Gazette, published in 1809. Over 100 years old.
19. Niles' Weekly Register, published March 4, 1815.
20. Case used by Gen. LaFayette for his toilet articles while on his visit to Nashville and the Hermitage. Nos. 18, 19 and 20 were presented by Mrs. Stephen Driver.
21. Invitation to barbecue given Secretary of War Jacob McGavock Dickinson, June 1910, and hand-painted place card. Presented by Miss Louise G. Lindsley.
22. Letter of Gen. Jackson written from Washington while President of the United States. Presented by Mrs. Bettie M. Donelson.
23. Letter written July 25, 1833, establishing the date of the erection of the tomb. Presented by Mrs. Bettie M. Donelson.
24. Letter written by Jackson, March 19, 1837, on board the William Wirt.
25. Letter written by Jackson, March 20, 1837, from Louisville. These last two letters describe his return trip at the close of his Presidential administration, which was made by steamboat. Also his reception along the route. These letters were written to his private secretary, Maj. Andrew Jackson Donelson, whom he reared and educated as his nephew and ward. Also a letter verifying the purchase of the Decatur silver. The above letters were presented by Mrs. Bettie M. Donelson.

26. "The Life and Times of Andrew Jackson," by Col. A. S. Colyar. Presented by his daughter, Mrs. Lila Colyar Thompson.

27. Pieces of china from set used by Gen. Jackson. Presented by Mrs. Andrew Jackson III.

28. Picture of the Hermitage before it was burned. Presented by Mrs. Bettie M. Donelson.

29. President Jackson's contract with his cook. Presented by Mrs. Bettie M. Donelson.

30. Gen. Jackson's vest worn by him in 1840. Presented by Mrs. Elizabeth Earnshaw.

31. Lamp one hundred years old. Same used in Gen. Jackson's time. Presented by Mrs. W. A. Hargis.

32. Letter presented by Mrs. Leonard K. Whitworth, who inherited it from her grandfather, Dr. William K. Bowling.

33. A bill for repairs on additions to the house and a letter in which is described the Temple Monument to be erected over the grave of Mrs. Jackson.

34. A British dragoon flint-lock holster pistol, found on Jackson's battlefield at New Orleans in 1850, and presented by W. E. Metzger.

35. Cavalry sabre, captured at the battle of New Orleans, bearing the coat of arms of the English Government and the initials G. R. (George Rex III). Presented by W. E. Metzger.

36. Lancet presented by Mrs. Lawrence.

37. A United States cutlass used by the American brig *Carolina* in the fight against the British, 1814-1815, under Gen. Jackson.

#### THE UPPER CHAMBERS—EARL'S ROOM.

Earl's bedroom is located at the head of the back stairway. Earl was for a number of years a member of Gen. Jackson's household. He married one of Mrs. Rachel Jackson's nieces, was soon left a widow, and never remarried. His grave is near Gen. Jackson's. He was called "Portrait Painter to the King," from his fondness for painting Jackson. His portraits are among the best of Jackson. He came from a family of artists, his father being a pupil of Sir Benjamin West.

1. One of the original mahogany bedsteads.

2. Chiffonier of Jackson's.

3. Washstand of Jackson's.

4. Three views of the Hermitage and grounds used at World's Columbian Exposition.

5. Picture of Judge John Meredith Read, Chief Justice of Pennsylvania, a friend of Jackson. Presented by his son.

6. The Hermitage Daughter of Florida. Died in 1899.

7. Portrait of Col. Jeremiah George Harris. Purser of the Navy. Editor National Union. Presented by Mrs. Van S. Lindsley, his daughter.

8. Brass fender. The matting on the floor and muslin curtains were similar to those always used at the Hermitage.

9. Old damask and lace curtains.

10. Old-fashioned ewer.

11. Old map.

12. Old mirror with view of Monticello.

#### THE FAMILY ROOM.

The furniture of this room, of handsome rosewood, was purchased when Mrs. Rachel Jackson Lawrence was married in 1852. Was at the Hermitage more than forty years. It consists of:

1. Rosewood bedstead.

2. Bureau.

3. Wardrobe.

4. Washstand.

5. Table, top of Egyptian marble.

6. Glass cover for wax flowers or vase.

7. Deathbed of Napoleon. Lithograph.

#### THE UPPER HALL.

The walls are covered with the hand-painted copy of the paper on the walls of the lower hall, and was used in the replica of the Hermitage, the Tennessee State Building at the Louisiana Purchase Exposition, St. Louis, 1904. The work was done by Miss Mary Jennings. Presented to the Ladies' Hermitage Association by the Tennessee World's Fair Association, Maj. E. B. Stahlman, President.

1. Jackson's old cedar chest.

2. Standard for letters and newspaper clippings.

3. Letters to Jackson from D. Morrison, contractor, concerning additions to the house and the erection of "Temple Tomb." Presented by Mrs. P. H. Manlove.

4. Letter written by Jackson to Andrew Jackson Donelson, his ward, then in school at Lexington, Ky. Presented by Mrs. P. H. Manlove.

## THE GUEST-CHAMBER.

1. Mahogany bed.
2. Mahogany bed. The Association possesses six of the eight solid mahogany beds purchased when the house was refurnished in 1835. The other two were destroyed.
3. Cedar chest.
4. Mahogany wardrobe.
5. Oil portrait of Jackson, evidently a copy from Healy's of some unknown artist.
6. Twin children of Senator N. P. Talmage, of New York, named Andrew Jackson and Rachel Jackson Talmage. Presented to the President in gratitude for services rendered. Was at the White House and Hermitage; always placed in the nursery. Was much damaged and restored by the L. H. A.
7. Wire and brass fender.
8. Washstand.
9. Hair trunk.
10. Pictures of Jackson.

## THE LAFAYETTE ROOM.

In which LaFayette was entertained in 1825.

The furniture of this room was used in the Jackson room in the replica of the Hermitage at the Louisiana Purchase Exposition, St. Louis, 1904. It is all genuine Jackson furniture.

1. One of Jackson's old mirrors for this bedroom.
2. Fender.
3. Brass andirons.
4. Curtains.
5. Steps to bed.
6. Mahogany bed.
7. Dresser.
8. Chiffonier.
9. Portrait of Mrs. Jackson, presented to the Association by Mrs. Ellen Call Long, whose father, Gen. Call, eloped with his beautiful bride, Miss Mary Kirkman, and was married at the Hermitage. This portrait, and also one of the General, were given to the young couple as a bridal present.
10. Wardrobe.
11. Old fashioned shaving stand on chiffonier. All curtains and matting such as were used at the Hermitage during the summer months.



12. Vases on mantel.

13. Chair.

#### THE DINING ROOM.

1. The "Old Hickory" or January 8 mantel, made of bits of hickory worked upon alone on the 8th of January of successive years. Presented to Gen. Jackson in 1839. It has been nearly destroyed by relic hunters.

2. Original dining table, at which seven Presidents were in turn entertained, viz.: James Monroe, Andrew Jackson, Martin Van Buren, Franklin Pierce, James Buchanan, James K. Polk, Millard Fillmore. President Roosevelt made the eighth.

3. Original solid mahogany sideboard. Was always filled with the handsomest silver and cut glass, much of which is still preserved in the family.

4. Mahogany side table.

5. Pier table, mate to the one in the hall.

6. Old table similar to Jackson's. Presented by Mrs. Mary C. Dorris.

7. Brass andirons.

8. Shovel and tongs. Presented by Misses Annie, Mattie and Grace Handley.

9. Clock.

10. One of the Earl Portraits of Jackson, presented to the Association by the Woman's Democratic Clubs of Monmouth, Illinois.

11. The celebrated Healy portrait, only two of which are in existence, the other hanging in the Louvre at Paris. Painted eight days before Jackson's death.

12. Healy, the artist of the above portrait, sent by Louis Philippe to paint prominent Americans.

13. Candelabra.

14. The case was purchased for the preservation of the valuable Jackson-Decatur silver. The silver consists of sixteen round and oval dishes, which were purchased by Jackson from the widow of Commodore Decatur, and used constantly for years at the Hermitage.

15. Case of silver knives and forks.

16. Silver wine cooler.

17. Silver cup over 100 years old, marked A. J.

18. Mate to above cup, marked R. J. Purchased through efforts of Col. John Allison.

19. Silver cake basket.
20. Bohemian cut glass decanter.
21. Portrait of Gen. Andrew Jackson.
22. Portrait of Mrs. Rachel Jackson, wife of Gen. Jackson.
23. Portrait of John Donelson, one of the pioneers, brother of Mrs. Rachel Jackson.
24. Portrait of Mary Purnell, wife of John Donelson.
25. Portrait of Col. John Coffee, afterwards Gen. Coffee, on Jackson's staff at the battle of New Orleans.
26. Portrait of Mary Donelson, daughter of the above John Donelson, neice of Mrs. Rachel Jackson, and wife of Gen. Coffee. Portraits were presented to the Ladies' Hermitage Association by Hon. Alexander Donelson Coffee, son of Gen. Coffee.
27. Six mahogany chairs of Jackson's. Adjoining the dining-room is the pantry, and further to the rear the store-room. A passageway leads directly to the old kitchen.

#### KITCHEN.

The restoration of the old kitchen to its old-time glory of yawning chimney-piece, its cranes and pot hooks, its ovens and skillets, its candle moulds, and spinning wheels, brings back reminiscences of "Betty" and the old regime of Jackson's day.

1. Spinning wheel, 100 years old. Presented by Andrew Jackson Baker, the curator's son.
2. Reel, 100 years old. Presented by Andrew Baker.
3. Oven. Presented by Mrs. W. J. McMurray.
4. Candle moulds. Several sets. Presented by Miss Louise Baxter, Mrs. W. J. McMurray, Mrs. M. A. Spurr and Mrs. George L. Cowan.
5. Pot-hooks. Used in Revolutionary War. Presented by Miss Louise Baxter.
6. Flax-hacker. Over 100 years old. Presented by Miss Louise G. Lindsley.
7. Some of the original kitchen utensils. Presented by Mrs. Andrew Jackson III.
8. Pot-hook. Presented by Miss Louise G. Lindsley.
9. Old-fashioned water cooler. Always used in the pantry.
10. Old foot-scraper at foot of back steps, used by Gen. Jackson at his law office in the City of Nashville.
11. Churn of Jackson's. Loaned by Miss Emma Hoffstetter.

12. Spinning stick for old wheel. Presented by Mrs. S. M. Bullington.

#### THE OLD SMOKEHOUSE.

A remnant of days long gone by, when the smokehouse was the most important house on a plantation.

#### THE CARRIAGE HOUSE.

In 1897 Col. Andrew Jackson, from whom most of the relics have been purchased, sold to the Association the interesting old State coach used by Jackson at the White House for all State ceremonial and social purposes and for several trips to the Hermitage. The trip to the Hermitage took thirty days' time. His final trip, when returning to end his life as a private citizen, was a continual ovation.

The skeleton of the phaeton is all that is left of the beautiful vehicle presented to Gen. Jackson by the "Democratic-Republican" citizens of Philadelphia. It was made from timbers taken from the old ship Constitution. It was burned at a fire in Cincinnati, where Colonel Jackson was living and had his relics stored. The letter of presentation hangs in the museum.

Stone doorstep, now in front of carriage house. Presented to Col. W. W. Parks by Gen. Jackson. Presented to the Ladies' Hermitage Association by his granddaughters, Misses Annie and Grace Handley.

#### THE TOMB.

The tomb was built by Gen. Jackson long before his death, and was erected over his wife, with the vault left for himself.

The inscriptions are:

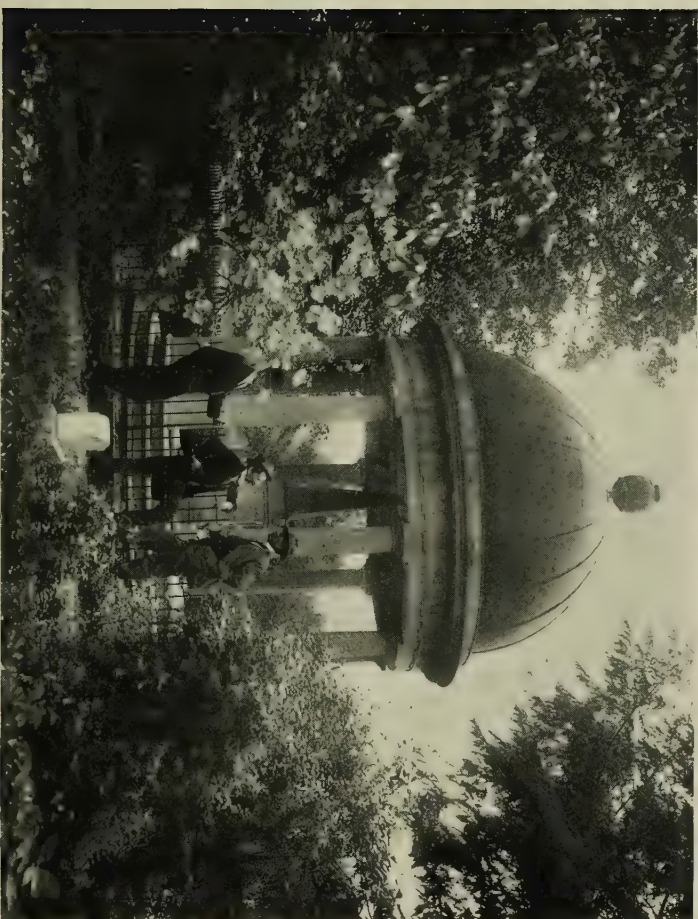
GEN. ANDREW JACKSON.

Born March 15, 1767,

Died June 8, 1845.

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"Here lie the remains of Mrs. Rachel Jackson, wife of President Jackson, who died the 22d of December, 1828, age 61 years. Her face was fair, her person pleasing, her temper amiable, her heart kind; she delighted in relieving the want of her fellow creatures, and cultivated that divine pleasure by the most liberal and unpretending methods; to the poor she was a benefactor; to the rich an example; to the wretched a comforter; to the prosperous an ornament; her piety went hand in hand with her benevolence, and she thanked her Creator for being permitted to do good. A being so gentle and so virtuous slander might wound, but could not dishonor. Even Death, when he bore her from the arms of her husband, could but transport her to the bosom of her God."



The Hermitage—Jackson's Tomb.





The other graves in the plat are those of the adopted son, Andrew Jackson, Jr., and his wife, Mrs. Sarah Yorke Jackson. Two infant children lie buried there; also one son, Samuel Jackson, who was killed at Chickamauga; the grave of Dr. John M. Lawrence, who married Rachel, the pet and idol of the old General's life, is on the plat; also their daughter, Mrs. C. W. Winn. The grave of Col. R. E. W. Earle, friend and companion of Jackson, is there. Further apart from the other graves is that of Mrs. Marion Adams, the widowed sister of Mrs. Sarah Jackson, who always resided with her, and whose family was reared at the Hermitage. On December 19, 1906, Col. Andrew Jackson, grandson, was laid beside his kindred dust in the garden. The grave of old Uncle Alfred, who so much desired to be buried near Gen. Jackson, is located to the north of the tomb.

#### GENUINENESS OF THE RELICS.

That there might be no question raised as to genuineness of the relics purchased, the Association has obtained from Col. Jackson and his sister, Mrs. Rachel Jackson Lawrence, the following affidavit:

"To Whom It May Concern:

"This is to certify that all the articles of furniture or relics purchased by the Ladies' Hermitage Association from Mrs. Rachel Jackson Lawrence, granddaughter, and Col. Andrew Jackson, grandson, of Gen. Jackson, are the identical pieces of furniture owned and used by Gen. Jackson during his lifetime. They were in the Hermitage when Gen. Jackson died, and were there when the Ladies' Hermitage Association took possession in 1889. The entire collection was removed in 1893, when Col. Jackson left the Hermitage, and have been restored from time to time as the Association was able to purchase them.

"The articles restored up to the present time, March 1900, are those in Gen. Jackson's bedroom, which is complete as it was the day he died; the library, or office, entire; the hall entire; and all furniture now in the diningroom and parlors.

(SEAL.) "COL. ANDREW JACKSON,  
RACHEL JACKSON LAWRENCE."

Sworn to and subscribed before me, this March 13, 1900.

R. S. COWAN, Notary Public.

Since 1900 many more pieces of the Jackson furniture and relics have been purchased and restored to the Hermitage, until it is well furnished, every room being filled with beautiful and handsome things of historic interest.

## CHAPTER 19.

### Andrew Jackson—Presentation of His Sword to Congress.

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES.

Monday, February 26, 1855.

Mr. Shields, of Illinois, rose and said:

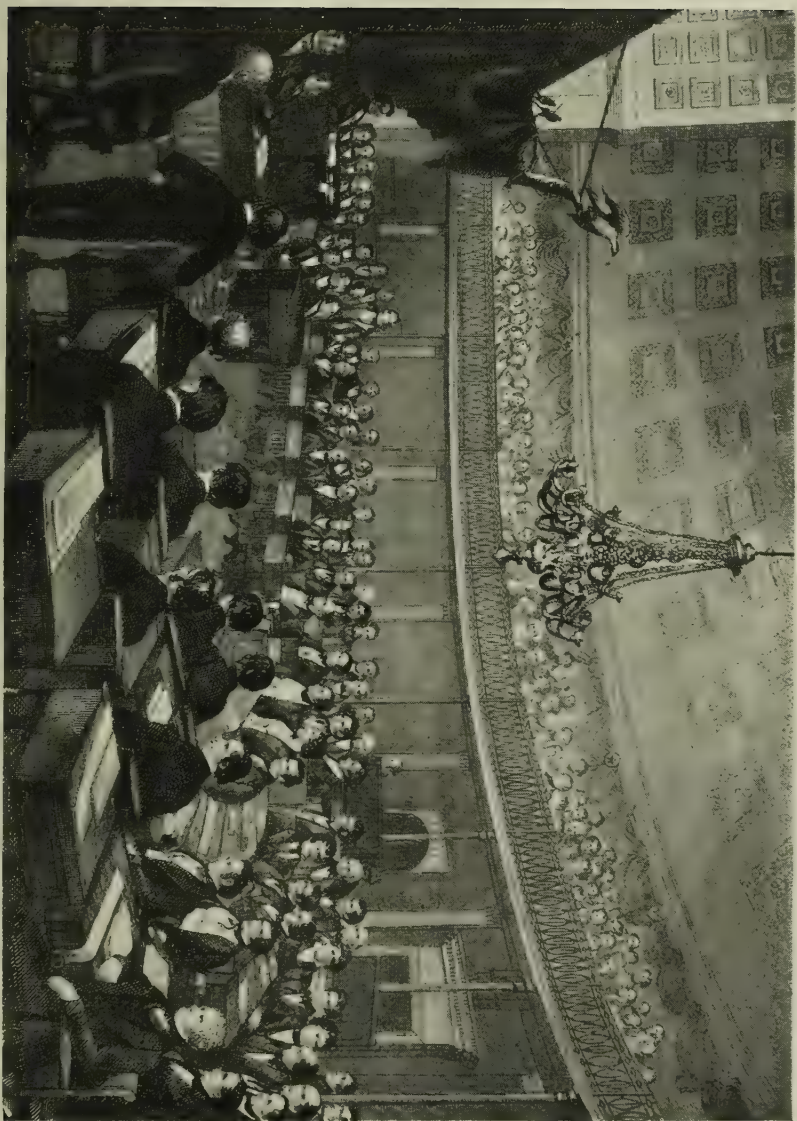
"Mr. President: The hour has arrived which has been designated for a very interesting ceremony. It is one in which ladies take as deep an interest as gentlemen, but the crowded state of the galleries excludes many of them from the Chamber. A motion to suspend the rule which limits admissions to the floor, so that those who are now excluded may be permitted to be present, I think will meet with general acceptance; and, therefore, I submit that motion."

The motion was agreed to; and many ladies were admitted to seats without the bar.

Mr. Cass, of Michigan, then addressed the Senate as follows:

"Mr. President: I must ask the indulgence of the Senate for requesting that its usual business may be suspended, in order to give me an opportunity to discharge a trust which has been committed to me, a trust I had not the heart to decline, but which I knew I had not the power to fulfill as such a mission should be fulfilled. I hold in my hand the sword of General Jackson, which he wore in all his expeditions while in the military service of the country, and which was his faithful companion in his last and crowning victory, when New Orleans was saved from the grasp of a rapacious and powerful enemy, and our nation from the disgrace and disaster which defeat would have brought in its train.

"When the hand of death was upon him, General Jackson presented this sword to his friend, the late General Armstrong, as a testimonial of his high appreciation of the services, worth, and courage of that most estimable citizen and distinguished soldier, whose desperate valor on one occasion stayed the tide of Indian success and saved the army from destruction. The family of the lamented depository, now that death has released him from the guardianship of this treasure of patriotism, are desirous it should be surrendered to the custody of the national legislature, believing that to



UNITED STATES SENATE IN SESSION.

Taken from Benton's "Thirty Years' View." Senator Benton is addressing the Senate and is standing on the far side of the chamber.





be the proper disposition of a memorial which, in all time to come, will be a cherished one for the American people. To carry that purpose into effect I now offer it in their name to Congress.

"Mr. President, this is no doubtful relic, whose identity depends upon certain tradition, and which owes its interest to an impulsive imagination. Its authenticity is established beyond controversy by the papers which accompany it; and it derives its value as well from our knowledge of its history, as from its association with the great captain, whose days of toil and nights of trouble it shared and witnessed, and who never drew it from its scabbard but to defend the honor and the interests of his country.

"This is neither the time nor the place to portray those great traits of character which gave General Jackson the ascendancy that no man ever denied who approached him, and that wonderful influence with his countrymen which marked almost his whole course, from his entrance upon a public career till the grave closed upon his life and his labors, and left him to that equality which the mighty and the lowly must find at last. Still, from my personal and official relations with him—and I trust I may add from his friendship towards me, of which I had many proofs—I cannot withhold the acknowledgment of the impression which his high qualities made upon me, and which becomes more lasting and profound as time is doing its work of separation from days of my intercourse with him.

"I have been no careless observer of the men of my time, who, controlled by events, or controlling them, have stood prominent among them, and will occupy distinguished positions in the annals of the age; and circumstances have extended my opportunities of examination to the Old World, as well as to the New. But I say, and with a deep conviction of its truth, that I have never been brought into contact with a man who possessed more native sagacity, more profundity of intellect, higher powers of observation or greater probity of purpose, more ardor or patriotism, nor more firmness of resolution, after he had surveyed his position and occupied it, than the lamented subject of this feeble tribute, not to him, but to truth. And I will add, that, during the process of determination upon important subjects, he was sometimes slow, and generally cautious and inquiring, and, he has more than once told me, anxious and uneasy, not seldom passing the night without sleep; but he was calm in his mind, and inflexible in his will, when reflection had given place to decision. The prevailing opinion that he was rash and hasty in his conclusions is founded upon an erroneous impression of his habits of thought and action; upon a want of discrimination between his conduct before and after his judgment had pronounced upon his course.

"This is not the first offering of a similar nature which has been laid upon the altar of our country with the sanction of the legislative department of the government. Some years since another precious relic was deposited here—the sword of him, who,

in life, was first in the affections of his countrymen, and in death is now the first in their memory. I need not name his name. It is written in characters of living light on every heart, and springs instinctively to every tongue. His fame is committed to time, his example to mankind, and himself, we may humbly hope, to the reward of the righteous. When centuries shall have passed over us, bringing with them the mutations that belong to the lapse of ages, and our country shall yet be fulfilling, or shall have fulfilled, her magnificent destiny for good, I devoutly hope, and not for evil—pilgrims from our ocean coasts and our inland seas, and from the vast regions which now separate, but before long by our wonderful progress must unite them, will come up to the high places of our land, consecrated by days and deeds of world-wide renown; and, turning aside to the humble tomb, dearer than this proud Capitol, they will meditate upon the eventful history of their country, and will recall the example while they bless the name of WASHINGTON.

"And, on the same occasion, was presented the cane of FRANKLIN, which was deposited in our national archives with the sword of his friend and co-laborer in the great cause of human rights. Truly and beautifully has it been said, that peace hath its victories as well as war. And never was nobler conquest won than that achieved by the American apprentice, printer, author, statesman, ambassador, philosopher, and, better than all, model of common sense, over one of the most powerful elements in the economy of nature, subduing its might to his own, and thus enabling man to answer the sublime interrogatory addressed to Job, 'Can'st thou send lightnings that they may go and say unto thee, here we are?' Yes; they now come at our command, and say, 'Here we are, ready to do our work.' And it was our illustrious countryman who first opened the way for this subjugation of the fire of heaven to the human will. The staff that guided the steps of FRANKLIN, and the sword that guarded the person of WASHINGTON, may occupy the same repository, under the care of the nation they served and loved and honored.

"And now another legacy of departed greatness, another weapon from the armory of patriotism, comes to claim its place in the sanctuary assigned to its predecessor, and to share with it the veneration of the country, in whose defence it was wielded.

"The memorial of the first and greatest of our Chief Magistrates, and this memorial of his successor in the administration of the government, and second only to him in the gratitude and affections of the American people, will lie side by side, united tokens of patriotic self-devotion and of successful military prowess, though they who bore them and gave them value by their services are now tenants of distant and lowly graves, separated by mountains, and rivers and valleys. And in ages shut out from our vision by the far away future, when remote generations, heirs of our heritage of freedom, but succeeding to it without the labor and the priva-

tions of acquisition, shall gaze (as they will gaze) upon these testimonials of victories, time-worn but time-honored, they will be carried back by association to those heroes of early story, and will find their love of country strengthened, and their pride in her institutions and their confidence in her fate and fortunes increased by this powerful faculty of the mind—a faculty which enables us to triumph over the distant and the future, as well as over the stern realities of the present, gathering around us the mighty dead and the mighty deeds that excite the admiration of mankind, and will ever command their respect and gratitude. And thus will communion be held with the great leaders of our country, in war and in peace, who wore these swords in their service, and hallowed them by their patriotism, their valor and success.

I will now read to the Senate two letters connected with the circumstances of this presentation, one from Mr. Nicholson and the other from Mr. Vaultx, the son-in-law of the late General Armstrong:

LETTER FROM JOSEPH VAULTX.

"Nashville, February 7, 1885.

"Dear Sir: Doctor W. S. McNairy left here a few days ago for Washington, having in charge the sword that General Jackson before his death gave to General Armstrong. The Doctor was requested by William M. Armstrong (in whose keeping it had been left by his father) to hand it over to you on his arrival in Washington. You, I believe, were present at the time General Armstrong had the honor of having it presented to him by his distinguished friend. It is the sword worn by General Jackson in his various campaigns and during the whole time he remained in the military service of his country. It is, therefore, justly regarded as a relic of great value. It was General Armstrong's wish that it should be placed at the disposal of Congress, or the government, with a view to its being deposited in a suitable place, where, doubtless, millions of General Jackson's admiring countrymen will in time to come gladly look on it as the war-sword of one whose brilliant services in the cause of his country place his name in bold relief on the historic page of our beloved country.

"No person, I believe, would have been preferred to yourself by General Armstrong as the medium for presenting the sword to Congress, or the government; which, at the request of his son, you will please do in such terms as you may deem proper.

"I am, very respectfully, your obedient servant,  
 "Hon. A. O. P. Nicholson. JOSEPH VAULTX."

LETTER FROM A. O. P. NICHOLSON.

"Washington, February 13, 1855.

"Dear Sir: A short time before the death of General Jackson, I received a note from him inviting me to visit him for a special



purpose. I did so, and found that, amongst other things, he desired to put into my hands the sword which he had used at the battle of New Orleans, for the purpose of delivering it to the late General Robert Armstrong, as a testimonial of warm personal friendship, and as an evidence of his high appreciation of his military services and his patriotic devotion to the honor of his country. I delivered the sword as requested, and it was kept by General Armstrong during his life. Since his death, his family have concluded that the most proper disposition they could make of it would be to present it to Congress, to be kept as a perpetual memento of the brilliant achievement with which it is connected. For this purpose the sword has been forwarded to me with the request that I would present it to Congress in the name of General Armstrong's family. It has occurred to me that I could not more appropriately discharge this trust than to place the sword in your hands, and to ask that you will present it in such a way as you may deem most proper. The known relations, in public and private, between General Jackson and yourself, as well as your constant friendship for General Armstrong, seem to me to render it eminently fit that the presentation should be made by you. I therefore place the sword at your disposal, and respectfully request that you would undertake to carry out the wishes of the donors.

"I am, most respectfully, your friend,

"A. O. P. NICHOLSON.

"GEN. LEWIS CASS."

Mr. BELL, of Tennessee:

"Mr. PRESIDENT: I am fully aware that, in undertaking to accompany the offer of the resolution which I propose to send to the Chair with any remarks upon the public services and character of the illustrious man whose name and whose memory have been so eloquently and appropriately brought to our notice by the distinguished Senator from Michigan, I assume an office of great delicacy, and one which I, especially, may well have some distrust of my ability to perform in a proper and satisfactory manner; yet, as the senior representative of the State of Tennessee in the Senate, I do not feel at liberty to decline it.

"In what I propose to say, I must tread with caution and reserve, or not at all upon the grounds on which the fires of political controversy raged with such fierceness at a period so recent that the embers yet smoulder, and may not prudently be disturbed.

"In the great drama of affairs now being enacted on this continent, the opening act of which was the Revolution—the closing scenes, I trust, will be in the far, far future—Andrew Jackson, was, in his day, a great and successful actor. Whatever difference of opinion may have existed among his contemporaries of the merit of some parts of his performance, yet, as a whole,

it received the plaudits of his countrymen, and a large proportion of them pronounced it masterly throughout.

"General Jackson possessed rare endowments, and was, indeed, one of the most, if not the most remarkable man of the age in which he lived. With but slight and indifferent mental or professional training and discipline in early life, so generally regarded as important, if not essential, to eminent success in either of the two great departments of human effort, the civil and the military, yet, at the very outset of his military career he exhibited talents for command of a high order, and in less than three years, by his brilliant achievements, established his reputation as the first military chief of the country. But this is not all. Retiring from the army when there appeared to be no further demand for active service, he was in a few years thereafter elevated to the highest civil station under the national government; and for eight successive years he wielded the power and influence of his position as Executive Chief with such vigor and address, that he was sustained in, and succeeded in carrying out, all the great measures of his administration, some of them presenting questions of the gravest nature, and giving rise to the most intense excitement, and this, too, in the face of an opposition combining an amount of ability, eloquence, skill, and experience in affairs, in both houses of Congress, but more especially in the Senate, greater than was ever witnessed before or since. The jars and contentions between those great moral elements were, sometimes, such as shook the whole country.

"A man who, having addicted his early manhood mainly to the pursuits of private life, without any appreciable culture or experience in public affairs, could thus, when there arose a public exigency of sufficient urgency to induce him to enter the public service, per saltum, as it were, raise himself to the first rank as a military leader, and then, for so long a period, as Chief Magistrate of a great and free country, thus direct and control its civil administration, must be allowed to have possessed great capacity.

"His was no negative or unmarked career, no meteorlike appearance upon the great theatre of affairs, to blaze and dazzle for a moment, and then pass away forever; but, both as a military commander and a civil chief, he left his impress upon his country and its institutions deep, striking and indelible.

"It would be idle to assume, as some have done, that General Jackson was indebted alone, or chiefly, to fortune and adventurous circumstances for his extraordinary success. He was such a man, Mr. President, as when he once attained position, had the faculty of creating the circumstances, if he needed them, necessary to further and continued successes. Posterity will inquire, with eager curiosity, the secret of his amazing success, the distinctive traits of mind and of personal character by which he achieved it; some of which they will probably seek in vain in the pages of contemporary history.

"General Jackson had what may be called an intuitive preception of the passions and interests by which the mass of mankind are controlled. He was a shrewd observer of individual character, and he was seldom mistaken in his estimate of the men with whom he associated as friends or came in contact with as opponents. He was devoted to his friends; and the more others opposed or denounced them, the more determined he became to sustain them, and never cast them off until they arrayed themselves in open opposition to his plans and wishes. Nor was he deficient in courtesy to opponents, not personal enemies, and could even court them when he desired or needed their support, but never by fawning or unmanly appeals.

"His self-reliance was wonderful. He never despaired of his fortune. As the obstacles to the success of any favorite scheme of policy multiplied, and the storm of opposition was wildest, it was then that one of his most striking traits was exhibited. He became the soul, the animating principle, of his followers; revived their fainting courage, reinspired their confidence in his infallibility, and cheered them on to renewed and more vigorous efforts.

"When the emergency required it, no man was more prompt in coming to a decision. When the question presented difficulties, and admitted of deliberation, he counselled with his friends. When his own conviction was clear, he seldom deferred to the views of others; and when he once decided upon his course, he was inflexible and immovable. He was, emphatically and truly, a man of stern resolve and iron will; and, when opposition to the accomplishment of his purposes appeared formidable and discouraging, he was apt to become impatient of the restraints and trammels of official and customary routine. He had the courage, both moral and physical, to dare and to do whatever he thought proper and necessary to the successful issue of whatever he had resolved upon. He was withal a patriot, devoted to the honor, dignity and glory of his country; and he had the faculty of persuading himself that whatever measure or course of policy, either in peace or in war, he resolved upon, and strongly desired to accomplish, was proper and necessary to the public welfare.

"No man since the days of Washington was more devoted to the union of these States, or would have more cheerfully laid down his life to defend and uphold it, than Andrew Jackson.

"Many have supposed that General Jackson was often controlled by passion and resentment, and that he sometimes embraced measures and engaged in enterprises without any calculation of the chances of success or defeat and reckless of both. There never was a greater mistake. This was the error into which the great opponents of his measures and policy in the Senate fell; and the event showed that he had estimated the elements of his power and the true sources of his strength with greater sagacity than themselves.

"When General Jackson made his first essay in the art of war,

and led the Tennessee Volunteers against a wily foe, formidable from their numbers and mode of warfare, many careless observers of his early career had their misgivings that a rash valor and his eager desire to distinguish himself in arms might result in disaster and the unnecessary sacrifice of his men; but they were soon undeceived. Those who knew him best, and knew him well, never had any distrust of his discretion as a military commander.

"But his qualities as a general, and his powers of combination in conducting the operations of any army, were best illustrated and put to the severest test in the campaign of 1814-15 in the South. It was then that ample scope was given him for the exercise of his genius and capacity for military command.

In 1814 Great Britain by the overthrow of the French Emperor, found herself in a condition to employ the whole of her great naval and military resources in an effort to humble or to crush the United States. The first blow fell upon the shores of the Chesapeake. The seat of the national government fell into the hands of the enemy, and the blackened walls of the Capitol gave a warning of the ruthless spirit with which the war was thenceforth to be conducted. This wound to the national pride was inflicted at a time when the public finances and the public credit were at the lowest ebb. The recruiting service went on sluggishly, and gave no promise of an adequate increase of the regular army; and the whole of our extended and almost defenceless seacoast was exposed to the attacks of the enemy. Rumors soon after reached the country that a still more formidable armament was to make a descent upon our shores; but where the storm would burst, there was no clue to determine. Afterwards a general gloom, not without some admixture of despondency, then hung over the country.

At a later date it became manifest that the gulf coast was to be the scene of operations. Every day the gathering clouds of war in that quarter became darker and more portentous. Still, it was uncertain upon what particular point the bolt would fall; but wherever it might fall on that coast, it was certain that it would be in the military department, the protection and defence of which was assigned to General Jackson. All eyes and hopes were now turned upon him. He had already exhibited such uncommon energy, skill, and intrepidity in his conduct of the war against the Creek Indians, as to inspire some confidence, when there seemed to be scarcely ground for hope. It was known that he had no army in the field save two or three regiments of regulars, and a single regiment of mounted Tennessee Volunteers, and that there were no adequate supplies, either of provisions or munitions of war, at any point in his command for conducting military operations upon a large scale; but never was confidence so well repaid. His energy and discretion, and the confidence he inspired, supplied every deficiency.

"When it became evident that New Orleans was to be the point



of attack, and that the hostile armament had made its appearance off the Gulf coast, he called upon the authorities of Kentucky and Tennessee to send forward their contingents of militia and volunteers with all despatch, as the enemy was approaching. Upon the States threatened with invasion he urged the employment of all their energies and resources to be in readiness to meet the foe. He called, in strains of inspiring eloquence, upon the free colored inhabitants of Louisiana to protect their native soil from invasions and pollution by a foreign foe. He offered pardon and invoked the very pirates who infested the neighboring coast to the rescue.

"By these energetic steps, General Jackson found assembled around him a force of five thousand men, of all arms, all save two regiments of the regular army, being volunteers and militia men, and with this hastily assembled army, on the 8th of January, he met, and, in a sanguinary battle, overcame more than double their number of veteran troops, led by experienced generals, flushed with recent victory on the battlefields of Europe, and closed the war in a blaze of glory.

"Mr. President, the sword worn by the victor on that day, the man of stern resolve and iron will, when gazed upon in unborn ages will send a thrill through the heart of every true American.

"I ask the unanimous consent of the Senate to introduce a joint resolution accepting the sword of General Andrew Jackson, and returning the thanks of Congress to the family of the late General Robert Armstrong."

Unanimous consent was given, and the joint resolution was read twice, and considered as in Committee of the Whole. It is as follows:

"Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the thanks of this Congress be presented to the family of the late General Robert Armstrong for the present of the sword worn by General Andrew Jackson while in the military service of his country; and that this precious relic be hereby accepted in the name of the nation, and be deposited, for safe-keeping, in the Department of State; and that a copy of the resolution be transmitted to the family of the late General Robert Armstrong."

The joint resolution was reported to the Senate without amendment and ordered to be engrossed for a third reading. It was read the third time and passed.

Mr. Gwin submitted the following, which was considered by unanimous consent, and agreed to:

"Ordered, That the addresses of Mr. Cass and Mr. Bell be entered on the journal; that the resolution and the sword be taken to the House of Representatives by the Secretary, with a request that the House will concur in the said resolution."

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

Monday, February 26, 1855.

"A message was received from the Senate, by Asbury Dickins, Esq., their Secretary, notifying the House that that body had passed a resolution accepting the sword of General Andrew Jackson, and returning the thanks of Congress to the family of General Robert Armstrong therefor.

Mr. Smith, of Tennessee:

"I ask that the House do now proceed to the consideration of the resolution just brought to us from the Senate."

Mr. Staton, of Kentucky:

"As the ceremony of presentation is to be an interesting one and there are a great many ladies who desire to be present, and are unable to get in the galleries, I move that the rules be suspended, and that the ladies be admitted upon the floor on the occasion."

The motion was agreed to; the doors were thrown open, and a large number of the ladies were admitted.

The joint resolution was read as follows:

"A Resolution to accept the sword of General Andrew Jackson, and returning the thanks of Congress to the family of the late General Robert Armstrong.

"Resolved, That the thanks of this Congress be presented to the family of the late General Robert Armstrong, for the present of the sword worn by General Andrew Jackson while in the services of his country, and that this precious relic be hereby accepted in the name of the nation, and be deposited for safe-keeping in the Department of State, and that a copy of this resolution be presented to the family of the late General Robert Armstrong."

Mr. Smith, of Tennessee, rose and addressed the House as follows:

"Mr. Speaker: In asking consideration of the resolution just read, justice to the occasion requires a few remarks from me, and I only regret that this responsibility had not devolved upon some one more capable than myself of performing so important a duty.

"In all ages and in all countries it has been customary to commemorate the deeds of illustrious men. Painting, poetry and sculpture have been brought into requisition to perpetuate the memory of their achievements, and to keep alive in the hearts of the young, veneration for their ancestors and pride of country.

"Every capitol in Christendom is adorned with monuments

erected to the brave and wise who have, by counsel or deeds, given direction to the policy or illustrated the pages of their country's history. Their museums are filled with relics, which, from their intimate personal association with the gallant dead, ever keep vividly before the mind their public acts and private virtues. These teach lessons as impressive as towering monuments or glowing canvases.

"Brief as our existence has been, the history of no nation on earth has been so fruitful of stirring incidents—incidents which have had an influence not only upon our own land, but upon the civilized world. The painter's art has adorned the walls of our Capitol with representations of some of the most important of these events. Here we have the first grand scene of our Revolution, the Declaration of Independence, upon which no American can look without experiencing feelings of the most ennobling character. The very features are preserved of the statesmen who proclaimed doctrines which startled the world from its long lethargic sleep, revived again the spirit of Sydney and of Hampden, and gave the first just conception of the true dignity and capacity of man. Their voices are all hushed in death, but the echo of the appeal of 1776 still lives, and is reverberating throughout the earth, making strong the arms and hearts of those who for their rights and liberties would proudly welcome death and the grave.

"With what glowing pride do we look upon the battle-scenes here portrayed, battles fought, not to further the schemes of ambition, but in defense of freedom and universal humanity. No enslaved people have bewailed the triumphs of our warriors, but the whole earth has arisen and pronounced them blessed.

"The battles and victories which the artist has here celebrated were still fresh and green in the memory of the people, when the nation was again called to arms to vindicate its honor and the rights of man. Many of the leading spirits of the Revolution still lived. Upon some the palsying hand of time had been heavily laid; but in their hearts the love of country and the fires of patriotism still brightly burned. They urged the young to the conflict. The voice of Jefferson rang through the land, cheering the brave, nerving the arms of the timid, and giving hope and courage to the hearts of all. The warriors of the Revolution who still retained their vigor, buckled on their armor for the conflict. Conspicuous among these were Van Rensselaer of New York, Smith of Maryland, and Jackson of Tennessee. Our countrymen, under the lead of their gallant commanders, triumphed upon the land and upon the sea, and established forever our rank among the nations of the earth. The actors in these scenes are fast passing away. But few of the gallant leaders in this glorious war still survive; and they are verging upon their three score and ten, and must soon be gathered to their fathers. Duty, gratitude, and patriotism should prompt us to collect trophies

of their victories, and garner up memorials which will speak to future generations of their greatness and patriotism, and which will keep the memory of their deeds of noble daring alive forever in the heart of the nation.

"Not long before the death of that distinguished chieftain, Andrew Jackson, he placed the sword he had worn in all of his battles in the war of 1812 in the hands of a friend to be delivered to his compatriot in arms, the late General Robert Armstrong, who had in an eminent degree commanded his respect and enjoyed his confidence. These two lamented patriots had shared together the hardships of the camp and the dangers of the battle-field; and the bestowal of this relic by the illustrious hero was a fit testimonial of his appreciation of one whose patriotism had often elicited the warmest gratitude and highest applause of his countrymen.

"It was at the battle of Enotochopco where the little army commanded by Jackson was almost surrounded by the enemy, and in the heat of the conflict General Armstrong was severely wounded. But he did not desert his post, and when unable longer to wield a sword or stand upon his feet; he clung to a small tree which stood near him and cried: 'My brave fellows, some may fall, but save the cannon.' Such bravery elicited the thanks and gratitude of his commander, and made him the worthy recipient of the favorite weapon worn by him on that trying occasion.

"The family of General Armstrong, actuated by the patriotic impulses which ever characterized their sire, have placed this sword at the disposal of Congress. It seems to me eminently fit that it should become the property of the government, and be placed among the trophies of our victories and the mementoes of our heroes; for it is associated with the names of two of the 'bravest of the brave,' and with the battles the history of which will fill the brightest pages in our country's annals.

"In moving the adoption of the resolution on your table accepting the sword, I do not feel called upon to pronounce an eulogy upon General Jackson. He needs it not. 'God blessed him with length of days, and he filled them with deeds of glory,' which have entered into the history of the nation, and become the heritage of his countrymen."

Mr. Zollicoffer, of Tennessee:

"Mr. Speaker: It being my fortune to represent the Hermitage district where that great man lived, and where his remains are entombed, the House will pardon me for briefly giving utterance to emotions which fill me on this peculiar occasion. The martial renown of Andrew Jackson has become national property. But it must be allowed to Tennesseans to feel more than an ordinary interest in that renown, and in this occasion. The brave-hearted, the world over, I apprehend, pay to his heroic

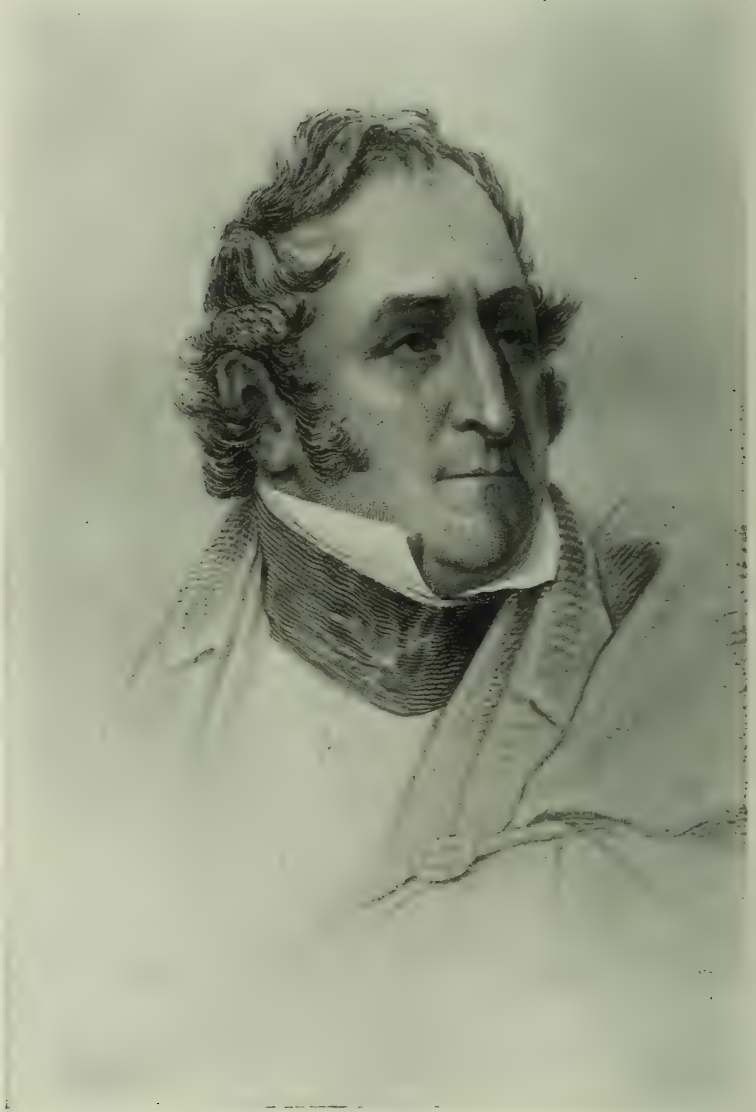


spirit their true homage; and I can well imagine that even the boldest, when treading the paths of danger, walk more erect and confident under the broad sun-light of his chivalrous history; yet to those who were his neighbors when he tenanted the Hermitage, and who inhabit the mountains and the valleys which sent forth the gallant men who followed and upheld his standard in all his victories, men who saw this very sword unsheathed on all his brilliant and perilous battlefields, I say, sir, to such a people, something more than this feeling is but a common impulse of that human nature which we all readily comprehend. The sons of those gallant men are the present young men of Tennessee. As these young men catch a glimpse of this shining blade, passing into the depository of the nation's precious relics, how can it be otherwise than that their hearts will throb with quickened pulsations of patriotic State and National pride? Rest assured, sir, that they feel, and must ever feel, a lofty and commendable State pride in the military renown and unquestioned personal heroism of Andrew Jackson. I hesitate not to say, sir, that this feeling has contributed in no small degree to the full development of that chivalric sentiment which has ever characterized the volunteer troops of Tennessee when their country has demanded their services in the field.

"Allow me to say, sir, that I, for near twenty years, have held a position of antagonism, more or less, to those who have claimed to be the especial political friends of General Jackson, and in that State our contests have been sharp, animated, and continuous, through that long period. I mention this merely by way of suggesting that the sentiments to which I have given utterance are expressed with more freedom from all undue partiality or bias. They are sentiments such as I feel that no native Tennessean, and I trust no citizen of any other State in our glorious confederacy, can fail cordially and heartily to respond to. They should be held in common by the whole American people; for this very sword, sir, gleamed over that memorable battlefield of which every citizen of the Union is so justly proud, and which has unquestionably given a more world-wide fame to American prowess than any other single battlefield which has ever emblazoned the bright annals of American warfare. Let the sword, sir, be preserved, and transmitted carefully to posterity. Let it be deposited along with the sword and camp-chest of Washington, and the staff and printing-press of Franklin, among the most precious relics of a grateful country, preserved and cared for as high incentives to the honorable ambition of American youth, as long as liberty shall have a home, or the Union of these States an existence among the nations of the earth.

"But, sir, I will here pause. I will not dwell upon a theme which has already been enlarged upon by others with so much more ability than I possess. I will trespass upon the valuable time of the House only for a moment longer. I cannot, in justice





**SENATOR THOMAS H. BENTON**

Taken from Benton's "Thirty Years' View."

to my own feelings, withhold a brief allusion to General Robert Armstrong, from whose family this present is received. He was my neighbor and personal friend. The confidence which General Jackson, who knew him so long and so well, reposed in the sterling qualities of his heart and head, is itself a sufficient eulogy, requiring no aid from anything I can offer. I must, however, say that I held him to be one of the bravest, most magnanimous, and most truly kind-hearted men it was ever my good fortune personally to know.

"In conclusion, I need hardly add that I take it for granted the resolution will be sanctioned, not only unanimously, but with the most cheerful alacrity, by every American representative."

Mr. Benton, of Missouri:

"Mr. Speaker: The manner in which this sword has been used for the honor and benefit of the country is known to the world; the manner in which the privilege was obtained of so doing it is but little known, even to the living age, and must be lost to posterity unless preserved by contemporaneous history. At the same time it is well worth knowing, in order to show what difficulties talent may have to contend with, what mistakes governments may commit, and upon what chances and accidents it may depend that the greatest talent and the purest patriotism may be able to get into the service of its country. There is a moral in such history which it may be instructive to governments and to people to learn. When a warrior or a statesman is seen, in the midst of his career and the fulness of his glory, showing himself to be in his natural place, people overlook his previous steps and suppose he had been called by a general voice, by wise councils, to the fulfilment of a natural destiny. In a few instances it is so; in the greater part, not. In the greater part there is a toilsome, uncertain, discouraging, and mortifying progress to be gone through before the future resplendent man is able to get on the theatre which is to give him the use of his talent. So it was with Jackson. He had his difficulties to surmount, and surmounted them. He conquered savage tribes and the conquerors of Europe; but he had to conquer his own government first, and did it, and that was for him the most difficult of the two; for, while his military victories were the regular result of a genius for war and brave troops to execute his plans, enabling him to command success, his civil victory over his own government was the result of chances and accidents, and the contrivances of others, in which he could have but little hand and no control. I proceed to give some view of this inside and preliminary history, and have some qualifications for the task, having taken some part, though not great, in all that I relate.

"Retired from the United States Senate, of which he had been a member, and from the supreme judicial bench of his State, on which had sat as judge, this future warrior and President,



and alike illustrious in both characters, was living upon his farm on the banks of the Cumberland, when the war of 1812 broke out. He was a major general in the Tennessee militia, the only place he would continue to hold, and to which he had been elected by the contingency of one vote, so close was the chance for a miss in this first step. His friends believed that he had military genius, and proposed him for the brigadier's appointment which was allotted to the West. That appointment was given to another, and Jackson remained unnoticed on his farm. Soon another appointment of general was allotted to the West. Jackson was proposed again; and was left again to attend to his farm. Then a batch of generals, as they were called, was authorized by law, six at a time, and from all parts of the Union; and then his friends believed that surely his time had come. Not so the fact. The six appointments went elsewhere, and the hero patriot, who was born to lead armies to victory, was left still to the care of his fields, while incompetent men were leading our troops to defeat, to captivity, to slaughter; for that is the way the war opened. The door to military service seemed to be closed and barred against him; and was so, so far as the government was concerned.

"It may be wondered why this repugnance to the appointment of Jackson, who, though not yet greatly distinguished, was still a man of mark, had been a senator and a supreme judge, and was still a major general, and a man of tried and heroic courage. I can tell the reason. He had a great many home enemies, for he was a man of decided temper; had a great many contests, no compromises; always went for a clean victory or a clean defeat, though placable after the contest was over. That was one reason, but not the main one. The administration had a prejudice against him on account of Colonel Burr, with whom he had been associated in the American Senate, and to whom he gave a hospitable reception in his house at the time of his Western expedition, relying upon his assurance that his designs were against the Spanish dominion in Mexico, and not against the integrity of this Union. These were some of the causes, not all, of Jackson's rejection from Federal military employment.

"I was young then, and one of his aids, and believed in his military talent and patriotism; and was greatly attached to him, and was grieved and vexed to see him passed by when so much incompetence was preferred. Besides, I was to go with him, and his appointment would be partly my own. I was vexed, as were all his friends; but I did not despair, as most of them did. I turned from the government to ourselves, to our own resources, and looked to the chapter of accidents to turn up a chance for incidental employment, confident that he would do the rest for himself if he could only get a start. I was in this mood in my office, as a young lawyer, with more books than briefs, when the tardy mail of that time, one 'raw and gusty day' in February, 1812, brought an act of Congress authorizing the President to

accept organized bodies of volunteers to the extent of fifty thousand, to serve for one year, and to be called into service when some emergency should require it. Here was a chance. I knew that Jackson could raise a general's command, and I trusted to events for him to be called out, and felt that one year was more than enough for him to prove himself. I drew up a plan, rode thirty miles to his house that same raw day in February, rain, hail, sleet, wind, and such roads as we then had there in winter, deep in rich mud and mixed with ice. I arrived at the Hermitage, a name then but little known, at nightfall, and found him solitary, and almost alone, but not quite; for it was the evening mentioned in the 'Thirty Years View,' when I found him with the lamb and the child between his knees. I laid the plan before him. He was struck with it, adopted it, acted upon it. We began to raise volunteer companies. Whilst this was going on, an order arrived from the War Department to the Governor (Willie Blount) to detach fifteen hundred militia to the Lower Mississippi; the object to meet the British, then expected to make an attempt on New Orleans. The Governor was a friend to Jackson and to his country. He agreed to accept his three thousand volunteers instead of the fifteen hundred draughted militia. The General issued an address to his division. I galloped to the muster-grounds and harangued the young men. The success was ample. Three regiments were completed, Coffee, Williams, Hall, Benton, the colonels, and in December, 1812, we descended the Cumberland and the Mississippi in a fleet of flat-bottomed boats, and landed at Natchez. There we got the news that the British would not come that winter, a great disappointment, and a fine chance lost.

"We remained in camp, six miles from Natchez, waiting ulterior orders. In March they came, not orders for further service, or even to return home, but to disband the volunteers as they were. The command was positive, in the name of the President, and by the then Secretary at War, General Armstrong. I well remember the day, Sunday morning, the 25th day of March, 1813. The first I knew of it was a message from the General to come to him at his tent; for though, as a colonel of a regiment, I had ceased to be aid, yet my place had not been filled, and I was sent for as much as ever. He showed me the order, and also his character, in his instant determination not to obey it, but to lead his volunteers home. He had sketched a severe answer to the Secretary, and gave it to me to copy and arrange the matter of it. It was very severe. I tried hard to get some parts softened, but impossible. I have never seen that letter since, but would know it if I should meet it in any form, anywhere, without any names. I concurred with the General in the determination to take home our young troops. He then called a 'council' of the field officers, as he called it; though there was but little of the council in it, the only object to hear his determination and take

measures for executing it. The officers were unanimous in their determination to support him; but it was one of those cases in which he would have acted not only without, but against a 'council.'

"The officers were unanimous and vehement in their determination, as much so as the General himself; for the volunteers were composed of the best young men of the country, farmers' sons, themselves clever young men, since filling high offices in the State and the Federal Government, intrusted to these officers by their fathers, in full confidence that they would act a father's part by them; and the recreant thought of turning them loose on the Lower Mississippi, five hundred miles from home, without means of getting home, and a wilderness and Indian tribes to traverse, did not find a moment's thought in any one's bosom. To carry them back was the instant and indignant determination; but great difficulties were in the way. The cost of getting back three thousand men under such circumstances must be great; and here Jackson's character showed itself again. We have all heard of his responsibilities, his readiness to assume political responsibility when the public service required it. He was now equally ready to take responsibility of another kind, moneyed responsibility, and that beyond the whole extent of his fortune! He had no military chest, not a dollar of public money; and three thousand men were not to be conducted five hundred miles through a wilderness country and Indian tribes without a great outlay of money. Wagons were wanted, and many of them, for transport of provisions, baggage, and the sick, so numerous among new troops. He had no money to hire teams; he impressed, and at the end of the service gave drafts upon the quartermaster general of the Southern department (General Wilkinson's) for the amount. The wagons were ten dollars a day, coming and going. They were numerous. It was a service of two months; the amount to be incurred was great. He incurred it, and, as will be seen, at imminent risk of his own ruin. This assumption on the General's part met the first great difficulty; but there were lesser difficulties, still serious, to be surmounted. The troops had received no pay; clothes and shoes were worn out; the men were in no condition for a march so long and so exposed. The officers had received no pay; did not expect to need money; had made no provision for the unexpected contingency of large demands upon their own pockets to enable them to do justice to their men. But there was patriotism outside of the camp as well as within. The merchants of Natchez put their stores at our disposition; take what we needed; pay when convenient, at Nashville. I will name one among these patriotic merchants, name him because he belongs to a class now struck at, and because I do not ignore a friend when he is struck. Washington Jackson was the one I mean, Irish by birth, American by choice, by law and feeling and conduct. I took some hundred pairs of shoes from him for my regiment, and other articles, and I pro-



claim it here—that patriotic men of foreign birth may see that there are plenty of Americans to recognize their merit, to name them with honor in high places, and to give them the right hand of friendship when they are struck at.

“We all returned, were discharged, dispersed among our homes, and the fine chance on which we had so much counted was all gone. And now came a blow upon Jackson himself, the fruit of the moneyed responsibility which he had assumed. His transportation drafts were all protested; returned upon him for payment, which was impossible, and with directions to bring suit. This was the month of May. I was coming on to Washington on my own account, and cordially took charge of Jackson’s case. Suits were delayed until the result of his application for relief could be heard. I arrived in this city; Congress was in session, the extra session of the spring and summer of 1813. I applied to the members of Congress from Tennessee; they could do nothing. I applied to the Secretary at War; he did nothing. Weeks had passed away, and the time for delay was expiring at Nashville. Ruin seemed to be hovering over the head of Jackson, and I felt the necessity of some decisive movement. I was young then and had some material in me, perhaps some boldness, and the occasion brought it out. I resolved to take a step, characterized in the letter which I wrote to the General as ‘an appeal from the justice to the fears of the Administration.’ I remember the words, though I have never seen the letter since. I drew up a memoir addressed to the Secretary at War, representing to him that these volunteers were drawn from the bosoms of almost every substantial family in Tennessee; that the whole State stood by Jackson in bringing them home, and that the State would be lost to the Administration if he was left to suffer. It was upon this last argument that I relied, all those founded in justice having failed. It was of a Saturday morning, 12th of June, that I carried this memoir to the War Office and delivered it. Monday morning I came back early to learn the result of my argument. The Secretary was not yet in. I spoke to the chief clerk (then the afterwards Adjutant General Parker), and inquired if the Secretary had left any answer for me before he left the office on Saturday. He said no; but that he had put the memoir in his inside pocket, the breast pocket, and carried it home with him, saying he would take it for his Sunday’s consideration. That encouraged me, gave me a gleam of hope and a feeling of satisfaction. I thought it a good subject for his Sunday’s meditation. Presently he arrived. I stepped in before anybody to his office. He told me quickly and kindly that there was much reason in what I had said, but that there was no way for him to do it; that Congress would have to give relief. I answered him that I thought there was a way for him to do it; it was to give an order to General Wilkinson’s quartermaster general in the Southern department to pay for so much transportation as General Jackson’s command would have



been entitled to if it had returned under regular orders. Upon the instant he took up a pen, wrote down the very words I had spoken, directed a clerk to put them into form; and the work was done. The order went off immediately and Jackson was relieved from imminent impending ruin, and Tennessee remained firm to the Administration.

"Thus the case of responsibility was over, but the original cause of our concern was still in full force. Jackson was again on his farm, unemployed, and the fine chance gone which had flattered us so much. But the chapter of accidents soon presented another, not so brilliant as New Orleans had promised, and afterwards realized, but sufficient for the purpose. The massacre at Fort Mimms took place. The banks of the Mobile river smoked with fire and blood. Jackson called up his volunteers, reinforced by militia, marched to the Creek nation, and there commenced that career of victories which soon extorted the commission which had been so long denied to his merit, and which ended in filling the 'measure' of his own and 'his country's glory.' And that, Mr. Chairman, was the way in which this great man gained the privilege of using that sword for his country, which, after triumphing in many fields which it immortalized, has come here to repose in the hands of the representatives of a great and admiring country."

The resolution was ordered to be read a third time, and being read a third time, it was unanimously passed.





**DOE RIVER GORGE, UPPER EAST TENNESSEE**

From illustration in Message of President Roosevelt on Forests, Rivers and Mountains of Southern Appalachian Region.

## CHAPTER 20.

## Andrew Jackson—Two Administrations as President—Will, Sarcophagus and Death.

The ugly red-headed Scotch-Irish boy who had been struck on the head by a British officer for not blacking his boots; whose poverty at his birth and for years afterwards was painful and pitiable; who did not know, and could not ascertain after search, the burial place of his mother; and whose outlook on life in his early days was about as desolate as human destiny could possibly appear, now entered upon two terms of four years each as President of the United States, during which he was to center in himself political power and a control of the destinies of the American people, that was marvelous and stupendous; and he was to do that which public officials rarely accomplish—he was to go out of office about as popular and acceptable to the people as when he entered it.

It is impossible here to review in detail Jackson's presidential terms. Volume after volume have been written on the subject. James Parton, who wrote his "Life of Jackson" about fourteen years after Old Hickory's death, devoted some two thousand pages to his life, of which approximately five hundred pages covered his two administrations. These two administrations were periods of furious and astounding politics, probably the most so in our history. Jackson placated no enemies and never liked to compromise; as Thomas H. Benton said of him, he went in for a clean victory or a clean defeat. When all is said and done it is safe to say that posterity's most serious charge against him is the spoils system, but even that has not had the effect of darkening his fame. There are thousands of men in the United States to-day, in this era of Civil Service Reform, who hold to the doctrine that when a man is to be held responsible as the head of the Executive Department of a government, it is only right that men of his way of thinking, friendly to his plans and purposes, should hold office under him.



After a President is sworn in his next step is to announce his Cabinet, and General Jackson sent to the Senate the list of men whom he wanted at the head of the various Departments. Martin Van Buren, of New York, became Secretary of State; Samuel D. Ingham of Pennsylvania, Secretary of the Treasury; John H. Eaton, Senator from Tennessee, Secretary of War; John Branch of North Carolina, Secretary of the Navy; John M. Berrien of Georgia, Attorney General; and William T. Barry of Kentucky, Postmaster General. Major Andrew Jackson Donelson was appointed Private Secretary, and Major W. B. Lewis was invited to take up his quarters and live at the White House as personal friend and adviser of the President. Major Lewis was a brother-in-law to John H. Eaton, Secretary of War. Amos Kendall was appointed Fourth Auditor of the Treasury, and was credited, together with General Duff Green, Major Lewis, and Isaac Hill of New Hampshire, with constituting the Kitchen Cabinet. General Jackson at all times during his administrations, and, in fact, throughout his entire life, clung to personal friends with an affection and a devotion that were wonderful, and he always demanded that his friends be about him. Just how much real influence the Kitchen Cabinet had over him, and whether that Cabinet could induce him to do things against his will or inclination, is very doubtful; but the opposition claimed that Jackson was governed by the Kitchen Cabinet, the members of which became political issues in the hot politics of the day.

We pass over the matter of Mrs. Eaton with the statement that her troubles were not the cause of the dissolution of the first Cabinet, however much the opposition to Jackson may have tried to make it so appear. That dissolution was brought about by differences arising between General Jackson and John C. Calhoun over information coming to Jackson, and which was authentic, that years before, during the administration of James Monroe, Calhoun as a member of Monroe's Cabinet, had proposed in a Cabinet meeting to arraign Jackson for his conduct in the Florida War. Aside from his military services and phenomenal will-power and force of personality, General Jackson has been, and will continue to be, judged by his war upon the United States Bank, and his attitude toward nullification proposed by the statesmen and leaders of South Carolina.

Jackson's messages in opposition to the United States Bank are among his strongest deliverances. The Bank was chartered

in 1816, for a period of twenty years, and built up a capitalization of thirty-five million dollars, a sum that was phenomenal in that day. It was a tremendous power, both financial and political, in the country. Nicholas Biddle was its President, a man of great personal strength and influence.

Congress met December 7, 1829, and Andrew Stephenson, a Jackson man, was elected Speaker, receiving one hundred and fifty-two votes out of one hundred and ninety-one, and in a message to this Congress—his first annual message—the President gave a pronounced indication of his feelings towards the Bank; he said, among other things, that the constitutionality and the expediency of the law creating the Bank was questioned by a large portion of the citizens, and that it must be admitted by all that the Bank had failed in the great end of establishing a uniform and sound currency. These pregnant words were certainly strong enough to let Biddle, his Board of Directors and politicians he kept around him, understand that trouble was coming. It was at this session of Congress that the debate occurred between Robert Y. Hayne of South Carolina and Daniel Webster of Massachusetts over the resolution introduced by Samuel A. Foot of Connecticut in reference to the public land. This resolution was a mere incident of the debate; the discussion branched out on the sea of politics, and Hayne and Webster debated the question of a State nullifying an Act of Congress, or withdrawing from the Union.

The following is a copy of the reply to a letter of John Worrall of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, to Jackson, communicating a copy of a song, composed for, and sung at the Catholic emancipation festival in Philadelphia, on the 14th of July, 1829:

"Washington, 15th Sept. 1829.

"Sir:—I have received and read with much pleasure, the copy of the song composed for the Catholic emancipation festival in Philadelphia, on the 14th July last, which you have done me the honor to present to me. That its sentiments, so appropriate to the social board, and to that harmony and good will which should ever characterise our celebrations of the advances of liberty in other countries, may never be violated in our own, is the sincere wish of your fellow citizen and obedient servant,

"ANDREW JACKSON.

"To Mr. John Worrall, 194 Market St., Philadelphia."

On April 13, 1830, there was celebrated in Washington, Thomas Jefferson's birthday and a banquet was held and the leading

men were present. Jackson reached the conclusion that the banquet was given to promote nullification and he made up his mind to fire his shot against nullification in the celebrated toast which has come down to us, "Our Federal Union—it must be preserved!" This toast produced a sensation at the banquet, and John C. Calhoun followed it up with one totally different. Calhoun's toast was: "The Union: next to our Liberty, the most dear; may we all remember that it can only be preserved by respecting the rights of the States, and distributing equally the benefit and burden of the Union."

With the giving of these two toasts the issue of nullification was distinctly made up, and it was not difficult to see that a stormy sea was rising, both for Jackson's administration, and possibly for the whole American people.

The President's break with Calhoun started with a letter addressed by the President to Mr. Calhoun on May 13, 1830, wherein the President recited the information which he had received that Calhoun, as a member of Monroe's Cabinet, wanted him punished for his conduct in Florida in the Seminole War. Mr. Calhoun answered, and the result of the matter was a complete estrangement between the two men that was never healed, even down to the time of Jackson's death. In his reply Mr. Calhoun admitted that in a Cabinet meeting he did express the belief that Jackson had transcended his authority in Florida, and that he did propose an investigation of Jackson's conduct by a Court of Inquiry.

Congress met December 6, 1830, and the President promptly presented a message which is considered one of the most carefully prepared of any that he submitted to Congress. It of course included another shot at the United States Bank, and this was the shot: "Nothing has occurred," said he, "to lessen in any degree the dangers which many of our citizens apprehend from that institution as at present organized." Senator Thomas H. Benton—strong, able, unflinching, learned, aggressive, fearless Benton—Benton, who was one of the greatest men in American history—Benton who nearly shot Jackson to death, but made friends with him, and was as loyal to Jackson as one brother to another—Benton followed up the message during the session by one of his characteristically able speeches; and with that it might be said that the war against the Bank was on, and it was

to continue with tremendous effort and power until the charter expired, and it became defunct.

The President's breach with John C. Calhoun brought about a dissolution of the Cabinet, and it was agreed among Jackson's friends that Martin Van Buren and Major Eaton should resign, and that the three members who were friends of John C. Calhoun should be asked for their resignations if they did not voluntarily tender them, which they did. The three Calhoun men were Samuel D. Ingham, John Branch and John M. Berrien. Edward Livingston, Senator from Louisiana, was appointed Secretary of State to succeed Mr. Van Buren; Louis McLane, then serving as Minister to England, was recalled and made Secretary of the Treasury, and by his recall a place was made for Mr. Van Buren to succeed him. This was the final movement on the political checkerboard to bring about the selection of Mr. Van Buren as Jackson's successor as President of the United States. Levi Woodbury of New Hampshire, was made Secretary of the Navy. The position of Secretary of War was offered to Senator Hugh Lawson White of Tennessee, and refused, and Lewis Cass of Michigan, was given the War Department. Roger B. Taney, who was then Attorney General of Maryland, was given the position of Attorney General in the Cabinet, and later was appointed by President Jackson as Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, and he delivered the opinion of that Court in the Dred Scott case. The Senate confirmed all five of the Cabinet nominees, but rejected Mr. Van Buren as Minister to England. This, while not so intended, was the second boost received by Mr. Van Buren on his journey to the White House as Jackson's successor in 1837. Jackson took the rejection to heart, and made up the Jacksonian will then and there that he would avenge Van Buren on the Senate by naming, nominating and electing him President of the United States.

On January 9, 1832, the President and Directors of the Bank applied to Congress for a renewal of their charter, which would not expire until 1836, and their application was in the form of a memorial presented by George M. Dallas of Pennsylvania; and so the Bank issue, by the action of the Bank itself, this time, became a very acute issue in the politics of the day. Congress appointed a Committee of seven to investigate the Bank, four being apposed to the rechartering and three in favor of it, and in March, 1832, the Committee set about the work of investiga-



tion, and the result was three separate reports: one by the majority of the Committee adverse to the Bank; one by the minority in favor of the Bank, and one by John Quincy Adams very highly eulogizing the Bank's management.

The bill to recharter the Bank passed the Senate in June 1832 by a vote of 28 to 20, and passed the House in July, receiving one hundred and nine votes, to seventy-six against it. It reached the hands of the President July 4, 1832, and was vetoed by him July 10, 1832. Amos Kendall is credited with taking a hand in the preparation of the veto message, which ranks as one of the great documents given by Andrew Jackson to the world. It closed with these words:

"I have done my duty to my country. If sustained by my fellow-citizens, I shall be grateful and happy; if not, I shall find in the motives which impelled me ample grounds for contentment and peace. In the difficulties which surround us and the dangers which threaten our institutions, there is cause for neither dismay nor alarm. For relief and deliverance let us firmly rely upon that kind Providence which I am sure watches with peculiar care over the destinies of our Republic, and on the intelligence and wisdom of our countrymen. Through His abundant goodness and their patriotic devotion our liberty and Union will be preserved."

The message convinced the majority of the people of the United States, and by it alone Andrew Jackson could afford to be judged by posterity. It gave rise to a great debate in the Senate where all the leaders, both Jackson and anti-Jackson, took part, and in which denunciatory language was used by Henry Clay and Thomas H. Benton which it was thought for a while might result in a duel. But the veto was sustained, and the recharter bill was dead.

The Democratic Convention to make nominations for President and Vice President met at Baltimore May 21, 1832, and General Jackson, of course, was renominated for President; Martin Van Buren was nominated for Vice President, receiving two hundred and sixty votes, P. P. Barbour of Virginia, forty, and Richard M. Johnson of Kentucky, twenty-six. The Anti-Masonry party nominated William Wirt of Maryland for President and William Ellmaker of Pennsylvania for Vice President. Henry Clay of Kentucky and John Sergeant of Pennsylvania were supported by those who afterwards consolidated under the name of the Whig party. The race of the Anti-Masonry candidates

was not serious, nobody expected them to be elected. The result was crushing to Henry Clay and John Sergeant.

Jackson, for President, received two hundred and nineteen out of two hundred eighty-eight electoral votes, and Van Buren for Vice President received one hundred eighty-nine out of two hundred eighty-eight electoral votes. Clay and Sergeant received forty-nine electoral votes. Wirt and Ellmaker received the electoral vote of Vermont. South Carolina gave her electoral vote to John Floyd of Virginia and Henry Lee of Massachusetts.

This election settled the fate of the Bank of the United States, and must have been a very humiliating experience for Henry Clay to live through.

On December 10, 1832, President Jackson issued a proclamation to the nullifiers of South Carolina which is generally conceded to be not only Jackson's greatest State paper, but one of the greatest in all the public affairs of the United States. Roosevelt says Jackson did his country some good, but more harm; that he was the greatest General between the outbreak of the Revolution and the Civil War; that the Nullification Proclamation is one of the greatest of American State papers. Upon this proclamation alone Jackson's claim to permanent recognition by posterity can safely rest. The evidence seems to be indisputable that with his own hand, he wrote page after page of the original manuscript, and then turned this manuscript over to Edward Livingston, the Secretary of State; Secretary Livingston took the manuscript, added to it, put it in such form as he thought proper and submitted it to the President, who promptly objected to certain parts of it; it was then redrafted by Mr. Livingston, endorsed by the President, and made public. This document and the will-power that was behind it, on one side, and the determination and fearless character of the people of South Carolina on the other, when brought into conflict, would naturally lead to civil war, and so it was expected at the time; but by a compromise—compromise being the essence of all practical legislation—a condition was brought about that eliminated the danger from the situation; a bill was passed by Congress, introduced by Henry Clay, to which both sides agreed and the danger was averted. The question at issue of the right of a State to nullify an act of Congress was not settled—it was merely compromised and adjourned; the settlement came in 1861, when upon the question of Secession the nation went to war and settled it upon the battle-

field. The bill compromising the differences between the President and the nullifiers passed the Senate by a vote of twenty-nine to sixteen, and the House by a vote of one hundred and nineteen to eighty-five, on February 25, 1833. President Jackson signed the bill.

In this same year the President's Cabinet was very materially changed. Secretary of State Livingston resigned to become Ambassador to France; Secretary of the Treasury McLane resigned to become Secretary of State; William J. Duane of Philadelphia succeeded Mr. McLane as Secretary of the Treasury.

The President and Directors of the Bank of the United States made up their minds in 1833 to make one more effort for a charter and began to pull the wires and marshal their influences to that end, and this led to the order by the President on September 23, 1833, that the Government deposits be withdrawn from the Bank.

On December 23, 1833, Attorney General Roger B. Taney was appointed Secretary of the Treasury, and three days later he directed that all government revenue and funds be deposited in State banks.

Mr. Duane was dismissed as Secretary of the Treasury. Benjamin F. Butler of New York succeeded Mr. Taney as Attorney General. And now the political fury, the debates, orations, discussions and denunciations began, and the President was to go through with one of the severest trials of his courage, nerve and temper. Congress met in December 1833, and the voters were treated to a discussion of the removal of the deposits until its adjournment in June 1834. It all came to a head in a resolution containing thirty-four words framed by Henry Clay, as follows:

"RESOLVED that the President in the late Executive proceedings in relation to the public revenue has assumed upon him authority and power not conferred by the Constitution and laws, but in derogation of both."

A great debate followed. After consideration and discussion for nearly three months, namely, to March 28, 1834, this resolution passed the Senate by a vote of twenty-six to twenty. On April 15, 1834, the President sent his Protest against the resolution of censure with the request that the Senate enter the Protest upon its Journal. Another month of discussion was consumed, and by a vote of twenty-seven to sixteen the Senate declared by resolution that the Protest was a breach of the privileges of the Senate,

and should not be entered upon the Journal and that the President of the United States had no right to send a protest against any of the proceedings of the Senate.

Senator Thomas H. Benton, the lion of the Democracy in the Senate, gave notice of a resolution to expunge the vote of censure, and with the determination that characterized him all of his life, Benton never ceased until his expunging resolution was passed.

The President's Protest was a strong paper and contained some fine things; witness this:

"The resolution of the Senate contains an imputation upon my private as well as my public character; and as it must stand forever on their Journals, I cannot close this substitute for that defense which I have not been allowed to present in the ordinary form, without remarking that I have lived in vain if it be necessary to enter into a formal vindication of my character and motives from such an imputation. In vain do I bear upon my person enduring memorials of that contest in which American liberty was purchased, in vain have I since periled property, fame and life in defense of the rights and privileges so dearly bought—in vain am I now without personal aspiration or the hope of personal advantage, encountering responsibilities and dangers from which, by mere inactivity in relation to a single point, I might have been exempt—if any serious doubts can be entertained as to the purity of my purposes and motives. If I had been ambitious, I should have sought an alliance with that powerful institution which even now aspires to no divided empire. If I had been venal, I should have sold myself to its designs. Had I preferred personal comfort and official ease to the performance of my arduous duty, I should have ceased to molest it. In the history of conquerors and usurpers, never in the fire of youth nor the vigor of manhood could I find an attraction to lure me from the path of duty, and now I shall scarcely find an inducement to commence their career of ambition, when gray hairs and a decaying frame instead of inviting to toil and battle, call me to the contemplation of other worlds, where conquerors cease to be honored and usurpers expiate their crime. \* \* \*

"To the end that the resolution of the Senate may not be hereafter drawn into precedent, with the authority of silent acquiescence on the part of the Executive Department, and to the end, also, that my motives and views in the Executive proceedings denounced in that resolution, may be known to my fellow-citizens, to the world, and to all posterity, I respectfully request that this message and Protest may be entered at length on the Journals of the Senate."

At the very last of this session of Congress, Secretary of State McLane resigned, and was succeeded by John Forsyth of Georgia.



Mr. Taney had never been confirmed by the Senate as Secretary of the Treasury. On June 23, 1834, the President sent in his nomination, which the Senate rejected by a vote of thirty to fifteen. Mr. Butler, as Attorney General, was confirmed. Mr. Woodbury was appointed as Secretary of the Treasury, and Mahlon Dickerson was appointed Secretary of the Navy.

Andrew Stephenson was named by the President as Minister to England, and his name sent to the Senate where it was rejected. It is not difficult to see in all this, that the Senate was delivering at the White House every blow in its power. But Roger B. Taney was to be avenged, and was finally to secure that which was the ambition of his life. Chief Justice John Marshall of the United States Supreme Court died, and the President sent Taney's name for confirmation as his successor, and at that time the Senate was favorable to the President and confirmed the nomination. This session of Congress adjourned June 30, 1834.

Secretary Lewis Cass of the War Department resigned in 1836 to become Minister to the French Court.

For years it had been the custom of the Democrat to celebrate the anniversary of Jackson's victory at New Orleans on the 8th of January, 1815, and on the 8th of January, 1835, the usual celebration was had in Washington, and it was upon the occasion of this celebration that the President was able to announce the payment in full of the national debt, as he had predicted in his message of one year before would come to pass in 1835.

In 1835 Postmaster General Barry resigned as head of the Postoffice Department, and Amos Kendall was appointed to succeed him. Mr. Barry became Minister to Spain.

In 1836, there being a surplus in the Treasury, it was distributed by action of Congress among the States on a plan proposed by John C. Calhoun.

In the Presidential election of 1836, General Harrison and Francis Granger constituted one ticket, Martin Van Buren and Richard M. Johnson, another. Hugh Lawson White was the candidate of one faction of the Democratic party. Harrison and Granger received seventy-three electoral votes; Martin Van Buren, for President, received one hundred and seventy electoral votes; the election of Vice President was thrown into the Senate, which elected Richard M. Johnson. Hugh Lawson White carried Tennessee and Georgia.

Jackson had not only been elected himself for two terms to

the Presidency, but had named Martin Van Buren as his successor, and his joy in Van Buren's election was very pronounced, and one of the greatest triumphs of his whole life.

But another triumph was to follow, and that was the action of the Senate in expunging from its Journal Mr. Clay's resolution of 1834 censuring the President, and this was the result of the iron determination of Thomas H. Benton. The expunging resolution was passed March 16, 1837, after a debate, which, like all the debates and controverted questions of Jackson's two administrations, was bitter, denunciatory, aggressive, and personal.

By direction of the Senate, its Secretary drew broad black lines around Henry Clay's resolution of 1834 and wrote across the face of the resolution these words:

"Expunged by order of the Senate this 16th day of March, 1837."

Mr. Van Buren was inaugurated on March 4, 1837, a beautiful day, and Jackson was a very happy man, and in a few days he started for the Hermitage.

He issued a farewell address reviewing his course as President of the United States, and concluded in these words:

"My own race is nearly run; advanced age and failing health warn me that before long I must pass beyond the reach of human events and cease to feel the vicissitudes of human affairs. I thank God that my life has been spent in the land of liberty, and that He has given me a heart to love my country with the affection of a son, and, filled with gratitude for your constant and unwavering confidence, I bid you a last and affectionate farewell."

General Jackson, in 1839, joined the Presbyterian Church which he had built near the Hermitage for Mrs. Jackson.

Jackson's will was not a hurried document made in consequence of extreme bad health or impending death; upon the contrary, was a very carefully prepared document of sixteen paragraphs and about fifteen hundred words, and is witnessed by five persons. This will is characteristic of the man who made it. It demonstrates what every student of Jackson who is careful and thorough, ascertains, and that is, that whatever may have been said about his temper, aggressiveness, boldness, and quickness of decision, he was at the same time one of the most careful men in everything he undertook.

He considered and premeditated long before he acted. There may have been occasions, and were, when upon circumstances

suddenly arising, instant decisions must be given, but unless so situated, General Jackson was deliberate in reaching conclusions.

While his will makes his adopted son general legatee of his estate, he is thoughtful and kind in remembering friends and relatives, and providing for the payment of his debts; and one is impressed by that reverent mention of the Supreme Being whom he so often with equal reverence invokes in his letters to friends and relatives. The reader will find his will an interesting and instructive paper.

#### THE LAST WILL AND TESTAMENT OF ANDREW JACKSON.

"In the Name of God, Amen! I, Andrew Jackson, Sen'r., being of sound mind, memory, and understanding, and impressed with the great uncertainty of life and the certainty of death, and being desirous to dispose of my temporal affairs so that after my death no contention may arise relative to the same; and whereas, since executing my will of the 30th of September, 1833, my estate has become greatly involved by my liabilities for the debts of my well-beloved and adopted son, Andrew Jackson, Jun., which makes it necessary to alter the same: Therefore, I, Andrew Jackson, Senr., of the County of Davidson and State of Tennessee, do make, ordain, publish, and declare this my last will and testament, revoking all other wills by me heretofore made.

"First, I bequeath my body to the dust whence it comes, and my soul to God, who gave it, hoping for a happy immortality through the atoning merits of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Savior of the world. My desire is, that my body be buried by the side of my dear departed wife, in the garden at the Hermitage, in the vault prepared in the garden, and all expenses paid by my executor hereafter named.

"Secondly, That all my just debts be paid out of my personal and real estate by my executor; for which purpose to meet the debt my good friends, Gen'l J. B. Planchin & Company, of New Orleans, for the sum of Six thousand dollars, with the interest accruing thereon, loaned to me to meet the debt due by A. Jackson, Jun., for the purchase of the plantation from Hiram G. Runnels, lying on the east bank of the river Mississippi, in the State of Mississippi. Also a debt due by me of ten thousand dollars, borrowed of my friends, Blair and Rives, in the City of Washington and District of Columbia, with the interest accruing thereon; being applied to the payment of the lands bought of Hiram G. Runnels as aforesaid, and for the faithful payment of the aforesaid recited debts, I hereby bequeath all my personal and real estate. After these debts are fully paid—

"Thirdly, I give and bequeath to my adopted son, Andrew Jackson, Junior, the tract of land whereon I now live, known as the Hermitage tract, with its butts and boundaries, with all its

appendages of the three lots of land bought of Samuel Donelson, Thomas J. Donelson, and Alexander Donelson, sons and heirs of Sovorn Donelson, deceased, all boundaries, with all the appurtenances thereto belonging or in any wise appertaining, with all my negroes that I may die possessed of, with the exception hereafter named, with all their increase after the before recited debts are fully paid, with all the household furniture, farming tools, stock of all kind, both on the Hermitage tract farms, as well as those on the Mississippi plantation, to him and his heirs, forever. The true intent and meaning of this my last will and testament is, that all my estate, real, personal, and mixed, is hereby first pledged for the payment of the above recited debts and interest; and when they are fully paid, the residue of my estate, real, personal, and mixed, is hereby bequeathed to my adopted son, A. Jackson, Jun., with the exceptions hereafter named, to him and his heirs forever.

"Fourth, Whereas, I have heretofore by conveyance, deposited with my beloved daughter, Sarah Jackson, wife of my adopted son, A. Jackson, Jun., given to my beloved granddaughter, Rachel Jackson, daughter of A. Jackson, Jun., and Sarah, his wife, several negroes therein described, which I hereby confirm. I give and bequeath to my beloved grandson, Andrew Jackson, son of A. Jackson, Jun., and Sarah, his wife, a negro boy named Ned, son of Blacksmith Aaron and Hannah, his wife, to him and his heirs forever.

"Fifth, I give and bequeath to my beloved little grandson, Samuel Jackson, son of A. Jackson, Jun., and his much beloved wife, Sarah, one negro boy named Davy or George, son of Squire and his wife, Giney, to him and his heirs forever.

"Sixth, To my beloved and affectionate daughter, Sarah Jackson, wife of my adopted and well-beloved son, A. Jackson, Jun., I hereby recognize, by his bequeath, the gift, the gift I made her on her marriage, of the negro girl, Gracey, which I bought for her, and gave her to my daughter, Sarah, as her maid and seamstress, with her increase, with my house servant, Hanna and her two daughters, namely, Charlotte and Mary, to her and her heirs forever. This gift and bequest is made for my great affection for her—as a memento to her uniform attention to me and kindness on all occasions, and particularly when worn down with sickness, pain and debility—she has been more than a daughter to me, and I hope she never will be disturbed in the enjoyment of this gift and bequest by anyone.

"Seventh, I bequeath to my well-beloved nephew, Andrew J. Donelson, son of Samuel Donelson, deceased, the elegant sword presented to me by the State of Tennessee, with this injunction, that he fail not to use it when necessary in support and protection of our glorious Union, and for the protection of the constitutional rights of our beloved country, should they be assailed by foreign enemies or domestic traitors. This, from the



great change in my worldly affairs of late is, with my blessing, all I can bequeath him, doing justice to those creditors to whom I am responsible. This bequest is made as a memento of my high regard, affection, and esteem I bear for him as a highminded, honest, and honorable man.

"Eighth, To my grand-nephew, Andrew Jackson Coffee, I bequeath the elegant sword presented to me by the Rifle Company of New Orleans, commanded by Captain Beal, as a memento of my regard, and to bring to his recollection the gallant services of his deceased father, John Coffee, in the late Indian and British War, under my command, and his gallant conduct in defense of New Orleans in 1814 and 1815; with this injunction, that he wield it in the protection of the rights secured to the American citizen under our glorious constitution, against all invaders, whether foreign foes or intestine traitors.

"I bequeath to my beloved grandson, Andrew Jackson, son of A. Jackson, Jun., and Sarah, his wife, the sword presented to me by the citizens of Philadelphia, with this injunction, that he will always use it in defense of the constitution of our glorious Union, and the perpetuation of our republican system, remembering the motto, 'Draw me not without occasion, nor sheath me without honor.'

"The pistols of Gen'l Lafayette, which were presented by him to Gen'l George Washington, and by Col. William Robertson presented to me, I bequeath to George Washington Lafayette, as a memento of the illustrious personages through whose hands they passed—his father, and the father of his country.

"The gold box presented to me by the corporation of the City of New York, the large silver vase presented to me by the ladies of Charleston, South Carolina, my native State, with the large picture representing the unfurling of the America banner, presented to me by the citizens of South Carolina when it was refused to be accepted by the United States Senate, I leave in trust to my son, A. Jackson, Jun., with directions that should our happy country not be blessed with peace, an event not always to be expected, he will at the close of the war or end of the conflict, present each of said articles of inestimable value, to that patriot residing in the city or State from which they presented, who shall be adjudged by his countrymen or the ladies to have been the most valiant in defense of his country and our country's rights.

"The pocket spyglass which was used by Gen'l Washington during the Revolutionary War, and presented to me by Mr. Custis, having been burned with my dwelling house, the Hermitage, with many other valuable relics, I can make no disposition of them. As a memento of my high regard for Gen'l Robert Armstrong as a gentleman, patriot and soldier, as well as for his meritorious military services under my command during the late British and Indian War, and remembering the gallant bearing

of him and his gallant little band at Enotochopco Creek, when, falling desperately wounded, he called out, 'My brave fellows, some may fall, but save the cannon,—as a memento of all these things, I give and bequeath to him my case of pistols and sword worn by me throughout my military career, well satisfied that in his hands they will never be disgraced—that they will never be used or drawn without occasion, nor sheathed but with honor.

"Lastly, I leave to my beloved son all my walking canes and other relics, to be distributed amongst my young relatives—namesakes—first, to my much-esteemed namesake, Andrew J. Donelson, son of my esteemed nephew, A. J. Donelson, his first choice, and then to be distributed as A. Jackson, Jun., may think proper.

"Lastly, I appoint my adopted son, Andrew Jackson, Jun., my whole and sole executor to this my last will and testament, and direct that no security be required of him for the faithful execution and discharge of the trusts hereby reposed in him.

"In testimony whereof, I have this 7th day of June, one thousand eight hundred and forty-three, hereunto set my hand, and affixed my seal, hereby revoking all wills heretofore made by me, and in the presence of

"Marion Adams,

"Elizabeth D. Love,

"Thos. J. Donelson,

"Richard Smith,

"R. Armstrong.

"ANDREW JACKSON (SEAL)."

#### JACKSON REFUSES SARCOPHAGUS.

It is rather a curious coincidence that just two months and twenty days before his death, Jackson was offered by Commodore Jesse D. Elliott a sarcophagus brought from Palestine, for his final resting place, which the veteran Democrat at the Hermitage, who was in bad health, refused in a characteristic letter. The correspondence between Commodore Elliott and General Jackson is well worth perusal, and, written as Jackson's reply was, so near his death, it demonstrates that he carried to his grave those republican principles and rules of conduct that had so triumphantly guided him through his stormy but surpassingly successful life. Commodore Elliott's letter is as follows:

"Washington City, March 18, 1845.

"My Dear General: Last night I made something of a speech at the National Institute, and have offered for their acceptance the sarcophagus which I obtained at Palestine, brought home in the Constitution, and believed to contain the remains of the Roman

Emperor, Alexander Severus, with the suggestion that it might be tendered you for your final resting-place. I pray you, General, to live on in the fear of the Lord; dying the death of a Roman soldier, an Emperor's coffin awaits you.

"I am truly your old friend,

"JESSE D. ELLIOTT.

"To Gen. Andrew Jackson."

#### JACKSON'S REPLY TO COMMODORE ELLIOTT.

"Hermitage, March 27, 1845.

"Dear Sir: Your letter of the 18th instant, together with the copy of the proceedings of the National Institute, furnished me by their corresponding secretary, on the presentation, by you, of the sarcophagus for their acceptance, on condition it shall be preserved, and in honor of my memory, have been received, and are now before me.

"Although laboring under great debility and affliction, from a severe attack from which I may not recover, I raise my pen and endeavor to reply. The steadiness of my nerves may perhaps lead you to conclude my prostration of strength is not so great as here expressed. Strange as it may appear, my nerves are as steady as they were forty years gone by; whilst, from debility and affliction, I am gasping for breath.

"I have read the whole proceedings of the presentation, by you, of the sarcophagus, and the resolutions passed by the board of directors, so honorable to my fame, with sensations and feelings more easily to be conjectured than by me expressed. The whole proceedings call for my most grateful thanks, which are hereby tendered to you, and through you to the president and directors of the National Institute. But with warmest sensations that can inspire a grateful heart, I must decline accepting the honor intended to be bestowed. I cannot consent that my mortal body shall be laid in a repository prepared for an emperor or a king. My republican feelings and principles forbid it; the simplicity of our system of government forbids it. Every monument erected to perpetuate the memory of our heroes and statesmen ought to bear evidence of the economy and simplicity of our republican institutions, and the plainness of our republican citizens, who are the sovereigns of our glorious Union, and whose virtue it is to perpetuate it. True virtue cannot exist where pomp and parade are the governing passions; it can only dwell with the people—the great laboring and producing classes that form the bone and sinew of our confederacy.

"For these reasons I cannot accept the honor you and the president of the National Institute intended to bestow. I cannot permit my remains to be the first in these United States to be deposited in a sarcophagus made for an emperor or a king. I again repeat, please accept for yourself, and convey to the president

and directors of the National Institute, my most profound respects for the honor you and they intended to bestow. I have prepared a humble depository for my mortal body beside that wherein lies my beloved wife, where, without pomp or parade, I have requested, when my God calls me to sleep with my fathers, to be laid; for both of us there to remain until the last trumpet sounds to call the dead to judgment, when we, I hope, shall rise together, clothed with that heavenly body promised to all, who believe in our glorious Redeemer, who died for us that we might live, and by whose atonement I

"I am with great respect,

"Your friend and fellow citizen,

"ANDREW JACKSON."

"To Com. J. D. Elliott,

"United States Navy."

General Jackson died June 8, 1845, and was buried by the side of Mrs. Jackson at the Hermitage, June 10, 1845, and with his death a great American career closed. He was conscious almost to the very last moment, and died as peacefully as if going to sleep. He had no fear of death. His grand-daughter, Mrs. Rachel Jackson Lawrence, then a child of twelve years, was standing at the foot of the bed upon which he lay, and the impression of that death upon her youthful mind has never been effaced.

Dr. J. Berrien Lindsley, a devoted friend of General Jackson, and whose wife as the second Regent, and daughter, Miss Louise Grundy Lindsley, as the fourth Regent of the Ladies' Hermitage Association, have worked so faithfully to perpetuate Jackson's memory, was present, and saw him pass away. Dr. Lindsley said that "the impression made on his mind was one of a lifetime, and that he never witnessed a more solemn, impressive scene than was presented in that chamber of death on that beautiful afternoon, when the man who had on various occasions defied death, came to realize that his own was approaching, true to his character, never faltered, but met the summons calmly and passed into eternity as peacefully as a child sinking to sleep."

If his life was a triumph of courage, will power, patriotism and determination, his death was a triumph of faith in that Power he so often invoked. He died as he had lived, a triumphant man.

"To live with fame

The gods allow to many; but to die

With equal luster is a blessing Heaven

Selects from all her choicest boons of fate

And with a sparing hand on few bestows."



## CHAPTER 21.

## Andrew Jackson—Husband, Father and Friend.

In all the thousands of pages written and speeches delivered about Andrew Jackson, emphasis and prominence are always given to his aggressive militant qualities, his strength of character, his determination of will, his military success, and his fearlessness of responsibility and danger. The kindlier, softer side of Jackson is kept in the background, or not referred to at all; so that to the world generally he is not Jackson the affectionate husband, or the devoted father, or the kind friend, but Jackson the fighting man, the military leader and invincible antagonist. The world has lost much in this tendency in regard to General Jackson, and the purpose of this chapter is to show Jackson the husband, father and neighbor, and, just as far as possible, to demonstrate him through his own letters and by his own words. It is in the home and his treatment there of his family, intimates and neighbors that call on him, and in his contact with everyday life, that the real man is exhibited—his real qualities made plain. It is absolutely true that Andrew Jackson was one of the most affectionate husbands, one of the most devoted fathers, and one of the kindest friends. In fact, those that knew him in his domestic life, and also in his leadership as politician and general, were wont to say that there were two Jacksons, and that they were very materially different from each other. When a man writes letters to wife and children, or to friend and neighbor, there is usually a frankness and sincerity that ring clear and true; and to demonstrate the real Jackson, we think private and personal letters are the surest way to exhibit him. To that end there will be given some personal letters that were never made public before, and which, yellow with age, in Jackson's handwriting, are in the author's possession as this is written: and first, one from



ANDREW JACKSON, Jr.  
Adopted son of Andrew Jackson.



MRS. ANDREW JACKSON, Jr.



## ANDREW JACKSON TO HIS WIFE.

"Washington City,  
"May 5th, 1824.

"My Dear Wife:

"I wrote you the enclosed on yesterday but before I put it in the postoffice yours of the 16th was recd, and I detained it until I could enclose it in this.

"I feel grateful to an all ruling Providence for a continuation of your good health, whilst I regret exceedingly my detention here *uselessly*. I pray you to dispel all gloomy thoughts—in a few days I hope we will be again united, never to be separated—no earthly thing shall induce me to again leave you.

"I always believed I never was designed for a Legislator. I am sure I was not in days like these, when many, very many display (as it appears to me) a great want of national feeling, and confine their views solely to the section of the country they represent—whilst others are endeavoring by a system of Log rolling, intrigue and management, to thwart the will of the majority, and by long and useless speeches, to weary out Congress and thereby defeat the Tariff Bill, which, if judiciously changed in detail, is calculated to benefit the best interests of our country, and increase our revenue to meet our national debt. It is the subject that has and still detains me here. I shall leave here so soon as this Bill is acted on; before I cannot. My love to all and believe me to be your affectionate husband,

"ANDREW JACKSON."

"Mrs. Rachel Jackson—"

Mr. and Mrs. Jackson had no children of their own, and on December 22, 1809, the wife of Severn Donelson, a brother of Mrs. Jackson, gave birth to twin boys, and the same day Mr. and Mrs. Jackson called at the Donelson home and asked to be given one of the twins, which was done, and the child was taken to the Hermitage and named Andrew Jackson, Jr., and promptly adopted by General Jackson through an act of the Legislature which was then in session. General Jackson's devotion to Andrew Jackson, Jr., exhibits a sincerity that is both grand and pathetic. The great, strong, masterful man devoted his whole affection to this infant boy, and as he grew up, Jackson's pride in and affection for him were wonderful and without limit. It is ordinarily said that "the bravest are the tenderest," and in this case the man of iron will, who never knew what fear was, was as tender to this little boy as a woman to her own offspring.

In 1824 Andrew Jackson, Jr., was fifteen years old, and the following letter is from



## ANDREW JACKSON TO HIS ADOPTED SON:

"City of Washington, Janry 5th, 1824.

"My Dear Son,

"Your papa has waited two weeks expecting to receive a letter from you informing him how your dear Mother is, and your Cousin, Andrew J. Hutching, Lyncoya and all the family. You promised me you would write me often, this I expect, in which I wish you to inform me how my farming business progresses, whether the crop is all housed, and how all my stock of horses and cattle stood the winter; what kind of seasons you have, whether open and warm or very cold, and how the health of all our friends are; all these things will be grateful to me; but particularly how your Mother's health is, and how she spends this lonesome winter. If your Cousin Andrew has returned from Florence, tell him to write me. Present me affectionately to your Mother, little Hutchings, and your cousin Andrew, and believe me to be your affectionate father,

ANDREW JACKSON."

"Master *Andrew Jackson*.

"P. S. Tell Lyncoya howdy for me and say to him I expect he will be a good boy and learn his book."

The "Lyncoya" referred to was the Indian boy raised by General Jackson from the infant brought back by him from the battle of Tallusshatches, and which was found in the arms of his dead mother, killed in that battle. The General raised Lyncoya at the Hermitage, and put him to learning the trade of a saddler in Nashville, after letting him acquaint himself with all the trades and select the one he liked best, which was that of a saddler. He lived about seventeen years and died of consumption.

In 1829 when the adopted son was twenty years of age, and had centered his affections on a young lady, his father, then President of the United States, took as great an interest in his first love affair as if he were Andrew's own age, and his brother or daily companion. The man bearing upon his shoulders all the responsibilities of an American President was profoundly interested in this first love of his son.

## ANDREW JACKSON TO HIS ADOPTED SON.

"(Confidential)

July 26th, 1829.

"My Son,

"Having your happiness at heart more than my own, for since I have been deprived of your dear mother, there is no happiness or contentment for me this side of the grave, none but what your society and your welfare and prosperity, and that of your family, should you have one, could afford, added to the love I have for

your cousin Andrew and his, who I have raised as a child. You can judge of the anxiety I have that you should marry a lady that will make you happy, which would add to mine, seeing you so. You are very young, but having placed your affections upon Miss Flora, I have no desire to control your affections, or interfere with your choice. Early attachments are the most durable, and having been raised together in the same neighborhood, I have only to remark that no good can flow from long courtship. Therefore I would recommend you to be frank with her, say to her at once the object of your visit and receive her answer at once. Under your situation this I think will be right, and you have a claim upon her to meet you with frankness, and should her reply be adverse to your wishes, you ought not to be offended, but continue to treat her as a friend. So soon as you see and converse with her, write me and write with candor and truth on this important subject to yourself, and no less to me as your father and friend. Should Miss Flora not favour your wishes, then, my son, I have one request to make of you, that is that you will give out all idea of marriage for the present, until you see and advise with me. Your affectionate father,

"ANDREW JACKSON."

"Andrew Jackson, Jr."

Neither did official duties or high station deter Jackson in his letters to members of his family at the Hermitage from wanting to be informed how everybody and everything were getting along. The man who, at that time, had more power than any other American had ever possessed or wielded, was always solicitous about the health of those at home, and how the crops were, the horses, the cattle, the servants, and repairs on the property; all showing the domestic side of the man, and illustrating him like the X-ray illumines the body upon which it is focused. The next letter is personal and also goes into details about acreage and the price of cotton and the purchase of land, which are not reproduced. The personal part of the letter is this:

ANDREW JACKSON TO HIS ADOPTED SON.

"Washington, May 18, 1831.

"My Son:

"Your affectionate letter of the 16th has just been received. I am happy to hear that your health is good, and that a good night's sleep with the refreshing air of the Chesapeake has been reviving to you. You say to me not to feel depressed about you. My son, I have felt much concern about your health of late. You must be more careful of your habit of being up at parties too late, and exposing yourself to the night air, or you may fasten that cough

upon you that may be fatal to your health, when by care, until your growth is finished and your constitution formed, you may enjoy robust health all your days.

"I am happy you met with Major Lewis and his daughter and Major B————s' family in Philadelphia; it must add to your comfort while you remain there. Your Cousin Andrew reached here night before last in eleven days from Nashville, leaving all friends well and apparently with better feelings. He has been at the races yesterday and is out today. I have had but little opportunity to converse with him, but he says everywhere the people hail the reorganization of my cabinet as a happy event for the harmony and prosperity of the nation. \* \* \*

"Write me often, and believe me affectionately yours,

"ANDREW JACKSON."

"Mr. A. Jackson, Jr."

In 1832 General Jackson was sixty-five years of age, and not having heard from his adopted son as frequently as he desired, he became anxious about him, and this anxiety he did not hesitate to express in this letter:

#### ANDREW JACKSON TO HIS ADOPTED SON.

"Washington, April 23d, 1832.

"Dear Andrew,

"I am still without the least information of you since I parted with you. My anxiety, you must have supposed, to hear from you, and how you progressed on your journey, and what was the state of all your health, has been very great; particularly from the state and condition of Charles, when he set out. I am truly at a loss to account for your silence and that of our dear Sarah, as I had requested, and obtained a promise from both of you, that you would write, even if it was but one line, to say how and where you were.

"We have been lonesome since you left us. Mary McLemore arrived on Sunday a week ago and left us yesterday, accompanied by Miss Mary Ann Lewis and Mr. Earle. I have been under a gloom ever since I parted with you, and so soon as Congress adjourns, will travel somewhere, *home*, if time will permit.

"I have written you to Wheeling, and two letters addressed to you at the Hermitage, in one of which I enclosed an invoice of the articles last shipped from Philadelphia, which I hope you will receive on your arrival at the Hermitage. I write you now only to let you know my anxiety to hear from you, and that in this I have been disappointed.

"Present me affectionately to Sarah and Emma, and believe me affectionately your father,

"ANDREW JACKSON."

"Mr. Andrew Jackson, Jr."

In 1833 the President ratified a purchase of land made by his son, and was anxious to advise him along the line of careful, economical, business conduct; and from Washington he wrote a letter, which for hard-headed business sagacity, financial shrewdness and conservativeness of management, is hard to excel. Jackson the President, Jackson the leader, and Jackson the politician, were only several phases of Andrew Jackson, who was also Jackson the safe financier and business man. He never wrote a letter more pregnant with supreme devotion to his son's welfare than this one, in which he is attempting to blaze the way to financial prosperity for that son.

## ANDREW JACKSON TO HIS ADOPTED SON.

"Washington, January 11th, 1833.

"Dear Andrew,

"I have this moment received your affectionate letter of the 26th ultimo, and am thankful to a kind Providence to learn that you are all well. \* \* \* \*

"I now consider the purchase as made, and on that basis, give the following admonition—that is that you adopt a proper economy, buy nothing except for cash that can be done without, never become indebted, for if you do, you will find it difficult to get clear of it, and when indebted you are a slave and your feelings always liable to insult from your creditor, and costly ruin by the sale of your property. These remarks are proper in themselves, and arise to my mind from this contract and what might arise under it. Suppose our cotton lost on its way to market, or destroyed by fire, before you ship it, and suppose Providence took me hence before the debt for the land bought was paid, what difficulty would you not have to meet? and even suppose the cotton lost and I should be spared, how difficult it would be for me to meet it. These reflections ought always to be present to your view if you expect to go through life *well*, and they are made for your benefit. Hereafter never go in debt beyond your present means anticipating crops or any other resource for the payment of a debt that depends upon uncertainty. Crops might fail and double the amount of property than that which was bought, sold under execution. These remarks are for your consideration hereafter. You will, on receipt of this, close the contract with Mr. Hill agreeable to your engagement as expressed in your letter now before me, and furnish me with the intelligence I have requested, closing your settlement with Mr. Nichols for the last year, and showing how the proceeds of the last crop has been applied; examine this account well and have it closed. My dear son, as soon as the contract is closed with Mr. Hill, attend to my request as to the amount of cotton and all the debts of the farm.



"We are all here well but myself. My health is not good, and I am oppressed with continual business. All unite with me in love to you, Sarah, and the little *pet.* Genl. Word wishes to be included and all join in salutations to Thomas, Emma and child, and present me kindly to Mr. and Mrs. Wetherall and family. Kiss Sarah and my little Rachel for me, and believe me your affectionate father,

"ANDREW JACKSON.

"P. S.—How I am delighted to be informed of the health and improvement of my dear little Rachel, and trust that my God may preserve her as a blessing to us, and keep her for me. A. J. I have not time to read this, being surrounded with a crowd. A. J."

By 1835 Andrew Jackson, Jr., was a married man and had a little family of his own, to the great delight of the President; and that delight is exhibited in a very beautiful and charming letter:

ANDREW JACKSON TO HIS ADOPTED SON.

"Washington, May 2nd, 1835, 10 p.m.

"My Dear Son:

"I have this moment received from the postoffice your kind letter of the 21st ultimo, and I am, my dear Andrew, more than rejoiced at the sentiment you have expressed with regard to your course through life. This determination is one that will make you and your dear little family happy and wealthy, and lead to a happy immortality beyond the grave. I repeat, my dear Andrew, you have made me happy. You have my love and affection, and I have the utmost confidence in your determination; and I have but you and my dear Sarah, and your dear little ones, to perpetuate my name and memory. I have enclosed your letter to your dear Sarah. She will be rejoiced to receive it.

"I wrote you yesterday, and enclosed a letter from your dear Sarah to you.

My health has been delicate, but is mending. Take care of your health, and do not fatigue yourself too much. I hope you will soon be able to arrange the building, get on the roof, and be able to unite with us between this and the first of June, or by the middle at farthest, I expect in ten or twelve days.

"Dear little Rachel is mending. Dr. Physic says he will have her well in a few days. I will take care of your dear little family in your absence.

"May God bless and preserve you in health and restore you to us again without accident, is the prayer of

"Your affectionate father,

"ANDREW JACKSON."

"A. Jackson, Esq., Jr.

"P. S.—I am glad the zinc has reached you. It will hasten the building and your return. A. J."

In 1836, after having traveled all day, and through mud and rain, to a point north of Bowling Green, Kentucky, his son and that son's family were present with him in thought and devotion, and he writes another affectionate letter.

ANDREW JACKSON TO HIS ADOPTED SON.

"Kentucky, six miles north of Bowling Green, Sept. 14th, 1836.

"My Dear Andrew:

"Having put up for the night, and having labored through deep mud through the day, owing to a great fall of rain last night, which has prevented us from reaching our intended stage and meeting the mail stage, which has stopped for a moment for this hasty note, I could not refrain from saying to you that we are progressing as well and in as good health as we could expect, from the state of the weather and the roads.

"Kiss my dear Sarah and my two little dear pets, and say to Sarah I will be sure to write you and her from Louisville.

"May God protect and preserve you all in health until you join me in Washington. Adieu—

"ANDREW JACKSON."

"A. Jackson, Esq., Jr."

The letters of General Jackson to his family and Mrs. Jackson's relatives very often invoke the blessing of the Deity upon them, and indicate that in his mind there was constantly the thought of dependence upon some higher Power; and in our estimate of him he rises in dignity and in our respect from his reverent manner of calling down blessings upon those to whom he was attached. One of these letters was addressed to Andrew Jackson, Jr., who made it and others public in a controversy he had some years after the General's death—about 1856—with General Frank P. Blair. It is as follows.

GENERAL JACKSON TO HIS ADOPTED SON.

"Washington, March 1, 1836.

"My Son:

"You are taking a journey to explore and determine whether or not we will conclude the contract finally with Dr. Gwin. I would then suggest that you examine well the quality of the land by passing around through the sections. That country is subject to inundations. Should you close the contract, and find vacant land adjoining, you must go into bank for the money until next fall, or you can raise some by drawing a bill on me payable in January, next.

"Therefore, my son, unless the land is good and in a situation that promises health, my advice to you is not to buy.

"With these paternal remarks and admonitions I pray God to take you in his keeping, bless you with health, restore you to your dear little family and me, and may God bless and prosper you through life in all of your just pursuits, is the prayer of your affectionate father,

"ANDREW JACKSON."

Letters available for publication illustrate Jackson's epistolary styles to persons of varying ages, degree of relationship, official character, occupations, eminence of personal standing, or the contrary. The following is a letter from Jackson to his son who was then a boy of fifteen years:

ANDREW JACKSON TO HIS ADOPTED SON.

"Washington City, April 5th, 1824.

"My Dear Son:

"I have just received your kind letter of the 14th ultimo. Your papa is pleased to learn that you are progressing well with your studies and more particularly that you have attended to your mother, cheering and comforting her in your papa's absence.

"This, my son, is a duty you owe her, for trouble, care and anxiety for you in your infancy. You owe her a debt of filial gratitude that you can never pay. All your care and attention to her is a duty arising from that trouble and attention with which she watched over your childhood, and fostered and cherished you on a sick bed. You owe your dear mother more, my son, than you can ever repay with all your affectionate regard and attention; but I am pleased that you will by your attention to her endeavor to pay the debt of gratitude you owe her. I am very anxious to return to you and your mother, but I cannot leave here until Congress adjourns, and when that will be I cannot at present say, but I hope to be home in all the month of May. My health is as usual, but I trust as the warm weather advances my health will improve.

"I pray you my son, to be attentive to your studies, improve your handwriting, and accustom yourself to letter writing. Attend to your mother, cheer her and comfort her in my absence, present me to her affectionately, to your cousin, Andrew J. Donelson, Hutching, and Lyncoya, and particularly to the young ladies who are staying with your mother, to your Aunt Betty and all her family and believe me to be your

Affectionate father,

"ANDREW JACKSON.

"Master Andrew Jackson, Jr."

Andrew Jackson, Jr., married Miss Sarah Yorke, of Philadelphia on the 24th day of November, 1831, and his father wrote him the following letter not long before his marriage:

## ANDREW JACKSON TO HIS ADOPTED SON.

"Washington, October 27, 1831.

"My Son:

"I have perused with great interest the letter of Sarah's which you have submitted to me. Since my heavy and irreparable bereavement in the death of my dear and ever-to-be-lamented wife, the only object that makes life desirable to me is to see you happy and prosperous, and permanently settled in life; united to an amiable wife of respectability, one whose disposition and amiable qualities are calculated to make you happy, your happiness will insure mine for the few years which I can expect to live. You say that Sarah possesses every quality necessary to make you happy. The amiability of her temper and her other good qualities which you represent is a sure pledge that she will unite with you in adding to my comfort during my life. You will please communicate to her that you have my full and free consent that you be united in the holy bonds of matrimony; that I shall receive her as a DAUGHTER, and cherish her as my CHILD. I find you are engaged to each other; the sooner this engagement is consummated, the better. Both of your minds will then be at rest, and if it suits the wishes and convenience of Sarah, my choice would be that the nuptials be celebrated in due time before the meeting of Congress, as then I shall want your aid, and it would put it in my power to receive you and Sarah here before the bustle of Congress commences.

"Present me affectionately to Sarah, for, although unknown to me, your attachment to her has created in my bosom a parental regard for her. That, I have no doubt, will increase on our acquaintance. I am your affectionate father,

"ANDREW JACKSON."

Andrew Jackson nowhere appears to finer advantage on his personal side than in his letters to this daughter-in-law whom he took at once into his affection after her marriage, and lavished upon her a devotion that commands our admiration. Miss Sarah Yorke was a native of Philadelphia, and there is no dissent whatever, in all the accounts that have come down to us, that she was not only a very beautiful woman, but of the highest character of womanhood. Her portrait now hangs in the main hall at the Hermitage. It is not surprising that a man of Jackson's age at the time of his son's marriage to Miss Yorke—sixty-four years—and with no children but an adopted son, should have accepted that beautiful girl into the very innermost shrine of his paternal affections. She was worthy of all the devotion lavished upon her.

General Jackson was intensely desirous that his name be perpetuated, and the birth of every child in the family of his son and



daughter was to him a matter of delight. Mrs. Rachel Jackson Lawrence, the "little Rachel" of his correspondence, was his oldest grandchild, and just prior to her birth Jackson wrote the following letter to his daughter. It is submitted that the annals of great men have never produced a finer exhibition of real manhood.

"Tyree Springs, Sept. 23rd, 1832.

"My Dear Sarah: How I regret whilst with you the crowd and bustle with which I was surrounded, and the constant press of business that prevented me from those social hours of peaceful retirement and converse I expected with you, and the regret of leaving you behind me; still I look forward with a pleasing hope when you will reunite with me at the city, and present to me a lovely child, which I shall press to my bosom with delight, and accept from Providence as one of his kindest blessings, and for which my constant prayers will be offered up. \* \* \*

"ANDREW JACKSON."

Andrew Jackson, Jr., and his wife had left Washington and gone to the Hermitage to be there at the birth of Andrew Jackson III, later, Colonel Andrew Jackson of the Confederate Army, who was born in April, 1834. Jackson wrote the following letter to Mrs. Jackson before the birth of the child:

"January 23, 1834.

"Dear Sarah: I have seen Mr. Key, his account of the improvement of my dear little Rachel was highly gratifying. He appeared to be delighted with her, and the manner of his describing her was quite interesting to me, and her attempt to talk and call grandpapa made it still more so. I hope she is over all danger of teething. Having twelve; I presume her eye teeth are cut. If so, then her days of pain and danger have passed. I trust in a kind Providence that He will bless and preserve her as a blessing to us all; kiss the dear little pet for me. I hope Providence will permit me to see her next summer, and she will be able to say grandpa. I must close. My business and company are pressing. Why cannot Andrew write me twice a month? Present me affectionately to him. I expect to hear from him soon, the amount of cotton made, and how much gone to market, and whether he has closed the contract with Hill for the land, etc., and if bought, whether he would rather retain it or exchange with Major A. J. Donelson. It is probable the Major would not desire to change. I have written him to buy the land and I want to know how much will be lacking from the sales of cotton, after paying the expense of the farm and supplies for the house, will be needed to meet the first payment, and whether the first of May will do to have the fund at Nashville to meet it. Urge Andrew, my dear Sarah, to give me this information.

"Kiss my dear little pet for me and accept of my prayers for the safety and prosperity of you all, and believe in haste, your affectionate father,

ANDREW JACKSON.

"P. S. Sarah: All my household, Mr. Earle and Elizabeth Martin included, join me in sending salutations to you all at the Hermitage, and our connections and inquiring friends and neighbors. My own health is improving, but I am laboured almost to death.

A. J."

Jackson spent the summer of 1836 at the Hermitage, and left for Washington in September. His son and wife remained at the Hermitage for a few weeks before starting to join him in Washington. While on board the steamer en route to Washington he wrote his daughter this letter:

"Aboard the Steamer Home, Sept. 22, 1836.

"My Dear Sarah: I have been a good deal out of spirits since I left you. We have been five days on the water cooped in a small boat crowded with passengers and annoyed with mosquitoes; our comforts as you will readily see, not many. Often I have regretted that you, Andrew, and our dear little pets are not with me, but when I reflect how uncomfortable would be your and their situation, I thank God you are now at home and that you will meet more comforts and a better and more healthful season to reach and join me in the city, where I hope you will be able to arrive in November, when Andrew can have all our business so arranged as to leave it without injury; and be enabled to form an estimate of our cotton crop and have the fall crops put in and our meadows and grass arranged so as to ensure us plenty of grass for another year.

"We have had low water but a rise which we have met of 11 inches will, the Capt. says, ensure us water to Wheeling. This is fortunate, for my horses would not have been able to have performed the journey over land. The rain made heavy roads, and the rock and mud holes have worn them down, and it was fortunate we took the Louisville route, or they would not have performed the journey, and I should have been compelled to have left them and taken the stage.

"I have been and will continue to be uneasy until I hear how our dear little Andrew has got and how you all are.

"I expected to have heard at Louisville from Major A. J. Donelson or my SON; in this I was disappointed, from which I fear Emily is in a dangerous situation, and if she attempts to travel in this weather her life will be endangered. I hope to hear from you at Wheeling, either by letter or from Andrew or Major Donelson. I write this on board a tremulous boat which shakes so much that I can scarcely write. I do this expecting to reach Wheeling so early tomorrow as will enable us to proceed and make a half day's journey which will enable me to reach Washington the first of the next month.

"My dear Sarah write me often. I appear lost, altho Col. Love and Doctor Gwin are as attentive and kind to me as children; kiss my dear little Rachel and Andrew for me and do not let them forget me. May God bless and preserve you all and grant us a happy meeting again. Your affectionate father,

ANDREW JACKSON.

"P. S. Sarah: I have been kindly greeted by numerous assemblies everywhere, altho short notice of my arrival. I reached Cincinnati at 6 in the morning without the citizens having any notice and before 10 o'clock was surrounded by at least 3,000; so it continued and on my approach to Portsmouth (Ohio) there was a large crowd and a most disastrous result in firing a salute. The piece went off whilst loading and killed three persons and wounded the fourth mortally. This melancholy event filled me with pain. I could only as an evidence of my regrets give something to two widows which the sad catastrophe had deprived of their husbands. One was a lad whose brains were blown away—*doleful event.* A. J."

ANDREW JACKSON TO GENERAL DANIEL SMITH.

"Hermitage, March 27, 1817.  
4 o'clock p.m.

"Dear Sir:

"The enclosed was this moment received inclosed with a letter to myself from W. P. Owing, communicating the melancholy news of the death of our young and much respected friend, Jackey Donelson. This was a shock to my feelings, on these children I had built my hopes of happiness in my declining days. They have somehow always appeared as my own. How fleeting sublunary things and how little ought they really to be estimated. He is gone, how I regret his suffering and want of medical aid. But if he is gone he has left us this pleasing consolation that he has not left a stain or blemish behind, ever to bring a blush in the cheek of his loving friends. They can reflect on him with pleasure, whilst they regret his untimely exit. Prepare the mind of his tender mother for the shock, before you communicate it and keep from her knowledge for the present, that he wanted for anything in his illness. I have not had a letter from Andrew since he left the city; he was well and in Philadelphia the last account from Major Eaton. I expect a letter from him by tomorrow's mail, should I receive one will communicate it.

Accept assurances of my esteem and respect,  
"Genl. Danl. Smith.

ANDREW JACKSON."

ANDREW JACKSON TO JOHN DONELSON, SR.

"Washington, June 7th, 1829.

"My Dear Sir:

"Your letter of the 19th ult. is just received. What satisfaction to me to be informed that you and Mr. Hume had visited the

Hermitage and tomb of my dear departed wife. How distressing it has been to me to have been drawn by public duty from that interesting spot, where my thoughts delight to dwell, so soon after this heavy bereavement, to mingle with all the bustle, labour and care of public life; when my age, my enfeebled health and constitution forewarned me, that my time cannot be long here upon earth, and admonished me that it was time I should place my earthly house in order, and prepare for another, and I hope a better world. My dear wife had your future state much at heart; she often spoke to me on this interesting subject in the dead hours of the night, and has shed many tears on these occasions. Your reflection upon the sincere interest your dear sister took in your future happiness are such as sound reason dictates. Yes, my friend, it is time that you should withdraw from the turmoils of this world, and prepare for another and better. You have well provided for your household, you have educated your children, and furnished them with an outfit into life sufficient, with good management and economy, to build an independence upon. You have sufficient around you to make you and your old lady independent and comfortable during life, and when gone hence, perhaps as much as will be prudently managed, and if it should be imprudently managed, then, it will be a curse, rather than a blessing to your children. I, therefore, join in the sentiments of my deceased and beloved wife, in admonishing you to withdraw from the busy cares of this world, and put your house in order for the next, by laying hold 'of the one thing needful'. Go read the Scriptures, the joyful promises it contains will be wholesome to all your troubles, and create for you a kind of heaven here on earth, a consolation to your troubled mind that is not to be found in the hurry and bustle of this world. Could I but withdraw from the scenes that surround me, to the private walks of the Hermitage, how soon would I be found in the solitary shades of my garden, at the tomb of my dear wife, there to spend my days in silent sorrow, and in peace from the toils and strife of this world, with which I have been long since surfeited. But this is denied me. I cannot retire with propriety. When my friends dragged me before the public contrary to my wishes, and that of my dear wife, I foresaw all of this evil, but I was obliged to bend to the wishes of my friends, as it was believed it was necessary to perpetuate the blessings of Liberty to our country, and put down misrule. My political creed compelled me to yield to the call, and I consoled myself with the idea of having the counsel and society of my dear wife, and one term would soon run round, when we would retire to the Hermitage and spend our days in the service of our God. But oh, how fluctuating are all earthly things. At the time I least expected it, and could least spare her, she was snatched from me, and I left here, a solitary monument of grief, without the least hope of any happiness here below, surrounded with all the turmoils of public life



and no time for récreation, or for friendship. From this busy scene I would to God I could retire, and live in solitude.

How much the conduct of A. I. Hutchings corrodes my feelings. I have just read a letter from him to Sam'l Hays, in which he says there is a vacancy at the Franklin Academy and promises to write me. If he does not go to school, I will withdraw from him all supplies that may indulge extravagance and confine him to such means as with economy will keep him decent.

"We are all in tolerable health, Emily in the family way, little Jackson growing finely, and all join in our best wishes to you and your amiable lady and all our connections and good neighbors.

"Your friend,

"ANDREW JACKSON.

"Capt. John Donelson, Sen'r.

"P. S. J. W. Steel has written me but one letter. Say to him to write me how much crop he has in, how many colts, lambs, and calves, and how my last year's colts are and of the health of my negroes. I learn old Ned and Jack are both dead. Jack was a fine boy, but if he was well attended to, I lament not, he has gone the way of all the earth. A. J."

A. J."

(From the Nashville Republican and State Gazette, March 28, 1828.)

ANDREW JACKSON TO DR. ELY.

Extract from a letter dated at the Hermitage, July 12, 1827.

“Having been educated and brought up under the discipline of the Presbyterian rule (my mother being a member of that church) I have always had a preference for it. Amongst the greatest blessings secured to us under our Constitution, is the liberty of worshiping God as our conscience dictates. All true Christians love each other and while here below ought to harmonize; for all must unite in the realms above. I have thought one evidence of true religion is, when all those who believe in the atonement of our crucified Saviour are found in harmony and friendship together.

"My enemies have charged me with every crime but hypocrisy. I believe they have never alleged this against me, and I can assure you no chain of circumstances, no exalted office, can work a change upon me. I will remain uniformly the same, whether in the chair of state, or at the Hermitage. My habits are too well fixed now, to be altered."

Politics is usually and often justly credited with being permeated with ingratitude, and charges of lack of gratitude and treachery among politicians of the country have been so common as to create the general idea that such things are to be expected. But there are glorious exceptions to what is apparently the gen-

eral rule, and the exceptions are the brighter because of their infrequency. The gratitude of Frank P. Blair to General Jackson is one of the glowing exceptions. In the controversy above referred to between General Blair and Andrew Jackson, Jr., the latter made public a letter from Blair to General Jackson, and also a written authority from Blair and Rives to General Jackson to draw on them for money, which letter and authority are highly honorable to them all, and shows an affection, gratitude and devotion on the part of Blair and Rives that continued to the very minute of General Jackson's death.

Andrew Jackson, Jr., is authority for the statement that when Jackson arrived at the Hermitage after eight years as President, he had less than one hundred dollars in money, and owed a large sum. The General's latter days were embarrassed and troubled by his money matters, and General Blair came to his relief.

It will be remembered that Jackson, when President, brought Blair to Washington and made him one of his personal advisers, and Jackson's friends established "The Globe," and Frank P. Blair and John C. Rives, partners as "Blair & Rives," were installed to conduct the paper, which, with the Administration behind it, was, of course, a tremendous success. In addition to that, Blair and Rives were made public printers, and through these two avenues made a great deal of money, and General Blair, by degrees, became a very wealthy man.

#### FRANK P. BLAIR TO GENERAL JACKSON.

"Washington, March 11, 1842.

"My dear General:

"Nothing in the prosperous circumstances on which you congratulate me in your last letter ever gave me so much happiness as that they in the least contribute to your convenience. The prosperity with which I am surrounded is drawn from you; when you took me by the hand, I was prostrate on the earth. Those for whom I had been endorser left me crushed almost to death under the wheels of the banks. You raised me up, sustained my exertions in Washington against the intrigues of pretended friends, gave me your countenance and the power of your popularity to command the business in which I was engaged, and thus conferred upon me the independence which now enables me to be of some service to you. With a heart full of gratitude I would feel joy in sharing to the last farthing with you all that I have. In permitting me to advance the sum for your convenience on the terms you prescribe, you confer an obligation

on me, greatly increased by the affectionate manner in which you speak of it.

"Your affectionate friend,                      F. P. BLAIR."

The authority to draw on Blair and Rives was in these words:

"Washington, March 12, 1845.

"General Andrew Jackson is authorized to draw upon us at one day's sight for any sum between one and one hundred thousand dollars, and his draft shall be honored. He may, if he shall think proper to do so, draw payable at Baltimore, Philadelphia, or New York.                      BLAIR & RIVES."

#### MARRIAGE OF ANDREW JACKSON, JR.

Andrew Jackson, Jr., born December 22, 1809, married Miss Sarah Yorke, of Philadelphia, Pa., November 24, 1831, and they had four children, one of whom, Robert, died in infancy, and three reached maturity. They were all born at the Hermitage. The three were:

Captain Samuel Jackson, who was killed in the Battle of Chickamauga, in 1863, fighting in the Confederate Army, during the Civil War.

Colonel Andrew Jackson III., who was a Colonel in the Confederate Army, born in 1834, moved to Knoxville in October, 1905, and died there December 17th, 1906. His widow, Mrs. Amy Jackson, is now living near Knoxville.

Rachel Jackson, born November 1, 1832, married Dr. John M. Lawrence, January 25, 1853. They had four daughters.

Andrew Jackson III. on October 8, 1885, married Miss Amy Rich, of Hamilton, Ohio, a brilliant and highly educated lady who was teaching school near the Hermitage, and they had two sons, Andrew Jackson IV., who was born at the Hermitage, June 4, 1886, and, 1917, is at Camp Gordon, Georgia, in the United States Army, training for service in the European War; and Albert Marble Jackson, born July 17, 1899, who at the beginning of the war between England and Germany, and before the United States became one of the allies, joined the British expeditionary forces in Canada, August 29, 1913, and is now, 1917, in France.

Andrew Jackson IV. married Miss Marion Caulkins, daughter of Dr. Douglass Caulkins, a practicing physician of Knoxville, and they have two children, a boy and a girl, the boy being Andrew Jackson V.

General Jackson's devotion to his daughter-in-law, Mrs. Sarah Yorke Jackson, and her children, is evidenced in the letters above.

Dr. John M. Lawrence died in 1882, and his widow, Mrs. Rachel Jackson Lawrence, is living at their home place near the Hermitage.

Andrew Jackson, Jr., after he had sold the Hermitage to the State of Tennessee in 1856, left it and went to his plantation in Mississippi, and there lived until he was invited by Governor Isham G. Harris, of Tennessee, to return and make his home at the Hermitage as tenant at will, which he did in 1860, and died there April 15, 1865. His wife, Mrs. Sarah Yorke Jackson, survived him and died at the Hermitage in 1888. They are both buried in the Hermitage garden.

Colonel Andrew Jackson III. at the close of the Civil War was released as a prisoner from Camp Chase. One of his old comrades in arms paid him at the time of his death the following tribute:

"On the organization of the First Tennessee Heavy Artillery at Fort Pillow, A. Jackson was elected Colonel; Robert Sterling, of Jackson, Lieutenant-Colonel; F. W. Hoodley, of Memphis, Major; Dr. Conway, of Memphis, Surgeon; William Chunn, of Union City, Adjutant, and I was appointed Sergeant-Major, and from that time to the surrender at Vicksburg, I slept at his headquarters and ate at his table. During all of this time I never heard an oath or an ugly word fall from his lips. He was a timid man among strangers, and extremely so in the presence of ladies. He was quick to make up his mind as to what action to pursue, and very firm when he decided. In battle he was very calm, his voice firm, and his whole bearing gave great confidence to his men. He was very tall—fully half his body was above the protection of the parapet, yet I never saw him dodge at the near passage of a bullet or the passing of a shell.

"My place was near him in action to take his orders, or to order batteries, and I had every opportunity to observe his conduct. On account of the great exposure he never sent me with orders unless it was imperatively necessary, and he always told me to take advantage of any ridge or bank to shield myself; to run fast, and if not necessary for me to bring a reply or information, to remain in the battery to which I was sent until the engagement was over. He was careful to give every one credit. I have a report of his now before me of an engagement in which he mentions for bravery Captain P. T. Dismukes, Captain H. T. Norman, Lieutenant S. M. Allen (brother of Mr. Ben Allen), Sergeant E. M. Hearn, now of Franklin, several other officers, and fourteen of his men.

"He was a gentleman and a soldier, every inch of him."



## CHAPTER 22.

**Andrew Jackson — Granddaughter Mrs. Rachel  
Jackson Lawrence.**

Born November 1st, 1832, granddaughter of Andrew Jackson, President of the United States, the only living person who ever saw him or heard his voice, the connecting link between him and the present time, Mrs. Rachel Jackson Lawrence has lived through the most tremendous periods of the world, too see, in her later years, the blaze which, starting in Europe, set the whole world afire, and the bewildered children of men wondering what it all means, and why the present awful conditions exist. She played about the White House until the end of her grandfather's second administration, and was the pet of Vice President Martin Van Buren. She was born to a station in life which commanded the association of the ablest and the best, and, crowned with her eighty-five years, she comes down to us a glorious representative of the grand women of ante-bellum days.

On April 6, 1917, a beautiful spring day, the author went by appointment to call on Mrs. Lawrence at her country home near the Hermitage, and to ask her to give some of her personal reminiscences of the Hero of New Orleans and of the Hermitage of the old days, and thereby to enable men and women of today to have a glimpse of life in the middle period of the Republic, when we had, not long before, cast off the swaddling clothes of the pioneer period. While she had reached an advanced age, her mind was as bright, active, and responsive as in middle life, and gave no signs of failing, and it was a delight to hear her converse. Her manner exhibited the old fashioned, dignified courtesy; her conversation carried us back to the days when the South governed the nation. Mrs. Lawrence has met Presidents, Senators, Congressmen and leading men from all parts of the world; for even after her grandfather's death in 1845, the Hermitage continued to be a Mecca for distinguished people from everywhere; and so, to her, the reception and entertainment of visitors and strangers



MRS. RACHEL JACKSON LAWRENCE  
Grand-daughter of Andrew Jackson and probably the only person now  
living, 1920, that ever saw Jackson.



COLONEL ANDREW JACKSON, III  
Grand-son of Andrew Jackson and Colonel in the Confederate Army. Died  
at Knoxville, Tennessee, December 16, 1866.



has been an everyday matter. Thrown thus for a lifetime with such associations, it is not difficult to see how she acquired that high-bred, refined air that impresses one the moment one meets her. She told the author on this visit a great many interesting things which may be summarized as follows:

"I can remember very far back, and a great many things that occurred at the White House while I was there until 1837, when we left at the expiration of General Jackson's last term as President. We came through Nashville to the Hermitage in the old carriage which is over at the Hermitage now. In the carriage were General Jackson, my mother, Mrs. Sarah Yorke Jackson, my father, Andrew Jackson, Jr., and Dr. Foster; usually Dr. Gynne traveled backwards and forwards from the Hermitage to Washington with General Jackson, but that year Dr. Foster came in his place. A chartered stage coach of Indians came on behind us. These Indians, Chief John Ross among them, had been on to see General Jackson and to ascertain if any better arrangement could be made with regard to their removal across the Mississippi River. They were dressed in their big feathers.

"Yes, sir, I remember my grandfather's, General Jackson's death, very distinctly. I was going to school in Nashville and came home Friday evening, and he died on Sunday, a little after six o'clock in the afternoon. My father, his adopted son, stood at the head of his bed, old Alfred, my grandfather's body servant, was near him, and my mother and her sister, Mrs. Adams. Dr. Esselman was the attending physician. I was standing at the foot of the bed, with my hands on the bed, looking directly into my grandfather's face; some of the younger children and Mrs. Adams' three children, had gone to the Hermitage Church, and they were sent for. My grandfather became very faint for a while and could not see. The negro servants crowded at the windows and on the porch, and it was necessary to move them in order to get air. Mr. Healey, the artist, sent over from France to paint a picture of General Jackson, was present; he had been there for some time before my grandfather's death.

"General Sam Houston was on his way to the Hermitage and got there a little after my grandfather died."

"Mrs. Lawrence, what was the appearance of General Sam Houston? give us a picture of him."

"Well, I saw him three different times, each time so entirely different; the first time he and my father came in from hunting in the front woodland, and they stepped up on the porch. He was a tall, fine-looking man, and on this occasion he had on a hunting coat and boots that came above his knees. Quite a crowd of young people had gathered at the Hermitage from the neighborhood around, at the time.



"The next time I saw him, he came in full uniform, a magnificent looking man. This was after the war with Santa Anna, I suppose, and he stayed several days at the Hermitage. The next time was at my grandfather's death, and he was dressed in a plain black suit, with a black cravat, and looked very much like a minister. He stopped at Major Donelson's, and came over and spent a day and night with us at the Hermitage after the funeral. This time he did not look nearly so stout as he appeared in his military dress.

"General Jackson was very slender, you know, and was over six feet high, I feel sure; that engraving there (pointing to one in the room) is pretty good, but it is not as good as others that were taken. I like Longacre better; that is by Peyton, I think. I do not know much about the artists.

"Colonel Earle lived with us and painted a great many pictures of my grandfather, who met him down near Natchez, in the southern country, and he married Miss Jane Caffrey, a niece of my grandmother. Colonel Earle's people all lived in Connecticut, and he was a young man at the time my grandfather met him, and had been in Europe for several years, where he met crowned heads. He studied in England, France, and Italy. On coming to the United States he first reached South Carolina just before the Battle of New Orleans. General Jackson was so much pleased with his appearance, he was such a gentlemanly man, so intelligent, that he was invited to the Hermitage. His wife died in six months after they were married. From that time he lived with us at the Hermitage. He accompanied my grandfather when he went to be inaugurated as President, and my grandfather invited him to stay at the White House and gave him a room there both terms. He painted a great many portraits in Washington and returned with us. I remember distinctly the journey home in 1837.

"Colonel Earle assisted in laying off the grounds, the front yard, at the Hermitage. My mother drew the plan, and Colonel Earle superintended the laying off, and the planting of all those cedars you can see there. He also laid off the center of the Hermitage garden. I think it was exposure to the sun, after being so closely confined in his studio, that resulted in his death. He came in, I remember, and sat down at the dinner table, and said he did not feel very well, thought he had something like a chill, and both my father and grandfather begged him to send for a physician. He said no, he had a very severe headache, but intended to go upstairs to his room, and that a night's rest was all that he needed. When supper time came, he was still feeling very badly, still had the headache, and they again begged and insisted upon his sending for a physician in the neighborhood, but he said no, a night's rest would be all that was necessary, and he refused, and went upstairs to his room and retired. About daylight he died with a congestive chill."

"Mrs. Lawrence, was General Jackson conscious up to his death?"

"Yes, sir. After he spoke to each member of the family he said he had no fears of death; that every one should live so as to be prepared for death, and that had been his way, and he was not afraid, and hoped to meet us again. He bade all the servants, as well as all the white people, goodbye, and just closed his eyes. Standing at the foot of the bed, my hands were touching his feet, and I just felt a little tremor pass through him. I had never seen any one die before, and I did not know that it was death. Dr. Esselman said, 'Mr. Jackson, lower his head; it is all over; he has passed away.' He took out his watch, and it was a quarter past six.

"I loved him better than any one else. He called me little Rachel, or his only child, or his baby.

"Those little steps at the side of the bed there now—every night I went up those three little steps and leaned over and kissed him good-night. Every morning, as soon as he was up and had made his toilet, I went in to see him.

"I have a good likeness of his wife that he always wore with a guard chain, made by a young lady in Nashville. It is a miniature and was painted by Miss Eliza Peale of Philadelphia. The chain was a flat bead chain to be worn around the neck, and in gilt beads on a black background were worked in the words: 'Presented to General Jackson as a token of esteem from Caledonia Gibson. May blessings crown thy hoary head.' My grandfather wore this chain around his neck with the miniature in his vest pocket, and at night he would take it off and lay it on the table by the side of his bed. I went up to his chair one day, and he drew me up to him and put his arm around me and said: 'Wait a minute,' and he threw that chain over my neck and gave me the miniature, and said, 'I want you to have this. You are named for her, Rachel, and you must wear this for her sake as well as mine.'"

"Mrs. Lawrence, I have read somewhere that you, as a child, used to take General Jackson's hand and walk with him, and when he would go towards the garden you just dropped back; tell us about that."

"No one ever went to the tomb with him. Every evening, just about the time the sun would be nearly down, he went to the tomb, but he always went alone. I always went to the gate, and saw him in, but I realized he was going to the tomb. He would stay there a half hour, I suppose, then return. He did this as long as he was able to walk. He was finally obliged to give up his walk to the tomb, and just walked up and down on the stone porch in front.

"I do not remember the first time I saw a steamboat on the Cumberland River, but I remember that the cotton at the Hermitage was always picked and ginned and baled ready for market

about Christmas, and that the steamboat came up from Nashville to the landing back of the present Confederate Soldiers' Home to take the cotton to New Orleans, and my grandfather would say to my mother, 'Now, daughter, have your list ready to send down for the year's groceries,' and my mother would have her list prepared, and my grandfather would write to his friend, Marcell B. White, who was in the Battle of New Orleans, with him, and they were always great friends afterwards; he was in the commission business in New Orleans. The groceries were brought back by steamboat and hauled in wagons from the landing to the Hermitage.

"The Hermitage was such a public place that I do not think the family ever sat down to a meal by themselves—there was always company. Strangers would come and stay to dinner, and frequently longer, and many visitors would bring a namesake of General Jackson to introduce to him. They made all kinds of requests for assistance, and my grandfather helped each one as far as he was able."

"Your mother, Mrs. Lawrence, all accounts agree in stating, was a very beautiful woman, Mrs. Sarah Yorke Jackson?"

"Yes, sir. My mother went abroad to school, and was there for seven years. Her father and mother both died, and three little girls were left orphans. Her younger sister, Jane, married Samuel Wetherill. Mrs. Adams was her older sister, and had property in New Jersey and went down there to see about it during the summer, and there met John Adams. It is said that he was related to President Wilson. John Adams visited in Philadelphia where my mother and her sister lived, and he and Mrs. Adams were married there. Mr. Adams died and left her with three little boys, and after my grandfather's last term as President, Mrs. Adams came to the Hermitage to live. Of Mrs. Adams' three boys, John went into the Navy, Earle was killed at the siege of Vicksburg, and the third was in General Morgan's command, and was killed in Kentucky. She, herself, died at the Hermitage and is buried there in the garden."

#### A HISTORIC LITTLE ALBUM.

In a little red Morocco autograph album, four by five inches in size, worn with years and service, and the priceless treasure of Mrs. Lawrence for eighty years, presented to her by Martin Van Buren, Vice President of the United States, when she was three years old, is a collection of sentiments and autographs by four Presidents of the United States, Cabinet officers, and prominent men and women, which is a joy to one who loves history, or seeks to hold communion with the great spirits of the long ago who guided the American Ship of State safely through many stormy waters. Mrs. Sarah Yorke Jackson, daughter-in-law of the Presi-

dent, and Mistress of the White House, asked venerable statesmen and leaders to write in her little daughter's album, never thinking that nearly a century later that little album would profoundly interest more than two and a quarter million Tennesseans, and would recall the days when Tennessee was at the summit of that leadership which left so unmistakable an imprint upon American life and government.

Statesmen of later days have also inscribed their names in this historic volume, and by the courteous permission of Mrs. Lawrence there are here reproduced the sentiments of some of both the older and the more modern statesmen.

FROM ANDREW JACKSON.

"The following short admonition is written for the meditation of my dear little Rachel Jackson by her affectionate grandpa, with the hope that as her little mind matures by age, she will make it the rule of her life, in early life, to search for truth, and learn wisdom from the precepts as laid down in the Holy Scriptures. This, my child, will make smooth the path of life and at last will lead you to a hope of immortality.

"Andrew Jackson, March 30, 1836."

FROM JAMES BUCHANAN.

"To the memory of your grandmother, from whom you have derived your name. I knew her well; and it was my privilege. For she was just, kind and bountiful, open as day, melting charity, and truly pious, without ostentation. Her husband was devoted to her, and she, in all respects, deserved his love. Let me entreat you from the very first to meditate upon the word of God, and to seek instruction from that Holy Book. Not that you ever should be bigoted, or be deprived of any lawful pleasure; but true religion doubles our enjoyment, prepares us to perform our duties here, and fits us for that good inheritance which passeth not away. How it adorns the female character and truly makes woman the last best gift of Heaven to man! If you pursue this path, your grandmother will smile from Heaven upon you in this world, and rush to meet you when life's journey is o'er.

"James Buchanan, May 17, 1836."

FROM MARTIN VAN BUREN.

"I am very thankful to my friend Mrs. Jackson for the opportunity she afforded me to add my prayers for the happiness of her dear little daughter to those of her venerable grandpa.

"M. Van Buren, Washington, April 11, 1836."



FROM THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

"It is an honor to have the chance of writing in this historic little volume.

"Theodore Roosevelt, October 22, 1907."

FROM VICE PRESIDENT THOMAS R. MARSHALL.

"Among Americans the name of Andrew Jackson will endure while men love liberty and cherish honor.

"Thomas R. Marshall, June 6, 1912."

FROM JOHN FORSYTH.

John Forsyth of Georgia was Secretary of State under Jackson in 1834.

"If the prayers of all friends are consonant to the desires of an inscrutable Providence, to Rachel Jackson will be repaid the benefits conferred upon the world by the toils and perils of her venerated grandfather.

"John Forsyth, 11 April, 1836."

FROM LEVI WOODBURY.

Levi Woodbury was Secretary of the Navy 1831; Secretary of the Treasury as successor to Roger B. Taney 1834, both under Jackson. His bust is at the Hermitage.

"Rachel, as years increase 'know well thyself' and remember that 'the only amaranthine flower is virtue.'

"Levi Woodbury, 22 April, 1836. Washington City."

FROM G. F. LINN.

G. F. Linn was a Senator from Missouri and in 1842 introduced a bill to refund to General Jackson the fine of one thousand dollars which he paid upon the order of the United States District Judge Hall, at New Orleans, for refusing to obey a writ of habeas corpus issued by Judge Hall. The fine and the accumulated interest at the time the money was refunded amounted to \$2,700.00. Stephen A. Douglass of Illinois and John C. Calhoun of South Carolina, in the Senate, voted to repay the money. The bill passed the Senate by a party vote of 28 to 20, and passed the House by a vote of 158 to 28.

"My dear little Rachel—You came into the world weeping, whilst all around you were smiling; act your part here with such purity and innocence that you may take your departure from it smiling, whilst all around you are weeping.

"G. F. Linn, Sainte Genevieve, Missouri."

FROM MAHLON DICKERSON.

Mahlon Dickerson was once Governor of New Jersey, and for fourteen years was United States Senator from that State; he was Secretary of the Navy in 1834, under Jackson.

"To Rachel Jackson. Dear Child:

"May you answer all the fond hopes of a father and be the pride of a mother's heart.

"May you be the delight of your grandfather's declining years, and afford him the happy assurance that in all the relations of life you will imitate the virtues, the benevolences and piety of her whose cherished name you bear. "Mahlon Dickerson, 5 June, 1836."

FROM W. C. RIVES.

W. C. Rives was of the firm of Blair and Rives, who published the Washington Globe, which was the organ of Jackson's administration. Blair and Rives also were made public printers by Jackson.

"Now in thy youth, beseech of Him

Who giveth, upbraiding not,

That his light in thy heart become not dim

And his love be unforgot;

And thy God in the darkest of days will be

Brightness and beauty and strength to thee."

"W. C. Rives, Washington, May, 1835."

FROM C. C. CAMBRELENG.

C. C. Cambreleng was a Representative in Congress in 1824 and 1831, and in 1832 was on the Committee appointed by the House to investigate the United States Bank.

"May the dear little girl who owns this book ever honor and do honor to her parents and grandfather.

"Washington, 7 May, 1836.

C. C. Cambreleng."

FROM I. K. BARKER.

"Dear to thy parents, dear to him

Whose fame shall live in future story,

Whose life no envious clouds can dim,

Nor time itself deprive of glory.

"Rachel, dear child, a name is thine,

That when the friends who now caress thee

Have passed away, shall brightly shine,

And call on Heaven to aid and bless thee.

"Thy grandsire's spirit still shall guide

Along the happy path before thee,

While she again his sainted bride

With angel wings shall hover o'er thee."

"I. K. Barker, Washington, 16 May, 1836."

J. K. PAULDING.

J. K. Paulding, whose full name was James Kirke Paulding (1779-1860), was a novelist, poet, historian, and politician, and was Secretary of the Navy during Van Buren's administration in 1838-1841. He wrote a life of George Washington, and other works, both prose and poetry, and was associated with Washington Irving in *Salmagundi* in 1807-8.

"To my little friend Rachel Jackson:

"Wouldst thou be happy, cherished and caressed,  
To friends a blessing and by friends still blessed,  
Be like thy mother in her face and mind,  
And all these treasures thou wilt surely find.

"J. K. Paulding, Hermitage May 16, 1842."

#### THE BIOGRAPHY THAT WAS NEVER WRITTEN.

In studying the life of General Jackson the student is impressed and sympathizes with what was so clearly his strong desire, namely, that his life should be written before his death, and that it should be a true life from his standpoint. He was one of the most voluminous letter writers that ever lived, and it was always a well defined point with him to get his side of a matter clearly set forth, whether by newspaper, pamphlet, letter or otherwise. His aide and military secretary, John Reid, wrote a part of his life in 1817, only two years after the Battle of New Orleans. There is no mistaking the conclusion that Jackson from a very early period of his life, believed that he was destined to a great career, and was always on the alert to promote that career. He thought it would be a military career, and even after he became President, preferred to be called "General Jackson" rather than the usual "Mr. President."

After Reid's book, which was completed by Major Eaton, appeared, many lives followed, but none of them did justice to even his military career, short as that was, to say nothing of the tremendous politics that occupied every minute of his two administrations as President. He had the most powerful enemies that any political leader ever had, to conquer them. He felt that his standing with posterity should not be based upon the opinions of his enemies, but that he had the right, and it was his duty to himself and his family and friends, to have correctly laid before the world the ideals, principles, beliefs and aspirations that moved him in his public acts. Who will say that there was anything

wrong, or even improper, in this? His was a day of furious and often unscrupulous politics, and his enemies did not spare him one single shot where they thought it was at all likely to bring the old chieftain to the ground, or even to disable him. If his life should be written while he lived, and a controversy arise over some fact or event connected with it, or his administrations, as was sure to be the case, he could take part in the controversy and uphold his side. He never dodged, evaded, or side-stepped an issue, and this was the unfailing source of his marvelous popularity; if he had done so, he would not have been Andrew Jackson.

Hence we find that in 1843, two years before his death, he entrusted a part of his papers and letters to Amos Kendall for the purpose of writing his biography, and that Kendall not completing the work, the papers were turned over to Frank P. Blair in accordance with Jackson's wishes, for the same purpose; he also failed to write the life, which was never written. There were two trunks full of the papers which Kendall removed.

In 1845, before General Jackson's death, a cedar chest full of another lot of papers was sent to General Blair. About 1856 an unhappy controversy arose between General Blair and Andrew Jackson, Jr., as to these papers, and in the course of time two suits were brought by representatives of the Jackson family in the courts of the District of Columbia, to set up title and recover them; but the suits were not pushed to a conclusion. On February 20, 1903, the descendants of General Blair presented all the papers in the two trunks and cedar chest to the Congressional Library, at Washington.

From this point we will let Senator Isham G. Harris, of Tennessee, and Senator George F. Hoar, of Massachusetts, in their letters to Mrs. Lawrence, and Mrs. Lawrence in her letter to Congressman Gaines, tell the story of the Jackson papers.

SENATOR ISHAM G. HARRIS TO MRS. LAWRENCE.

"The United States Senate,  
"Washington, D. C.  
"March 21, 1884.

"Mrs. Rachel Lawrence.

"My Dear Madam: In answer to yours dated 14th but post-marked 18th inst., I have to say that we have the matter before the committee on the library, which committee is favorably considering the purchase of the Jackson papers.



"The facts, as we will be able to show, are these: General Jackson sent the papers to his old friend, Amos Kendall, to be used by him in writing the life of Andrew Jackson. They were sent to Kendall for this purpose, and for this purpose only. The idea of transferring the title to the papers was never contemplated by either General Jackson or Kendall, as the correspondence clearly shows. Kendall delaying the work for many years, General Jackson requested that if Kendall should fail to complete it during his life, that the papers should be turned over to F. P. Blair, Sr., who was requested to complete the work. Kendall became so absorbed in other things that he failed to use the papers for the purpose for which they were deposited with him, and after his death, they were placed in the possession of F. P. Blair, Sr., for the same purpose, in obedience to the request of General Jackson. He also failing, at his death they fell into the hands of Montgomery Blair, who, I regret to say, two or three years ago, claimed them as his own property, and now that he is dead, his family claims them.

"Senator Voorhees and myself have investigated the matter, and are satisfied that the Blairs cannot and shall not hold them, and if we cannot induce them to give them up to the heirs of General Jackson, we are determined to institute legal proceedings to compel them to do so, and when done, we think that Congress will pay \$5,000 or \$10,000 for them.

"Rest assured, my dear madam, that we will do what we can to assist your rights, and when they are established, to obtain for you the value of these papers,

"Respectfully,

"ISHAM G. HARRIS."

SENATOR GEORGE F. HOAR TO MRS. LAWRENCE.

"Washington, D. C.

"April 14, 1904.

"My Dear Madam: I was a member of the committee on the library of the Senate when the Jackson papers were discovered in the old Globe building on Pennsylvania Avenue. The box containing them was brought to the committee room and there opened. I was very strongly of the opinion then that the papers belonged to the parties whom you represent, and that Mr. Blair had received them just as Mr. Kendall had them before, not as his own property, but only in trust to use for writing the life of President Jackson. I had many conversations with Senator Harris, who strongly entertained that belief.

"What I think now should be done is to have the committee on the library of the Senate investigate the question of your title, ascertain the value of the papers, and then that Congress should award to you such sum of money as you think would be a fair compensation, if your parties are willing to accept it. If they are not, I see no other resource than to take legal proceedings,

if you shall be advised on consulting competent counsel that they are likely to be successful. But I do not think it likely that you would object to having them remain in the possession of the government, where they are likely to be safe and accessible to historical students, if a fair price should be paid for them.

"I think you should have a full understanding with your two senators, Governor Bate and Mr. Carmack. I understand that Governor Bate is at home in Tennessee. Perhaps you can see him there. Mr. Carmack has gone, I am told, to Chicago for a day or two, but will probably return tomorrow. When he comes back I will show him your letter and have a full talk with him. I will do anything I can to help you.

"I return the clipping as you desire.

"I am, with high regards, faithfully yours,

"GEO. F. HOAR."

"Mr. C. L. Winn (grandson of Mrs. Rachel Jackson Lawrence), 130 N. Summer St., Nashville, Tenn."

#### MRS. LAWRENCE TO CONGRESSMAN GAINES.

The following letter from Mrs. Lawrence to Mr. Gaines explains Mrs. Lawrence's activity in searching for the celebrated Jackson papers:

"Hermitage, Tenn., March 4, 1908

"Hon. John W. Gaines, Washington, D. C.

"Honorable Sir: You will remember the kindness of your allowing me an hour of your valuable time when in Nashville in December last, in which we discussed the subject of the Andrew Jackson papers.

"My health has not permitted me to take up the matter before this.

"On February 20, 1903, there was presented to the Congressional Library in Washington what was known as the Andrew Jackson papers, and contained a very valuable assortment of letters and papers regarding the private life of General Andrew Jackson.

"These papers were presented by the family of Woodbury Blair, who had come into possession of them through his grandfather, Francis P. Blair, Sr. Francis P. Blair, Sr., had no title to them, as they were entrusted to his care to write the biography of General Andrew Jackson in 1845. As soon as the biography was to be completed, the papers were to be returned to his heir, Andrew Jackson, Jr. This fact is plainly set out in a letter from General Jackson, which is now in the possession of a Mrs. N. S. Stowell, a journalist in Huntingdon, L. I., and is quoted to me in her letter of March 9, 1907, as follows:

"These papers are absolutely the property of my adopted son, A. Jackson, Jr."

"There is no question as to who is the sole heir to these papers. I am the undisputed granddaughter and the only living person who was so nearly related and so intimately associated with him, and also hold numerous letters and tokens of his affection given to me by him and bearing his signature. His will also proves this fact.

"It is my desire for the papers to remain in the Congressional Library, the property of the United States government, where they will be accessible to the public, but feel that I should receive a just compensation for so valuable a collection of papers.

"Attached is a typewritten history of the papers from the time they left the Hermitage to the present. Also we enclose letters of March 2 and 21, 1884, from Hon. Senator Isham G. Harris on the subject. Nothing was completed at this time, as Congress adjourned and other matters took his time and attention. Also letter from the late Senator Geo. F. Hoar, and short sketch of my life as connected with General Jackson.

"You remember that you suggested that we have two copies sent you, as you wished to keep one copy and refer the other to President Roosevelt, as he is at present very much interested in the life of General Andrew Jackson.

"If any further information is needed, my address is Rural Route No. 23, Edgefield, Tenn.

"Any attention that you will kindly give this matter will be highly appreciated by,

Yours sincerely,

"MRS. RACHEL JACKSON LAWRENCE."

#### HISTORY OF PAPERS.

The history of the papers referred to by Mrs. Lawrence in her letter follows:

"General Andrew Jackson, or President Andrew Jackson, was desirous for many years before his death to have an impartial biography written.

"He steadily stood by his conduct in all matters public and private, and detested any effort to evade requiring explanation or honest defense.

"He desired someone to write his biography who knew his character, understood his motives and principles in all his acts, and would explain, giving truth and facts. I suppose a man never lived who was so unjustly misrepresented accused and vilified as was General Andrew Jackson. Yet those who knew him best loved him best, his bitterest enemies often becoming his most ardent admirers and defenders.

"The writing of this life or biography was begun by many in earlier years, but was not satisfactory to him.

"In 1843 General Jackson entrusted a selection of his papers and letters to his friend, Amos Kendall, to be used by him for the

sole purpose of writing his biography. Amos Kendall sent his nephew, Mr. McLaughlin, to the Hermitage to take charge of and convey them to him in Washington.

"General Jackson, with the assistance of his son and daughter, Andrew Jackson, Jr., and Mrs. Sarah Jackson, selected these papers, and filled two old-fashioned hair-covered trunks. I stood by and saw many of these letters deposited in the two trunks.

"Mr. Kendall began the work that came out in pamphlet form monthly, but he was greatly embarrassed financially, soon became interested in some important interests from which he realized a fortune, and expected until the day of his death to begin again and complete the biography.

"General Jackson wrote Mr. Kendall a short time before his (General Jackson's) death as follows:

"Should you die before writing my life I wish my papers to be entrusted into the care of my friend, Francis P. Blair, Sr., of Silver Springs, Washington, to be used by him for the same purpose."

"Mr. Kendall died, nothing more having been done by him toward completing the biography.

"The papers were misplaced and could not be located at this time.

#### SENT SECOND LOT.

"In 1845, just before the death of General Jackson, he selected a second lot of papers, and they were packed in a large cedar chest and sent to Mr. Francis P. Blair, Sr., for the same purpose as the others were sent to Mr. Kendall, not as his property or to descend to his children, but for the sole purpose of writing the life.

"Instead of fulfilling the contract, as it were, to have the use of the papers for this purpose, and this only, he (Mr. Blair) received the large cedar chest of papers from the Hermitage in 1845. They were stored away in his garret at Silver Springs, Washington, untouched and unopened, not a line of the biography was ever written by him, and afterwards Francis P. Blair, Sr., died. The cedar chest still stood in the garret unopened, nothing being done with the papers, no contract or agreement fulfilled.

"Colonel W. G. Terrell, of Kentucky, who was correspondent for the Cincinnati Commercial about 1880, became acquainted with Mr. William Stickney, who was Mr. Kendall's son-in-law and biographer, and in looking over some of Mr. Kendall's letters, found correspondence relative to these papers. A search was made for them, and they were finally located—that is, the first lot, or the ones sent to Mr. Kendall—in the old Globe office in Washington. These papers were taken to Mr. Montgomery Blair's house, where Mr. Terrell spent several weeks in reading and assorting them.



"Mr. Terrell found certain papers missing, and asked Montgomery Blair if he knew anything of their whereabouts. Montgomery Blair said he knew nothing of them. Mr. Terrell then came to Nashville on some business, and sent a message to me expressing a great desire to learn if I could give him any information as to whether or not a second lot of the Jackson papers were ever sent to Mr. Francis P. Blair, Sr. I sent him word most positively that I knew General Jackson had sent them, for I stood by and saw the papers packed.

"On Colonel Terrell's return to Washington he saw Montgomery Blair again and told him what I had said. Montgomery Blair said he knew nothing of the papers, and had never heard of them. Mr. Terrell insisted that they go to Silver Springs (the old residence of the Blair family) and make a search for them.

"Colonel Terrell wrote soon after to my brother (the late Colonel Andrew Jackson) that they had found the chest of papers in the garret at Silver Springs, covered with mold and mildew, and that he had spent weeks arranging them and opening them.

#### BELONGED TO HEIRS.

"He wrote as follows:

"In it, when opened, were found the priceless records of Jackson's immortal campaigns of the Creek war, the defense of New Orleans, the Florida invasion, and the daily order books, and the minutest details of his military life had been preserved. These papers deserve a place in D'Isreal's curiosities of literature."

"The property is unquestionably the Jackson heirs', and we presume no one would for a moment question our title, nor has any one questioned to whom we have gone for assistance, except the Blair family, although they can show nothing in the way of a title to them, only that the papers were found in their possession.

"Senators Isham G. Harris, Voorhees of Indiana, Geo. F. Hoar, of Massachusetts, and Wm. Bate, of Tennessee, and others, all unquestionably pronounce the papers the property of the heirs of General Jackson.

"You will see by the letters from Senator Harris and Hoar that they knew we were the sole heirs of General Jackson.

"The above is a true history of the Jackson papers.

"MRS. RACHEL JACKSON LAWRENCE."

#### MRS. LAWRENCE'S RELATION TO ANDREW JACKSON.

The brief statement of Mrs. Lawrence's personal relations with Andrew Jackson, referred to in her letter to Mr. Gaines, follows:

"All know, I suppose, that General Andrew Jackson and his wife had no children born to them, but on December 22, 1809, adopted a nephew of his wife's, an infant son of the youngest brother, Severn Donelson. Twin boys were born on the 22nd

of December, 1809, during the night, and in the morning General Jackson and his wife went over to the home, chose one of the boys, then only a few hours old, named him Andrew Jackson, Jr. The Legislature being in session in Nashville, he went the next day and legally adopted the infant, having his name changed to Jackson, and made him his son and heir. The third day they brought the infant son to the Hermitage, reared him with the tenderest care, educated him, and the devotion of this father and son is well known.

"Young Andrew Jackson, Jr., after General Jackson was inaugurated President on March 4, 1829, remained a great portion of his time at the Hermitage superintending the planting and gathering in of the crops, looking after the stock and interests generally, but made frequent visits to his father at the White House. On one of these visits General Jackson said: 'My son, I wish you to marry as soon as you can, but in your choice bring me a daughter.' In 1831 he married Miss Sarah Yorke, of Philadelphia, and brought her as a bride to the White House. President Jackson received her with open arms, drawing her to his heart and kissed her, saying, 'My daughter,' which mission she filled until the day of his death. Of this devotion on the part of each toward the other we have the most indisputable evidence.

"The first visit to the Hermitage from the President was in the early summer of 1832, and on November 1, 1832, their first child was born and named for General Jackson's wife, Rachel Jackson, her grandmother. General Jackson had returned to Washington near two months earlier, but when he received the letter from his son bearing the news of the granddaughter's birth, he wrote insisting upon their returning to him as early as possible, and present to him a living child, his little Rachel, whom he would press to his bosom with delight and thank Providence for the blessing.

"In January, 1833, the son and daughter, Mrs. Sarah Jackson, with the babe not three months old, left the Hermitage in the old carriage 'overland' for Washington City. Two years later the first grandson was born at the Hermitage, Andrew Jackson III. The family again returned to Washington to General Jackson, where, with the exception of occasional visits to the Hermitage, they remained until the close of General Jackson's administration, and returned with him in 1837 to the Hermitage. From this time until his death, June 8, 1845, I was constantly with him, and was standing by his bedside when he died.

"RACHEL JACKSON LAWRENCE."

All accessible evidence shows that General Jackson throughout the period of his active life and also after he retired from the Presidency, was exceedingly careful to preserve, mark and file away papers, letters and documents relative to his career, evi-

dently for the use of his biographer in his life time; and with so natural an object in view, never was a man who was signally successful in all other respects all his life, to fail so completely. It is evident that original papers in reference to him came to have a commercial as well as a literary and historical value, and were sought and hoarded, whether for historical or commercial purposes. An illustration of such papers held by a writer for historical purposes that were never carried out, and which were finally put up with others as security for a board bill, is the case of William G. Terrell, Washington correspondent of the *Cincinnati Commercial*, who died in 1905 or 1906. Mr. Terrell contemplated writing a life of Jackson, and collected papers and material for the purpose, and made a visit to Nashville and procured from Judge Frank T. Reid, now living in the State of Washington, who was a candidate for Governor of the State of Tennessee against the Honorable William B. Bate, the original papers of Major John Reid, Jackson's aide and military secretary, which were invaluable in writing a life of Old Hickory. Judge Frank T. Reid is a grandson of Major John Reid.

In 1908, learning that some original Jackson papers were in the possession of a boarding house keeper in the city of Washington, who had been given them and other historical papers, by William G. Terrell, as security for a board bill, Honorable John W. Gaines, representative in Congress from the Nashville district, who was untiring in his efforts to get the government to pay Mrs. Lawrence for the Jackson papers placed in the Congressional Library by the sons of General Frank P. Blair, bought the lot and turned them over to Mrs. Rachel Jackson Lawrence. Among these papers was a valuable memorandum in the fully identified handwriting of Mr. Terrell, and signed by him, in reference to the efforts of Jackson to have his life written; and also the original letter of Mrs. Andrew Jackson to Mrs. Marie Reid, which is published in the chapter of this book devoted to Major John Reid. The quotation of letters in the Terrell memorandum shows that Terrell had access to the originals.

In the *Cincinnati Commercial* of January 13, 1883, Mr. Terrell used some of the Reid papers in an able and carefully prepared sketch six columns long on the Life of Major Reid, quoting some of his letters given him by Judge Frank T. Reid. With the exception of these quoted letters, all the other Reid papers have been lost or destroyed.

## MEMORANDUM OF WILLIAM G. TERRELL.

In 1842, Amos Kendall decided to undertake writing the Life of Andrew Jackson with the full and cordial approval of the latter, and effected an arrangement with Harper and Brother, New York, for its publication. It was to be issued in numbers—fifteen in all—at fifty cents each. The General invited him to visit the Hermitage and look over and select from his papers such as he needed for his purpose. Circumstances prevented his accepting the invitation, and he sent his nephew, Jas. A. McLaughlin, in his stead. The General wrote him Sept. 29, 1842:

"I sincerely regret that you cannot visit me \* \* \* It will give me pleasure to see at the Hermitage your friend Mr. McLaughlin, to whom I have this day written, and will with pleasure throw open every paper I have for his inspection, having every confidence in any person you recommend. How I regret my debilitated state of health that prevents me from attending to the selection myself; and Andrew and Maj. A. J. Donelson are so pestered with their own private concerns that they can give me no aid.

"At the city (Washington) I had my papers well arranged, but from my debilitated state when packing up to leave, they were, unknown to me at the time, thrown promiscuously into boxes, placed all in confusion, from which I have not health or strength to reclaim them, and I am fearful that some of them valuable to history are lost. But when Mr. McLaughlin arrives they may be regained, and should anything prevent him, I will try to have them looked over, selected and sent you. To prevent them being purloined on the way I will send them through Mr. Blair who will hand them to you. I have just got from a friend at New Orleans Martin's history and have sent it on by Miss Eliza Blair, who has paid us a visit, and have directed Mr. Blair when he reads it, to hand it over to you."

The General had previous to this (June 18, 1842), when sending Mr. Kendall (by Governor Polk), papers relating to his difficulty with Judge Hall (1815) written him: "There are many more papers necessary for you to be in possession of; and it will give me sincere pleasure should you visit me to throw all open to you, as I have unlimited confidence in your integrity and honor." He writes in this connection Oct. 26: "I have sent you through Mr. Blair a statement made by General Call, which I hope you have received, and which may aid you in discussing martial law, and may be useful to my friend Dr. Linn, and others, in the discussion of the bill to return the fine and costs to me. \* \*



When your friend Mr. McLaughlin, arrives, I will aid him all I can in examining the papers."

On November 25th he again wrote Mr. Kendall:

"I am still very much debilitated and confined to the house with a bad cough and shortness of breath. But as your friend, Mr. McLaughlin, has not arrived, I will endeavor next week, if spared and able, to commence looking over my papers; selecting those and forwarding them to you that may be important for the faithful history you are about to submit to the public. I am very much subject to vertigo, and the examination of papers, or writing, rarely fails to bring it on."

Mr. McLaughlin reached the Hermitage early in December. The General writes Mr. Kendall on the 12th:

"Your nephew is now with me and we began to-day to examine my papers. I had begun before he arrived, and, when able, had selected a good many that you may deem proper for the history of my life; all such will be selected and sent from which you can determine whether proper to be referred to. \* \* \* I will send on in addition to what you already have, all correspondence between Mr. Monroe and myself; with General Scott and Mr. Southard, etc. I have no likeness of Mrs. Jackson or myself in our early days; have no plans of our battle grounds; they were all burned with my house. But I will make plans of my different battles with the Indians with the aid of Mr. McLaughlin, and send them to you in such form as you can understand them. I had a journal of all my military operations kept by my aid-de-camp, Major Reid; it is lost, and a great loss it is to the history of my operations against the Indians and British in the late war. I will write you with the papers, and if able make notes on various matters."

(NOTE: I have all of Major Reid's papers embracing the journal referred to, given me by his grandson, Major F. T. Reid, of Nashville, Tenn. W. G. T.)

On March 13th the General writes:

"I have just recd. a letter from the Honorable A. V. Brown, wishing to be informed where the correspondence between our former Minister to Madrid, Mr. Erwin, with the Spanish Minister relative to the boundary of Louisiana, are to be found, which Mr. Erwin furnished me with in 1829. Mr. McLaughlin informs me that these papers were sent to you in the trunk taken by Col. Harris; they are in sheets tied together in the form of a book without cover. \* \* \* On receipt of this please inform me whether this correspondence has been sent you as Mr. McLaughlin believes."

(NOTE: It was sent, and is now in the collection at Mr. Blair's. Query: Was the Col. Harris above mentioned the present Senator Harris, or George J. Harris, once editor of a Nashville paper? The latter is still living.)

Mr. McLaughlin remained at the Hermitage until March 17, 1843, a little more than three months. Some idea may be formed from this of the labor and care required to select and arrange the papers necessary for Mr. Kendall's use.

Six numbers of the *Life* appeared during the following eighteen months, at irregular intervals and much of General Jackson's correspondence with Mr. Kendall relates to it. The latter was furnished with many additional papers by the General and others, including the valuable collection belonging to the estate of Gen. John Coffee, deceased. But owing to the hardness of the times and other causes, the enterprise did not turn out as profitably as expected. Mr. Kendall was greatly embarrassed in his circumstances, and an opportunity occurring to engage in a more profitable pursuit, (the management of the Morse telegraph system) he embraced it, and indefinitely suspended his work upon the *Life* in the fall of 1844. General Jackson in view of his advanced years and declining health grew very anxious about the matter, and expressed to Mr. E. P. Blair, Sr., his strong desire that he should complete the work in the event of Mr. Kendall's final abandonment of it, or death. To this Mr. Blair is understood to have consented. Mr. Kendall, however, constantly asserted his purpose to resume and finish the undertaking, as soon as he found the leisure, but until his death in 1869, no further progress had been made.

On May 20th, 1845, eighteen days before his own death, Genl. Jackson had written Mr. Kendall as follows:

"On the subject of my papers: You are to retain them so long as you think necessary to use them. Should you die they are to pass forthwith into Mr. Blair's hands. I have firm and unlimited confidence in you both, that my papers will be safe in your hands, and that they never will be permitted to be used but for a proper use. Mr. Bancroft has intimated a desire to have part of my military career incorporated into his American history. I have said to Mr. Montgomery Blair to see and converse with you on this subject; and if there are any military matters he wished to obtain if you can spare the book to let him have a copy. This, my dear sir, is for your consideration. My papers after you are done with them, or on your death, are to pass into the hands of Francis P. Blair."

To this Mr. Kendall replied, writing from New York City, May 31, 1845:

"I have received from my family a copy of your invaluable letter of the 20th inst. Your injunction as to your papers shall be held sacred. That Mr. Blair will cherish and defend your fame and honor as carefully as I shall I have no doubt."

On Mr. Kendall's death in 1869 Mr. F. P. Blair, Sr., called upon his executor, Mr. Wm. Stickney, for General Jackson's papers. He was informed that he (Mr. S.) knew nothing of them. He was Mr. Kendall's son-in-law and biographer; had been a member of his family, and familiar with his affairs for thirty years, yet he had never seen these papers. Search was instituted, but ineffectually, and they remained undiscovered until 1879, when the undersigned, who had visited for the purpose found them, placed them in the hands of Mr. Montgomery Blair, Mr. F. P. Blair having in the meantime died.

The collection is of great value. It relates to the Creek, British and Florida campaigns, and besides furnishes much important information as to the inner history of General Jackson's civil administration. The correspondence embraced the period from his entry into Congress in 1796, until within a few days of his death, nearly half a century later, and much of it is of the highest interest.

Wm. G. Terrell.

#### FINDING OF THE LOST PAPERS.

Mr. Terrell left at his death in his own handwriting a statement of his search for and finding of the papers committed by General Jackson to Kendall and General Blair. This statement completes the evidence of how the papers came into the possession of Montgomery Blair, who delivered them to the Library of Congress at Washington.

Mr. Terrell wrote:

"In the winter of 1878-79 I was in Washington City as a Staff Correspondent of the Cincinnati Commercial. I had occasion in one of my letters to refer to Stickney's Life of Amos Kendall. I was unable to find it in any of the book stores or public libraries, and called upon Mr. Stickney, the author, and a son-in-law of Mr. Kendall, to procure it. I found him at his place of business on the corner of New York Avenue and Fifteenth Street. I was personally unacquainted with him, but he received me very politely, and on my stating the object of my visit, invited me to

call at his house on the corner M and Sixth Streets, in the evening, and he would let me have it. I did so and found him in the billiard room engaged in playing with a young man whom he introduced to me as his son. The book was sent for, and when their game was concluded, we entered upon some conversation about General Jackson. Mr. Stickney mentioned that he had a great many letters written by the General to his father-in-law, and on my expressing a desire to see them he went to a recess in the room and brought them out. They were in a bulky package and apparently numbered two or three hundred letters. We spread them out upon the billiard table and spent some time in looking over them. I became very much interested in them, and finally ventured to ask him if he would allow me to take them to my hotel and examine them more at my leisure, to which he assented. I called upon him the following day, and requested his permission to copy such of them as I might find suitable for my correspondence, which was also granted. Seventy-two of the letters were copied by me and duly appeared in the columns of the Commercial, Feb. 4th, 5th, and 10th, 1879, and attracted wide attention. I also made copies of many of the others to preserve them for future use and returned the originals to Mr. Stickney.

"In June, 1879, I was again in Washington, visiting here expressly to see if I could find the papers which General Jackson in his lifetime had entrusted to Mr. Kendall for the purpose of writing his biography, which was begun but never completed. I had learned much about these papers from the letters of the General to Mr. K., just referred to, and supposed that Mr. Stickney either had them, or could tell me where they were, that I might obtain access to them. I called upon him soon after my arrival, and explained my wishes. He said he knew nothing about the papers, but presumed they were in the possession of Mr. Montgomery Blair. He consented to accompany me to Mr. Blair's residence, a short distance on the avenue, and aid me in the matter. We found Mr. Blair at home, busily at work. When the purpose of our call was stated he remarked that he had never seen the papers, and addressing Mr. S. said, 'Why you, sir, ought to know where they are?' Mr. S. replied that he had been a member of Mr. Kendall's family for nearly thirty years; that for a long time he had charge of his papers; had once built a house for their accommodation and arrangement, but had never seen the Jackson papers. Mr. Blair became excited and said with some warmth that the papers were last in possession of Mr. Kendall; that he had held on to them after General Jackson's death in disregard of his last wishes; that he (Blair) had removed from St. Louis to Washington, temporarily abandoning a large law practice, to assist his father in doing his part in the fulfillment of those wishes, but was constantly thwarted by Mr. Kendall in his refusal to let them have the papers; that



on the death of the latter in 1869 his father and himself had called upon Mr. Stickney for them, but he had put them off upon one pretext or another, and had finally said that they could not be found; that he, (Mr. Blair) had employed a detective at an expense of \$600 to hunt up the papers, but without success, &c. &c.

"To this Mr. Stickney courteously replied, reiterating the statement that he had never seen the papers; that he had no recollection of any interview with the senior Mr. Blair, or his son, but it might have happened, and he probably made the search, but that he certainly never had found them. Mr. Blair insisted that the Kendall family was responsible for the loss of the papers, and that Mr. Stickney as their representative owed it to them and to himself to hunt them up. After some further conversation we left the house.

"On our way back to the office Mr. Stickney showed plainly that his feelings were wounded by Mr. Blair's language, and he reasserted in the most positive terms his utter ignorance as to the whereabouts of the papers, but he felt after what had occurred that he did owe it to himself and to his wife's family to ascertain if possible what had become of them. I assured him that they had never been used by anyone; that they could hardly have been destroyed, and must be in existence somewhere, and added that if he would begin the search at once I would give him all the aid in my power towards finding them.

"I remembered that in a letter from Mr. Kendall to General Jackson allusion had been made to a daughter who might be of service in copying his papers, and suggested to Mr. Stickney either at this interview, or a day or two afterwards, if this daughter might not have been Mrs. Stickney? He made inquiry, and Mrs. S. informed him that she often did copying for her father when a girl, and she remembered once going with him to the old Globe office, where were a couple of trucks containing papers, some of which he took away, and that she made copies of them in part or in whole, but she could not recollect what they were. I remarked that they might have been the very papers we were seeking. He thought not, and if they were there had been so many changes in the office since that time that it was highly improbable that they were still there. I had a strong impression, however, that a clue had been discovered, and went immediately to the building alluded to on the avenue between Four-and-a-half and Third Street. I found that a part of the former Globe office was occupied by the Post newspaper establishment, and the balance by Mr. Rives, a son (I believe) of the Rives of the former firm of Blair & Rives, as a job printing establishment. This gentleman was in, and I introduced myself and told him what I had called for. 'Well,' he said, 'there is a big room at the top of the house in which there is a lot of stuff, and if the trunks you speak of are in the building they must be there. I will go with you and see.' We ascended several flights of stairs, and on the topmost floor came to an iron-

clad door, which Mr. R. unlocked and opened. We entered a long, low room, filled with bound newspaper files, old volumes of the Congressional Globe, unbound documents of all sorts, and the usual debris of a printing and publishing office. I began the search immediately, and in less than a quarter of an hour discovered hidden under a pile of rubbish two old-fashioned hair trunks. Both were unfastened, and on raising their lids I found them nearly filled with papers, tied up in packages. A slight examination showed me that they were those I was in search of. I explained the fact to Mr. Rives, and remarked that I supposed that it would be necessary for me to have an order to take them away, and would bring one from Mr. Stickney, or from Mr. Blair, as he preferred. He said an order from Mr. Blair would answer.

"I then went to Mr. Blair's, and told him that I had found a couple of trunks in the old Globe office containing General Jackson's papers, and I believed they were those that were once in Mr. Kendall's possession. He expressed doubts as to this; he thought they were papers that had been used in the office during General Jackson's administration, or perhaps some worthless stuff that Kendall could make no use of. I told him that Mr. Rives required an order to enable me to get them, and when I had them I would examine them carefully and ascertain exactly what they were. He gave me the order. I returned to the office had the trunks carried down stairs and taken to my lodgings (at the Owen House). That night General Pleasanton and I spent several hours in looking them over, and I was fully convinced that the papers were those I had supposed them to be. I purchased a large box with the view of repacking them and sending them to my home in Kentucky, the trunks being so longer fit for use. Mr. Blair, however, called at the hotel in my absence, realizing that the papers might possibly be of more interest than he supposed, and left a note asking me to have them removed to his house, where they would be more secure, and that I could examine them there. On getting the note I went immediately to see him. I told him that I had already examined them sufficiently to satisfy myself that they were the papers entrusted to Mr. Kendall, and I proposed to take them home, as I had done with the Kendall & Jackson correspondence; that I had already seen Mr. Stickney about it and had intended seeing him. He decidedly objected to this. He said Mr. Stickney had no interest in the papers; while he (Mr. Blair) felt that he had some claims upon them, and repeated the complaints he had made to Mr. Stickney as to Mr. Kendall's treatment of his father. That he had long thought of writing a History of General Jackson's administration, or of Nullification, and the papers would be of great service to him; that it would be much better to place them in his house; that they were safer there than anywhere else, that his family was in the country and I could have free access to them at any and all hours, to examine, and make

copies of such as I desired to use. I yielded at once to these suggestions, and had the papers taken to Mr. Blair's residence, where I spent several weeks in their inspection, and in copying them. I only discontinued when one of my eyes became so seriously injured by the dust from the decaying papers that I had to give up all work whatsoever for awhile, even reading being denied me.

"While at Mr. Blair's he came in almost every day from the country, where his family were, attending to business in his house which appeared to be his office as well. We had frequent conversations, and he related to me many curious and highly interesting incidents connected with his and his father's acquaintance with General Jackson, which I was in the habit of making note on returning to my lodgings in the evening. In one of these conversations he described a visit he made to the Hermitage in 1845, and of his bringing away a chest of papers. He said that the General was dissatisfied with Mr. Kendall's progress on his biography; that he feared he never would complete it and that it was his desire that F. P. Blair should, in case of his failure to do so, have all his papers and undertake the work. I asked him where these papers were. He replied that he did not know; that the last he knew of them they were at Silver Springs, in Maryland, the residence of his father, but he had not seen them since the war, although he hunted for them, and he supposed they had been carried off at the time of the rebel approach toward Washington, in 1864, when for a time they occupied Silver Springs. On the day after this conversation I spoke to Mr. Woodbury Blair, a son of Mr. M. Blair, about the chest of papers his father had charge of, and he informed me that there was a desk at his grandfather's old home with 'A. Jackson' painted on one end of it. Mr. M. Blair was not present at the time, but as soon as he came in I mentioned to him what his son had told me. He expressed considerable surprise, and said it was hardly possible, as Mrs. Blair, his wife, had only recently said to him that the chest was not there. Mr. W. Blair insisted that he had seen it, and knew it was there. His father then ordered him to have it brought in the next day that I might examine it—('Bring it in tomorrow and let Colonel Terrell examine it.') It was brought in the next day—a huge affair and filled to the top with papers, evidently about all that was left after the selection made for Mr. Kendall. To this I gave the same careful scrutiny that I did to those contained in the two trunks, and found many of them of great interest and value. In the midst of these investigations I was taken ill with an affliction of one of my eyes as I have mentioned, and on my recovery was called to Kentucky on other business.

"During all the time I spent at Mr. Blair's and all my intercourse with him, I never once heard him claim the papers as belonging to him, or as his personal property. I myself at the

time did not give the question of their ownership any thought. It was when in Nashville where I was sometime afterwards sent as a correspondent of the Commercial, on learning of the extreme poverty of General Jackson's family, that it occurred to me that the papers were properly and rightfully theirs, and that Congress might be induced to purchase them, and thus relieve their necessities. I visited the Hermitage and talked with Colonel Jackson and Dr. Lawrence, his brother-in-law, about it, and they authorized me to undertake the negotiation, which I did, declining all compensation for any trouble I might be at. I came to Washington in 1882, with that object, and my first knowledge of the claim of the Blairs to property in the papers was after my arrival here, when the subject had been mentioned in Congress by Senator Voorhees. Mr. Spofford, the Librarian of Congress, was my informant."



### CHAPTER 23.

Andrew Jackson — Deed to Thomas Gallaher—  
 Roane's Casting Vote for Major General—  
 The Roane Monument Unveiling—Peter  
 Cartright—John Rhea—Examples of  
 Pioneer Justice—Venom  
 of Elections.

The Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society for January, 1914, published at Springfield, Ill., contains an article entitled: "An Old Tennessee Deed—Andrew Jackson to Thomas Gallaher, March 26, 1801," by Honorable John M. Lansden, former Mayor of Cairo, Ill., and in 1919, at the advanced age of eighty-three, an active practicing lawyer in Cairo, and District Counsel of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad. Mr. Lansden is a grandson of the Thomas Gallaher mentioned in the deed, and the land there described is still in the Gallaher family, where it has been without a break in ownership since Jackson made the quit claim deed to Thomas Gallaher on March 26, 1801. The Gallahers came to Roane County on December 23, 1798, and have lived there since that date, and are one of the solid old families that helped to lay the foundations of the State, and for more than a century have illustrated the virtues of good citizenship among Tennesseans.

At the time Jackson made the quit-claim deed he was a judge of the Superior Court of Law and Equity, and held that position from 1798 to July 24, 1804, when he resigned. He defeated John Sevier for the position of Major General of the Tennessee Militia by the casting vote of Governor Roane in 1801, and the vote of Major James Gallaher, brother of Thomas Gallaher, for Jackson, made the tie that the Governor voted off. Major Gallaher's vote, if cast for Sevier or not cast at all, would have elected Sevier. This was the vote, therefore, that made Jackson's election as Major General possible, and it is this fact that makes the old deed set out in Mr. Lansden's article so interesting.

We naturally ask what interest Jackson had in Thomas Gallaher's land, and a conclusive answer cannot be given to this question. No facts have come down to us showing what interest he had, if any. The probabilities are that he did not have any interest, and that the quit-claim deed transaction was merely a one hundred dollar speculation on Jackson's part, with possibly, in addition, an eye to the election of major general that was coming on. Jackson was always willing to take a chance. He probably reasoned that it was certain that he could influence Stockly Donelson to remedy any defect in the title to the Gallaher land, and if he could not, he could give the horse back and be nothing the loser. The transaction is not clear but the above is probably the correct theory.

#### JOHN M. LANSDEN'S ARTICLE.

"He (Jackson) had been acquainted with the Gallaher family at Jonesboro and on his trips from Nashville to Jonesboro he sometimes stopped at the home of Thomas Gallaher on Poplar Creek. On one of these occasions the matter of the cloud on the title of Mr. Gallaher's lands was mentioned. Jackson was led to make inquiries concerning the matter, and having been told from whom the title was obtained, he assured Mr. Gallaher that he knew all about those lands and the condition of their respective titles. We do not know what course Jackson took nor how much interest, if any at all, he actually had in the lands, but either upon that occasion or an early subsequent one he told Mr. Gallaher that if he would bring to him at Knoxville a good horse, he would make him a deed to his 300 acres of the land and that he need have no further concern or fear about his title thereto. Gallaher was to take the horse to Knoxville for delivery to Jackson, and this having been done, Jackson executed and delivered to Gallaher the following described deed, as now found of record, with its spelling, punctuation, capitals, etc.:

" 'This Indenture made this twenty-sixth day of march one thousand Eight hundred & one between Andrew Jackson of the County of Davedson and State of Tennessee of the one part and Thomas Gallher of the County of Knox and State aforesaid of the other part Witnesseth that the said Andrew Jackson for and in Consideration of the Sum of one hundred dollars to him in hand paid the receipt whereof is hereby acknowledged hath and by these present doth grant bargain and Sell aleen in feoff and Confirm unto the Said Thomas Gallaher his heirs and assigns for Ever a Certain tract or parcel of land lying and being in the (Now) County of Knox Containing three hundred acres be the same more or less lying on poplar Creek above the ridge and being part of a one thousand acre survey Granted to Stockley

donelson by patent No. 8 and dated the Eleventh day of July one thousand Seven hundred & Eighty Eight and bounded as follows to wit. . Beginning at two Small white oakes on the line of Said one thousand acre Survey; thence North forty five degrees East two hundred and forty poles to two Hickoreys and a Red oake thence North forty five degrees west two hundred poles to a white oake on the line of an other Survey thence South forty degrees west two hundred & forty poles to a Hickorey and Small pine thence a derict line to the Beginning with all and Singular the woods watters watter Courses profistt Commodeties hereditiments and appurtainenets whatsoever belonging appertaining to the Said tract of land and the reversion & reversions and remainder & remainders rents and issues thereof and all the Estate right tittle Interest property Claim and demand of him the said Andrew Jackson his heirs and assigns forever of in and to the Same and Everey part and parsell thereoff Either in law or Equity to have and to hold the Said three hnudred acres of land with the appurtenances unto the said Thomas Gallaher his heirs and assigns for Ever against the lawfull tittle Claim and demand of all and Everey person or persons whatsoever Claiming or to Claim under him the said Andrew Jackson or his heirs or assigns but it is expressly understood that the said Andrew Jackson is not bound in any other manner than to warrent and defend as afforesaid in witness whereof the said Andrew Jackson hath hearunto Set his hand and Seal the day and year afforesaid.

“ANDREW JACKSON (SEAL)

“JOHN McCLELLAN

“ ‘Knoxville March 26th 1801 I do hereby acknowledge to have recd. a horse at one hundred dollars the Consideration within mentioned and it is the true intent and meaning of the within Speseal warrenty that if the land is taken by any other Claim that then I am to restore to the said Thomas Gallaher that amount in a horse.

“ANDREW JACKSON.

“JOHN McCLELLAN.

“ ‘State of Tennessee.

“ ‘This day Andrew Jackson within and above named appeared personally before me Hugh L. White one of the Judges of the Superior Courts of Law and Equity in and for the State aforesaid and acknowledged that he Signed Sealed and delivered the within deed of Conveyance and the above instrument of writing for the purpose in them expressed.

“Let them be Registered on paying the Tax.

“October 1th, 1801.

H. L. WHITE.

“Roane County        }  
  March Session 1802 }

“ ‘the within mentioned tax is paid Let it be Registered Henry Breazeals Clerk of Roane County.

office of Roane County in Book A No. 16 this first day of October one thousand Eight hundred and two by me

"JOHN STONE  
"Register of Roane County.

"State of Tennessee }  
Roane County }

"I, James A. Blye, Register of Roane County do hereby certify that the above is a true and perfect copy of the deed from Andrew Jackson to Thomas Gallaher as the same appears of record in my office in deed Book A Series 1 Page 31 et seq.

In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and official seal at office in Kingston, Tenn., this Aug. 25" 1913.

"James A. Blye Register.

(Seal)

By J. M. Hartley Deputy Register.'

"The above deed was a mere quit claim deed and bound Jackson only for the value of an hundred dollar horse; but it may be that he could assure Gallaher that he would not be molested. Some of those circumstances were these: Stokeley Donelson, from whom Gallaher purchased, was a brother-in-law of Jackson and was among those whom Jackson, as prosecuting attorney, prosecuted for complicity in those land frauds above mentioned. See Bassett's Life of Jackson, vol. I. pp. 58-59; Doubleday, Page & Co., 1911.

"Thomas and James Gallaher had been with General Sevier in two or three of his expeditions against the Cherokees and had become strongly attached to him. James had become a major in the service and the choosing of the major-general was to be made by the majors and other field officers above them. James was in great doubt as to whether he should vote for Sevier or Jackson; but his remembrance of what the latter had done for his brother Thomas decided his choice, and Jackson was chosen. Many of the Gallahers have claimed that without James' vote Sevier and not Jackson would have been chosen, and that in this way James' vote had much to do with Jackson's subsequent advancement in public notice and favor and his rise to the highest position in our country. This account, I am very sure, is much more than a family tradition; but it is proper to say that other accounts are given as to how this choice between Jackson and Sevier for the major-generalship was determined."

Did Jackson and his friends feel sure before the election for major general came off, of Governor Roane's vote and support? The probabilities are they did, but a letter given below from Chancellor T. Nixon Van Dyke, deceased, to Dr. J. G. M. Ramsey, shows that the Governor was really for Sevier and voted for Jackson only under the influence of a Mr. Montgomery. Unfortunately Chancellor Van Dyke does not tell us anything about this Mr.



Montgomery, or, we could search out some of his descendants, if there are any to be found, who might be able to throw light upon his influencing Governor Roane.

Chancellor Van Dyke was a resident of McMinn County, Tenn., and Chancellor of the Chancery Division of which that county was a part. He was a man and chancellor of the highest character, and his descendants constitute one of the old and honored families of the State.

CHANCELLOR VAN DYKE TO DR. J. G. M. RAMSEY.

"Athens, 23 April, 1882.

"Dr. J. G. M. Ramsey:

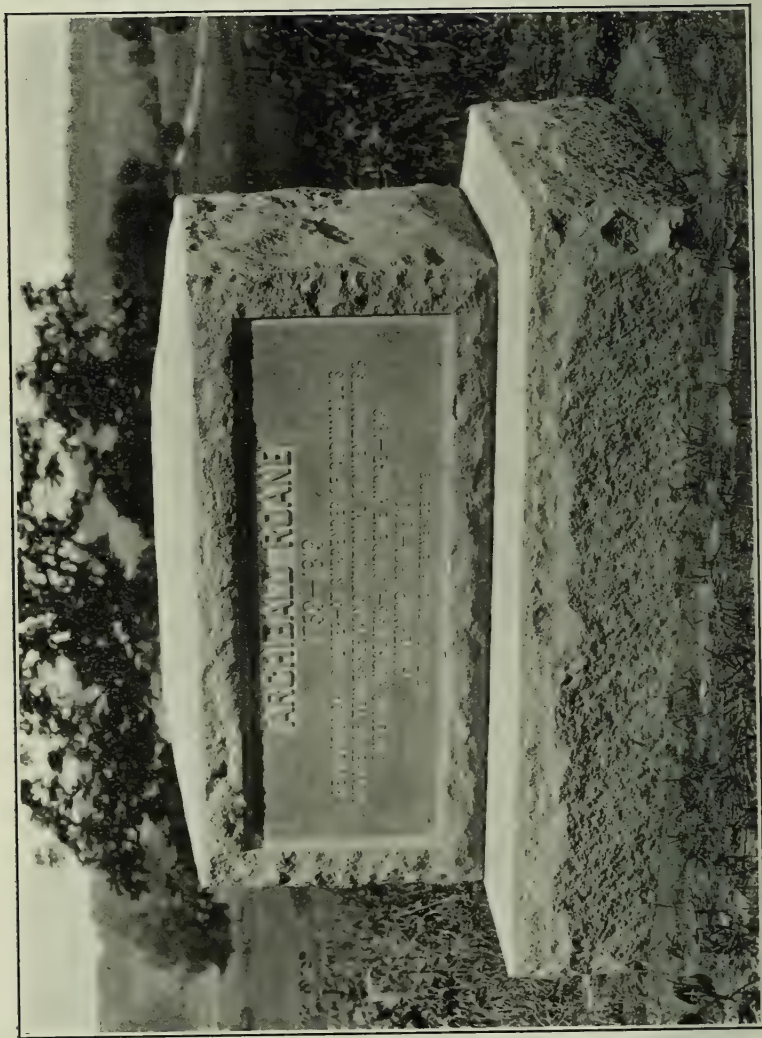
"Dear Sir: Your postal card requesting me to send you all that I know to be true of our excellent Governor Roane has been received, and I regret that my personal acquaintance with Governor Roane was so limited, and that at a time when I was quite a small boy; my personal knowledge of him is very meagre and of little or no public interest. It was always my information that his wife was a sister of my grandfather, David Campbell. They lived when I was a small boy not far from each other. My grandfather lived where the Lenoirs now live, and Governor Roane lived on the west or northwest side of the road, a short distance beyond Campbell Station. The families were very intimate, frequently visiting each other. After my grandfather and father moved to Washington, Rhea County, I recollect very distinctly that Governor Roane, then one of the Judges of the Circuit or Superior Court, came to Washington and held the first court there in an unfinished log house.

"Another incident in the life of Governor Roane I heard talked of in the families, and that was while he was Governor. An election of Major-General of Tennessee was held by the field officers of the militia, and Gen. Jackson and Governor John Sevier being the candidates, received an equal number of votes, and it devolved upon Governor Roane to determine which he would commission. Roane and Sevier being East Tennesseans, Roane made out a commission for Sevier, but before its delivery he was prevailed upon by a Mr. Montgomery, of one of the upper counties, to change his mind and he commissioned General Jackson. The popular vote of the State was then largely in favor of East Tennessee, and Sevier was a great favorite of the people of East Tennessee, and when Roane became a candidate for re-election, Sevier opposed him and was elected over him by a large majority, mainly for the reason that Roane had commissioned Jackson as Major-General instead of Sevier.

"I was sent from East Tennessee to Pennsylvania in 1816 and never got back here again until 1833, is the reason why I have so little personal knowledge of Governor Roane.

"T. NIXON VAN DYKE."





**ARCHIBALD ROANE**

Second Governor of Tennessee.

Monument erected to his memory, June 26, 1918, by the Legislature of the State, at Campbell's Station, twelve miles west of Knoxville, Tennessee.

## THE ROANE MONUMENT UNVEILING.

After being buried in Pleasant Forest Grave Yard, Campbell Station, Knox County, Tennessee, twelve miles west of Knoxville, for ninety-nine years in an unmarked grave, Governor Archibald Roane, second Governor of Tennessee, was honored on Wednesday, June 26, 1918, by the unveiling of a monument to his memory at which it is estimated three thousand persons attended. The Tennessee Legislature had authorized a monument to be erected over Governor Roane's grave, and, as erected, the base is 7 feet 10 inches long, and the die 6 feet 5½ inches long, and the material is blue Winnsboro granite. The inscription is as follows:

## ARCHIBALD ROANE

1759-1819.

Revolutionary Soldier at Surrender of Cornwallis  
Member of Tennessee Constitutional Convention 1796

Superior Judge 1796

Supreme Judge 1819.

GOVERNOR 1801-1803

Erected by the State of Tennessee 1918.

## ORDER OF PROCEEDINGS.

- 10:00 A.M.—Assembly, by Boy Scouts Bugle Corps.  
 10:05 A.M.—Assembly called to order and State Senator John C. Houk, of Knoxville, presented as Permanent Chairman, by Hon. John E. McMillan, Mayor of Knoxville.  
 10:09 A.M.—Mr. Nathan D. White, of the Journal and Tribune Staff, and Mr. Curtis G. Gentry, of the Knoxville Sentinel Staff, presented by the Permanent Chairman as Permanent Secretaries.  
 10:10 A.M.—Prayer, by Rev. J. Lynn Bachman.  
 10:15 A.M.—Music, by Crouch's Band.  
 10:25 A.M.—Address, Inspiration of the Occasion, by Hon. Tom. C. Rye, Governor of Tennessee.  
 10:55 A.M.—Patriotic Songs (Vocal Duet), by Prof. Robt. DeArmond and Mrs. Bertha Roth Walburn.  
 11:05 A.M.—Address, Historical sketch of the life and public service of Archibald Roane, and the lessons they teach, by Hon. Edward T. Sanford, of the Federal Bench.  
 11:30 A.M.—THE COUNTY OF ROANE, State Senator Thomas F. Ingram, of Kingston, Tenn., presented by the Permanent Chairman as Chairman for the Roane County Proceedings.  
 11:31 A.M.—Address, Historical Roane County, by Hon. W. E. McElwee, Member of the County Court, Rockwood, Tennessee.



- 11:41 A.M.—Address, Our Duty “Over Here” and “Over There”, by Hon. James F. Littleton, Attorney, Kingston, Tennessee.
- 11:51 A.M.—Address, The Spirit of the Roanes the Cure for the Huns, by Hon. Harvey H. Hannah, Railroad Commissioner, Oliver Springs, Tennessee.
- 12:01 P.M.—Prof Adams Phillips, Principal of Farragut High School, presented by the Permanent Chairman. Professor Phillips announces Unveiling proceedings.
- (1) Patriotic song, “Don’t Weaken”, by Prof. Robert DeArmond, accompanued by Mrs. Ora DeArmond.
  - (2) Unveiling and Decorating Ceremonies by Student body of Farragut High School, during which Master William Roane Beard, great-great-grandson and youngest known descendant of Governor Roane, pulls the unveiling cord.
  - (3) Military Salute of Seventeen Guns, Col. D. C. Chapman, Commanding 5th Regiment Tennessee National Guard, and Major E. S. Benton, U. S. A., and Professor of Military Science and Tactics, University of Tennessee.
- 12:25 P. M.—Address, Sons of the American Revolution, by Gen. W. T. Kennerly, President S. S. A. R., and Federal District Attorney.
- 12:35 P.M.—Address, Daughters of the American Revolution, by Miss Mary B. Temple, President D. A. R.
- 12:45 P. M.—Photograph of Monument and Group, by Mr. James E. Thompson and Mr. Joseph Knaffl.
- 1:00 P.M.—(1) Mess Call, by Boy Scouts Bugle Corps.  
 (2) Dinner Horn, Rally around the Baskets, (Hooverized), by Local Fox Hunter.  
 (But as a matter of precaution, let each citizen of Knox County attending, who can conveniently, bring a basket or box with something in it, for there is no telling how many people will be present.)  
 (It is requested that Judge Frank Murphy and the Old Time Fiddlers dine early from somebody’s basket, so that during the general dinner they may supply a musical program of their own making).
- 1:30 P.M.—Music, by Band and Audience in old tunes, led by Prof. Robert DeArmond.
- 1:40 P.M.—Descendants of Governor Roane presented, including the two grandsons, Hon. A. T. Roane, of Grenada, Mississippi, and Hon. W. A. Roane, of Houston, Mississippi, by Hon. Jesse M. Littleton, (a native of Roane County), Mayor of Chattanooga.
- 1:50 P.M.—Address, Pioneer Patriots, by State Senator Albert E. Hill, Nashville.

1:55 P.M.—Address, Tennessee's Fighting Men, by State Senator J. Parks Worley, Bluff City.

2:00 P.M.—Portrait of Governor Roane, (by Branson), and Painting of Governor Roane's Mansion House (by Wallace), Presented to the Campbell Station Community, in trust for Farragut High School, in behalf of Mr. Lloyd Branson and Mr. James W. Wallace, by Ex-Mayor Samuel G. Heiskell, of Knoxville.

2:25 P.M.—Music, Soprano Solo, by Miss Bertha Ross Walburn.

2:35 P.M.—BENEDICTION, by Rev. J. Y. Bowman.

(Note)—Basket Dinner, limited to Hoover's orders, will be served at 1:00 o'clock P. M. to as many as possible.

It is requested that all persons who grow flowers bring a few along with them for this occasion.

Free auto parking field immediately across the pike from Pleasant Forest Grave Yard in charge of the Local Committee.

Provision is also made to care for all kinds of vehicles, etc.

#### PETER CARTWRIGHT.

Peter Cartwright was born September 1st, 1785, in Amherst County, Virginia, on the James River. His parents were poor. His father was a soldier in the Revolutionary War and served over two years. Shortly after the Colonies gained their independence, his parents moved to Kentucky, through an almost unbroken wilderness which lay between Virginia and Kentucky, peopled with thousands of savages. There were no roads or carriages at that time and the emigrants moved their belongings on pack horses. Cartwright became a traveling Methodist preacher and continued in that service about forty years. He wrote a history of his life under the title "Autobiography of Peter Cartwright, the Backwoods Preacher", published in 1857. The Tennessee Methodist Conference met in Nashville October 1, 1818, and he related that he was preaching upon that occasion and General Jackson entered the Church. He tells the story in these words:

"I then read my text: 'What shall it profit a man if he gain the whole world and lose his own soul?' After reading my text I paused. At that time I saw General Jackson walking up the aisle; he came to the middle post and very gracefully leaned against it, and stood, as there were no vacant seats. Just then I felt some one pull my coat in the stands, and turning my head, my fastidious preacher, whispering a little loud, said: 'General Jackson has come in; General Jackson has come in.' I felt a flash of indignation run all over me like an electric shock, and facing about to my congregation, and purposely speaking out audibly, I said, 'Who is

General Jackson? If he don't get his soul converted, God will damn him as quick as he would a Guinea negro.'

"The preacher tucked his head down, and squatted low, and would, no doubt, have been thankful for leave of absence. The congregation, General Jackson and all, smiled, or laughed right out, all at the preacher's expense. When the congregation was dismissed, my city-stationed preacher stepped up to me, and very sternly said to me: 'You are the strangest man I ever saw, and General Jackson will chastise you for your insolence before you leave the city.' 'Very clear of it,' said I, 'for General Jackson, I have no doubt, will applaud my course; and if he should undertake to chastise me, as Paddy said, 'There is two as can play at that game.'

"General Jackson was staying at one of the Nashville Hotels. Next morning, very early, my city preacher went down to the hotel to make an apology to General Jackson for my conduct in the pulpit the night before. Shortly after he had left, I passed by the hotel, and I met the General on the pavement, and before I approached him by several steps he smiled, and reached out his hand and said:

"Mr. Cartwright, you are a man after my own heart. I am very much surprised at Mr. Mac, to think he would suppose that I would be offended at you. No, sir; I told him that I highly approved of your independence; that a minister of Jesus Christ ought to love everybody and fear no mortal man. I told Mr. Mac that if I had a few thousand such independent, fearless officers as you were, and a well-drilled army, I could take old England.'

\* \* \* \* \*

"I had preached one Sabbath near the Hermitage, and, in company with several gentlemen and ladies, went, by special invitation, to dine with the general. Among this company there was a young sprig of a lawyer from Nashville, of very ordinary intellect, and he was trying hard to make an infidel of himself. As I was the only preacher present, this young lawyer kept pushing his conversation on me, in order to get into an argument. I tried to evade an argument, in the first place considering it a breach of good manners to interrupt the social conversation of the company. In the second place I plainly saw that his head was much softer than his heart, and that there were no laurels to be won by vanquishing or demolishing such a combatant, and I persisted in evading an argument. This seemed to inspire the young man with more confidence in himself; for my evasiveness he construed into fear. I saw General Jackson's eye strike fire, as he sat by and heard the thrusts made at the Christian religion. At length the young lawyer asked me this question:

"Mr. Cartwright, do you really believe there is any such place as hell, as a place of torment?"

"I answered promptly, 'Yes, I do.'

"To which he responded, 'Well, I thank God I have too much good sense to believe any such thing.'

"I was pondering in my own mind whether I would answer him or not, when General Jackson for the first time broke into the conversation, and directing his words to the young man, said with great earnestness:

"Well, sir, I thank God there is such a place of torment as hell'.

"This sudden answer, made with great earnestness, seemed to astonish the youngster, and he exclaimed:

"Why General Jackson, what do you want with such a place of torment as hell?"

"To which the General replied, as quick as lightning, 'To put such d——d rascals as you are in, that oppose and villify the Christian religion.'

"I tell you this was a poser. The young lawyer was struck dumb, and presently was found missing."

\* \* \* \* \*

On page 203, he tells an interesting story about cold light bread and new cider, and the drinking habit in the early days.

"On our return from the General Conference in Baltimore, in 1820, in the month of June, which was very warm, and we having to travel on horseback, it may be supposed that our journey in this way for a thousand miles was a hard one. When we got to Knoxville, East Tennessee, the following incident in substance occurred:

"Brother Walker and myself had started early in the morning, had traveled about twenty-five miles, and reached Knoxville at noon. We rode up to a tavern with a view of dining, but finding a great crowd of noisy, drinking, and drunken persons there, I said to Brother Walker: 'This is a poor place for *weary travelers*, and we will not stop here.' We then rode to another tavern, but it was worse than the first, for here they were in a real bully fight. I then proposed to Brother Walker that we should go on, and said we would soon find a house of private entertainment, where we could be quiet; so on we went. Presently we came to a house with a sign over the door of 'PRIVATE ENTERTAINMENT AND NEW CIDER'. Said I, 'Here's the place; and if we can get some good light bread and new cider, that's dinner enough for me.'

"Brother Walker said: 'That is *exactly what I want*.'

"We accordingly hailed. The old gentleman came out. I inquired if we could get our horses fed, and some light bread and new cider for dinner.

"O yes,' said the landlord; 'alight, for I suspect that you are two Methodist preachers, that have been to Baltimore, to the General Conference.'

"We replied we were. Our horses were quickly taken, and well fed. A large loaf of good light bread and a pitcher of new cider were quickly set before us. This gentleman was an *Otter-bein Methodist*. His wife was very sick, and sent from the other room for us to pray for her. We did so, and then returned to take



our bread and cider dinner. The weather was warm and we were very thirsty, and began to lay in the bread and cider at a pretty liberal rate. It, however, seemed to me that our cider was not only new cider, but something more, and I began to rein up my appetite. Brother Walker laid on liberally, and at length I said to him: 'You had better stop, brother; for there is surely something more than *cider here*.'

"I reckon not," said he.

"But as I was not in the habit of using spirits at all, I knew that a very little would keel me up, so I forebore; but with all my forbearance presently I began to feel light-headed. I instantly ordered our horses, fearing we were snapped for once.

"I called for our bill; the old brother would have nothing. We mounted, and started on our journey. When we had rode about a mile, being in the rear, I saw Brother Walker was nodding at a mighty rate. After riding on some distance in this way, I suddenly rode up to Brother Walker, and cried out, 'Wake up! Wake up!' He roused up, his eyes watering freely. 'I believe,' said I, 'We are both drunk. Let us turn out of the road, and lie down and take a nap till we get sober.' But we rode on without stopping. We were not drunk, but we both evidently felt it flying into our heads; and I have thought proper, in all candor, to name it, with a view to put others on their guard."

\* \* \* \* \*

"It is very astonishing how easily and generally mankind fall into idle and sinful habits. I have been often astonished at the far-seeing wisdom of John Wesley. In the General Rules of his United Societies he interdicts dram-drinking; and while the whole religious world, priests, preachers and members, rushed into this demoralizing practice, Mr. Wesley made desisting from dram-drinking a condition of membership in the Methodist societies; and although the Methodist Episcopal Church, in her organization, as a wise provision in her General Rules, forbids dram-drinking, yet how often and how long did it remain a dead letter. From my earliest recollection drinking drams, in family and social circles, was considered harmless and allowable socialities. It was almost universally the custom for preachers, in common with all others, to take drams; and if a man would not have it in his family, his harvest, his house-raisings, log-rollings, weddings, and so on, he was considered parsimonious and unsociable; and many, even professors of Christianity, would not help a man if he did not have spirits and treat the company. I recollect, at an early day, at a court time in Springfield, Tennessee, to have seen and heard a very popular Baptist preacher, who was evidently intoxicated, drink the health of the company in what he called the health the devil drank to a dead hog—Boo! I have often seen it carried and used freely at large baptizings, where the ordinance was administered by immersion."





CONGRESSMAN JOHN RHEA

## CONGRESSMAN JOHN RHEA.

Mr. W. L. Rhea of Knoxville has in manuscript a history of the Rhea family in America, written by himself, and in this history he has given a sketch of Congressman John Rhea, who was the confidential friend and supporter of Andrew Jackson. Congressman Rhea was an uncle of Mr. W. L. Rhea, and is the same Congressman Rhea by whom Jackson sent a letter to James Monroe when President of the United States, in an effort to get the President to indicate to Mr. Rhea that he favored Jackson's invasion of Florida. John Rhea reported by letter to Jackson that the President favored the move, and this the President subsequently denied. Jackson invaded Florida and the congressional investigation came up in 1819. A resolution of censure was introduced against Jackson for the invasion of Florida, then in the possession of Spain, and friendly to the United States. The debate over this resolution of censure was long and able. Jackson won easily and John Rhea was in Washington at the time.

We present the only picture of John Rhea that has come down to us. Mr. W. L. Rhea's sketch throws some light that historians have not heretofore had on John Rhea. We present a part of the sketch.

"John Rhea, the eldest, came to America with his father's family in the year 1769, on Board the Brig, Capt. Paul, commander, bound for Philidelphia. A safe passage was made. In 1771 he came to Piney Creek, Maryland, and in 1778 he brought the family to the Holston Country. In 1785, after the war, he returned to Ireland and brought back with him a widow, Elizabeth Breaden (pronounced Bra-den) who had several daughters and sons, and from this family three of the brothers of Jno. Rhea found wives.

"John Rhea was a scholar, before leaving his native country. No doubt went to school there, but when we know not. A letter to the writer from H. N. Van Dyke, the Registrar of Princeton College, dated December 5, 1893, states that John Rhea graduated there in the year 1780; we cannot say for sure that he is our own John Rhea or not. At any rate he was an educated man and was a fine Greek and Latin scholar, and was a fluent translator in those languages. There is a tradition that he was with his brother Matthew in Princeton and from there they went into the army together. He was in the Battle of Brandywine and was ensign, and it is said while the army was in retreat, he lost his flag staff, but saved his flag. This event caused so much



trouble that he left the army and went home. He was at the Battle of King's Mountain, fought October, 1780. After the close of the war he entered the Congress of the Constitution. He never married. The inscription on his tombstone declares what he did in life, which is as follows:

"John Rhea departed this life May 27, 1832, aged 79 years. He was licensed to plead law in 1789, and in the same year was a member of the Convention of N. C. that ratified the Constitution of the United States; was a member of the N. C. delegation the same year. Was a member of the Convention of 1796 that framed the Constitution of Tennessee. In 1796-97 was a member of the General Assembly of Tennessee. Was a member of Congress from 1803 to 1815, 12 years. Six years of that time was Chairman of P. Offices and P. Roads. Was again member of Congress from 1817 to 1823, all of which time he was Chairman of the Committee of Pensions and R. claims. Was one of the Commissioners in 1816 that formed a treaty with Choctaws. The dust shall return to earth as it was! And the spirit it shall return unto God who gave it.'

"The above was prepared by his nephew Samuel Rhea, the father of the writer of this book. He died at Uncle Robert P. Rhea's, the home of his brother Joseph P. Rhea, my grandfather, and was buried in the cemetery at Blountville. At that day he was considered a very wealthy man. His wealth was quarreled over by his numerous relatives, which was the reason, I expect, why some of his relatives didn't like him.

"He made a will and bequeathed his possessions to his nephews but not to his nieces, he gave them nothing. I suppose he remembered his brothers in his will. It was made not like wills were made in Old England. It is said he had a peculiar disposition.

"He was a man of small stature and usually when he came to Knoxville wore a bright colored brown hat with stiff brim. Rode a fine gray horse 16½ or 17 hands high.

"He was a man who could not bear to see a strong, able-bodied man engaged in a small way making money in some ways. While in Knoxville he rode up to a small man who had a lot of watermelons on sale. The man said, 'Do you want to buy a watermelon?' Rhea said, 'No, sir, but I will buy one if you will promise me you will quit this business and go and work on a farm,' and the same time handed him a quarter and he took the melon and dashed it to the ground, saying, 'I will feed it to the hogs.' Perhaps he did not like watermelons. The above was told to me by Major Robt. Reynolds of Bearden, Tenn. Major Reynolds is eighty two years old. Was paymaster of the Regular United States Army from three years before the Mexican War until the Southern Confederacy sprang up. The Major resigned his position and joined his lot with the Southern cause. The Major said he was not personally

acquainted with John Rhea but remembers him, how he looked and acted.

"Perhaps it was in the year 1815 or 1814 he ran for Congress and was defeated by Judge Samuel Powell of Hawkins County. Although Rhea had his peculiarities, he was no fool. He was a well informed man, and reached a position in the affairs of the nation that no other man who bears the name of Rhea ever reached, and no other person related to him ever rose to the positions that he attained. In Sevier and Tipton's troubles John Rhea stood by the former."

A "Biographical Congressional Directory," published by the U. S. Government in 1913, gives the official record of Congressman Rhea as follows:

"John Rhea, a representative from Tennessee; born in the parish of Langhorn County of Londonderry, Ireland, in 1753; came with parents to the United States; located first in Philadelphia Pa., and a little later in Maryland; representative of Eastern Tennessee in 1778; completed preparatory studies and was graduated from Princeton in 1780; member of patriot force in the Battle of King's Mountain in October 1780; Clerk of the County Court of Sullivan County in the proposed State of Franklin, and subsequently in North Carolina, 1781 to 1790; member of the House of Commons in North Carolina and of the State Convention that ratified the Federal Constitution in 1789; delegate to the Constitutional Convention of Tennessee in 1796; Attorney General of Greene County, Tenn., 1796; member State Legislature 1796-1797; elected as a democrat to the Eighth and to the five succeeding Congresses, March 4, 1803 to March 3, 1815; appointed U. S. Commissioner to treat with the Choctaw Nation in 1816; re-elected to the 15th, 16th and 17th Congresses, March 4, 1817 to March 3, 1823; died in Sullivan County, Tennessee, May 27, 1832."

Col. Samuel L. King of Bristol, Tennessee, has sent the author some specimens of the methods of administering justice in the early days of this State, one of which was in connection with his own family. This family owned and gave its name to King's Meadows, on which Bristol is built, and operated King's Iron Works and manufactured cannon balls for the United States Government in the War of 1812. With his family connections going back to very early days in Tennessee, and having preserved for a life-time data on the life and activities of the pioneers, no one in the State is more highly qualified to write the history of Tennessee's pioneers, and, especially, now that those early days

are commanding the investigation of historians and writers both in this State and elsewhere.

COL. SAMUEL L. KING TO THE AUTHOR.

"June 16th, 1919.

"Hon. S. G. Heiskell,  
Knoxville, Tennessee.

"Dear Mr. Heiskell:

"The methods of administering justice during the early days of this republic were peculiar in the extreme as you have observed from the copy of the Blount letter which I sent you, and will further observe from a bond of banishment, copy of which I herewith enclose. When my grandfathers' barn was burned in 1814, it contained a large amount of forage and grain, and four 6-horse teams and some odd horses, all of which were being used by King's Iron Works, which at that time was making cannon and cannon balls for the war of 1812. These supplies were floated down the river to points where needed, and this accounts for how the supplies reached places to which no roads had been built. My grandfather and many people believe that Tories had burned his barn, but whether the Tories burned the barn to prevent shipments of guns, or, whether it was burned for other purposes, has never been known.

"Should you ever publish this Bond of Banishment, you will please not print the names of the banished in the bond who were punished, as I do not desire to make any trouble for their descendants.

Very Sincerely, your friend,

SAMUEL L. KING."

#### BOND OF BANISHMENT.

"Know all men by these presents, that I, James Doe, of the County of Sullivan, and State of Tennessee, am held and firmly bound unto James King, Esq., of the County and State aforesaid in the penal sum of twenty thousand dollars to be recovered in any court having cognizance of the same.

"The condition of the above obligation is such that if the above bounden James Doe does remove or cause the same to be done, his three daughters, namely, Rebecky, Elizabeth and Hariott, in the space of six days, from the County of Sullivan, and immediately as fast as expedient remove them two hundred and fifty miles from Blountsville also that the said James Doe and all his family, more especially his three daughters, does not nor cause the same to be done, injure or destroy the property of the said James in any respect, and should the same be done and satisfactory proven in any tribunal in that case I will pay and satisfy the damages, and should the innocence hereafter appear of Rebecky Doe of a charge that has been alleged against her of burning James King's barn, the foregoing penalty is to be void and none effect, or should the said James Doe comply with the above considerations and cause his

daughters and family to do the same the foregoing allegation is to be void and of none effect, otherwise to be and remain in full force and virtue in law, this 15th of November, 1814.

"JAMES DOE (SEAL).

"Attest:

Daniel Rogan.

Abraham Looney.

The Blount letter (spelled also Blunt) referred to by Col. King, was in reference to the action of Judge David Campbell, one of the judges of the Superior Court of Law and Equity, in a case against one Elisha Hall for defamation. This action of Judge Campbell is fully set out in his decision here given, and Blount's comment thereon is in his letter to Hon. John Rhea, also given. We think lawyers will incline to Blount's estimate of the Judge's action and, more than likely, to Blount's opinion of the Judge.

#### JUDGE CAMPBELL'S DECISION.

"State of Tennessee, November 4, 1798.

"*To the Sheriff of Knox County:*

"Whereas, complaint has been made to me, David Campbell, one of the Judges of the Superior Courts of Law and Equity, for the State aforesaid by Elisha J. Hall, Esq., Secretary of the Commission appointed by the President of the United States to treat with the Cherokee Indians, that he was arrested by the sheriff of Knox County at the suit of William Blunt of a plea of trespass on the case to his damages ten thousand dollars. The writ bearing date the 2nd Monday in July, one thousand seven hundred and ninety eight, and of the American Independence XXIII.

"The said Elisha J. Hall having a commission as Secretary to the commission aforesaid, bearing date May 18th, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-eight, and now continues to exercise the same.

"And whereas, by the law of nations, ambassadors, public ministers, commissioners and their secretaries appointed by the supreme powers of the nations are exempt from the civil jurisdiction of subordinate powers or States. And by Article third, Section second of the Constitution of the United States it is declared that the judicial power of the same shall extend to all cases affecting ambassadors and other public ministers. And by the Act of Congress establishing the judicial Court of the United States in pursuance therewith it is enacted that the Supreme Court shall have exclusively all jurisdiction of suits of proceedings against ambassadors or other public ministers or their domestics. Knowledge that the said Elisha J. Hall, being in his diplomatic



capacity, comprehended within the meaning of the before mentioned law of nations and Act of Congress, is privileged from any arrest by or under the authority of the States Government in any civil suit, and therefore the said writ at the suit of William Blunt is declared by me conformable to the powers given to me by law to be quashed and the said Elisha J. Hall shall not be held to bail, or in any wise answer this suit, he being privileged as aforesaid.

"Given under my hand the day and year above written.

"Signed, DAVID CAMPBELL."

WILLIAM BLOUNT TO HON. JOHN RHEA.

"Knoxville, Wednesday Nov. 7th, 1798.

"Dear Sir:—

"I send you the foregoing copy of original paper for your admiration and amusement with a request that you will give it publicity among your acquaintances, especially of the Bar. If it would not insult your understanding, I would make some comments upon its absurdity. I mean to give it publicity in handbills and forward them to, Nashville by Monday's Post. If you do not know the *causa activa* vs. Ball, I inform you it was Defamation. All the usual writs known in law are distinguished by some technical name or term, and this production of Campbell's being unknown in law, it has been deemed proper to call it by a new name, to-wit, Cheeklaceella. I make no doubt you remember a description of an animal (a monster in nature) of this name being published in the Knoxville Gazette in the year 1793. Campbell's production is certainly as great a monster in law as anything under any description or name whatever could be in Nature. What a misfortune to a Country to have a fool for a Judge. Mr. Hall in thus shielding himself under Privilege or more properly the Ignorance of a Judge from an action of Defamation, has certainly gained to himself no character, however much he may need it. On the 25th of September, Mr. Cox remained under a military guard at Natchez without any particular charge being made known to him or the citizens of that country. I have lately returned from Emory River where I have houses, people and cattle, and where I expect to raise a large crop of corn next summer.

"Accept, Dear Sir, a renewal of assurances of my sincere esteem.

"Wm. Blunt

to

"John Rhea, Esq."

SOME NEWSPAPER SPECIMANS IN 1824 and 1828.

In the presidential election of 1824, which was thrown into the House of Representatives and Adams elected, defeating

Jackson, and in the election of 1828, electing Jackson and defeating Adams both in the popular vote and in the electoral colleges, the newspapers on both sides were so bitter, aggressive and vehement, that no history of early Tennessee would be complete without quoting some of the newspaper phillipics that seemed to be considered a necessary, usual and proper part of a presidential contest.

The Columbian Observer published in Philadelphia, March 2, 1825, quotes from the Allegheny (Pa.) Democrat an editorial on

HENRY CLAY.

"We do profess ourselves unable at present to speak with sufficient coolness in regard to the rascality of this man's conduct. He had proved himself morally and politically a gambler, a blackleg and a traitor. The indignation of the people has been hitherto vented against him in effigy burnings, and from the city of Pittsburg to the shores of the Susquehanna, he has been treated with the indignity his character merits. We reserve our remarks in regard to his friends here for a future number, but it shall not be our fault if the 'blackguards and ruffians' who have espoused his cause in Pittsburg, are not exposed to the world in their native deformity. The rag-tag nobility of official authority has not arrived at that pitch of greatness that they can gag the press. The second reign of terror is not yet commenced, and until John Quincy Adams can sway the same sceptre of despotism that waved over a land of freedom in the hands of his father, we for one shall speak what we think. No tory combination of legal inquisition shall lord it over us.

The Columbian Observer of March 10, 1825, prints an article from the Pittsburgh Observer, also on

HENRY CLAY.

"As matters stand we despise every high handed attempt at coercion practiced upon us, and so far from being intimidated by recent acts of persecution, we do say that if Henry Clay was to make his personal appearance in Pittsburg, we for one, should not be sorry to see him *tarred and feathered*, nor shall we shrink from the responsibility of the expression. What? Is an accomplished horse racer and confirmed black-leg to sell and barter our votes with impunity? And because, forsooth, we might happen to say that *he ought to be burnt in effigy*, a prosecution for a riot is to ensue! Grant me patience, gracious Heaven! The gag law is not yet in full operation. The bridle is not upon our tongues nor the halter round our necks, and we shall speak what we think in defiance of tory manwhorshippers or caucus intriguers."

In the same issue of the *Columbian Observer*, a correspondent invokes the muse in an endeavor to give expression to his feelings on the accession of John Quincy Adams to the Presidency.

"Not a gun we discharg'd on the fatal day  
Th' Prince was ascending his station;  
We hoisted no banner in air, for display  
As a token of approbation!

"We hail'd not the deed with martial parade,  
Not a semblance of joy was pretended;  
Th' sun seemed indignant, our rights were betrayed,  
And its light on that day was suspended!

"But plainly in every face there appeared  
The visible marks of dejection;  
In public and private distinctly were heard,  
Expressions of sore disaffection.

"Mourn long, then we must for our barter'd rights,  
And the loss of our Patriot-Hero!  
Yet shall we give up our chartered right  
To the *jar-jamed Western Nero*?

"No—we will rise at the proper hour  
To a faithful discharge of our duty;  
And elevate him who from British power  
Protected our 'Beauty and Booty.'

"The KING may rejoice for his victory low,  
And exult with the Arnold who gain'd it,  
Yet the page of history forever will show,  
How the *Dastard and Liar* obtained it!

In 1827, newspaper violence had gone so far as to call forth from the *National Gazette* the following article which was copied by the *National Banner* and *Nashville Whig* of June 16, 1827:

"It is incredible what pains are taken in the newspapers enlisted in the Presidential canvass to blacken the characters of President Adams and General Jackson respectively. If one-half or less of the evil told of them be true, they deserve to be objects of universal repulse and scorn, instead of being, one already the representative and administrator of the executive power and majesty of the American people, the other, the favorite candidate for those exalted offices, of no inconsiderable proportion of the same people. A stranger might say to an American: 'Am I, or am I not, to believe your political writers?' If I may credit them, your nation must be degenerate indeed, to be thus divided for the

highest elevation of men so unsuitable and guilty, as those individuals are represented to be: If what is charged ought not to be admitted, how wretched an order of persons your newspaper disputants and composers of addresses, who thus calcuminate the two of their countrymen, whose reputations it particularly behooves you to protect for your own honor, on account of the trust with which you have invested them, and the panegyrics as well as aspersions which you reciprocally couple with their names!" From the dilemma there would be no escape, but by acknowledging that, from the aspersions at least, a large share should be subtracted as wanton, malicious, venal, erroneous, or the effect of morbid and wild excitement; or by referring to the existence of a like habit and system of exaggeration on one side or the other, in every country in which the elective process has existed. The general conclusion, assuredly, will be that much of the trouble and spite that mark electioneering is probably exerted in vain, as regards the sound thinking portion of the community.

The National Banner and the Nashville Whig of October 3, 1828, contained a communication from W. P. Anderson addressed

#### TO GENERAL JACKSON.

"This hasty address needs no apology. It cannot be addressed to any of your editorial gentry. They are left to the free, undisturbed, spaniel-like wagging of their tails, and faithful employment of fawning and cringing.

"In the Nashville Republican you have attacked my character. This is your usual mode of warfare, when charges are preferred against you by those who do not think that you ought to be President of the United States. They must be laid prostrate. In this way you divert public attention to their case, that they may lose sight of your own. My only crime is, that I have been instrumental in the publication of Dr. May's letters. So far as they relate to the duel between yourself and Dickinson, showing that you killed Dickinson unfairly, is to me source of deep regret. I believe it to be true, that you did kill Dickinson unfairly, and that you yourself are conscious of it. The charge has not been met and refuted to my satisfaction. I was well acquainted with all the parties concerned in this duel, and do know that Dr. May was incapable of falsehood or prevarication. You impliedly admit this fact when you resist the proof of your guilt, by alleging these letters to be forgeries, though I do not believe that you have the remotest idea they are so. These letters are deposited in Nashville, open for the inspection of everybody.

"It will forever be a source of bitter regret to me that these letters were published, on account of others. I mean the family of the late Col. Robert Hays. It was not my wish to have disturbed the ashes of Col. Hays. He was, in my opinion, a kind,



good hearted man, brave, open, and generous to a fault. His widow and children are among the most respectable families in the State. No man ever heard me charge Col. Hays with perjury or say anything else derogatory to his character. Some of the charges, General, which you have published in the Republican of the 3rd ult., and previously, as being preferred against me by the late Capt. James H. Campbell, are altogether untrue, some are partly true, but none of them, when properly understood, will detract from my character. Lieut. Littleton Johnston now resides in Tuscumbia, Alabama. He is a respectable merchant and can give every information necessary upon this subject. I have not even addressed him as yet, but his statement can doubtless be relied on.

"At a time more propitious than the present for dispassionate and impartial reflection, I will publish a refutation of these charges and all others brought against me in the Republican of the 3d inst.

"1st. Your besetting sins are, ambition, and the love of money. To acquire the latter you will act miserly and oppress your best friends; and when in pursuit of either, you are not what you profess to be.

"2d. You are naturally and constitutionally irritable, overbearing and tyrannical.

"3d. You are incapable of expending any charity towards those who happen to differ with you in opinion.

"4th. You cannot investigate dispassionately any interesting or important subject, and if you could, your knowledge and abilities are not equal to the task.

"5th. When you become the enemy of any man, you will put him down if you can, no matter by what means, fair or foul, honorable or dishonorable; and if it be consistent with your views of popularity and interest, you will turn about and support the very man you have before attempted to destroy and pull down. These examples will suffice for the present; the Hon. Wm. H. Crawford, Gen. John Adair, and Col. Thos. H. Benton.

"6th. You are miserably deficient in principle, and have seldom or never had power without abusing it.

"All this I purpose to establish, and it will not be done by certificates, but by the tenor of your life, for forty years standing in this country. In attempting to fulfil this promise I am aware (as I have before intimated) that in this State, at present, I have a fearful odds against me. It will not, however, be so much intended for those who are wilfully blind, as for the impartial reader. So farewell.

"W. P. ANDERSON.

"Craggy Hope, near Winchester, Tenn., Oct. 24, 1828."

The Nashville Banner and Nashville Whig of November 7, 1828, quoted from the Louisville Public Advertiser a defense of Gen. Jackson by Gen. E. P. Gaines:

"To the Editor of the Louisville Public Advertiser:

"Nashville, Tenn., Oct. 4, 1828.

"Dear Sir:—Amidst the unexampled torrents of abuse heaped upon Gen. Jackson have seen but little, in this State, that merited any notice here, though often calculated to produce an effect elsewhere. The late essay of Col. W. P. Anderson is of this description. In most of the other assaults, the ground of vindictive feeling which prompted them, was easily traced to some intrigue got up to cover the known crimes or suspected 'secret griefs' of their authors, or, to favor some neighboring demagogue, who could witness, with composure, the massacre of his countrywomen and their children, denounce as a cold-blooded murderer the able avenger of their wrongs, and weep over the just and merited punishment awarded to the brigand offenders! But I have been led to believe that Col. Anderson was incapable of lending himself to a faction headed by the aristocracy of a Hartford Convention, and sustained by the miserable votaries of desertion, slander and coffin handbills. I had believed the Colonel to be what he had for many years prior to 1815 professed to be, a warm friend and admirer of Gen. Jackson. Indeed I have known few men who appeared to hold Jackson in higher estimation than did Col. Anderson. He often adverted with marked applause to Jackson's chivalric honor, and concurred fully in the opinion which every man of intelligence and candor, of my acquaintance, who knew the General, entertained, that he was honest, and that he was capable, and that he was the faithful friend and guardian of the fatherless and the widow; and, moreover, that the most of the personal difficulties in which he has been involved has grown out of his just and benevolent efforts to protect the helpless and the innocent from the machinations of the vicious. It is now affirmed and believed here that some such cause has induced Col. Anderson to unite with a little miserable cabal in this State, employed in the support of the legitimate 'line of safe precedent,' to prostrate the 'Military Chieftain.'

"It is well known here, and wherever Jackson is well known, the the most unpleasant collisions and faults attributed to him, prior to the late war, originated in the lawless efforts of his enemies, to 'put him down.' I here employ their own expression, and his greatest crime, in their estimation, doubtless consisted in his determined purpose not to be put down.

"It was this determined purpose that preserved his unbending integrity, and prepared him to be the saviour of Louisiana, and the envied favorite of the freemen of America.

"If his personal enemies, or those of his country, have ever for a moment contrived to put him down, they have had the poignant mortification to feel that their triumph was short lived, and effected not without a combination of 'red spirits and white,' and that the farmers and mechanics, and other freemen of Amer-

ica, whose reputation and interests he has so ably sustained, would never suffer him to stay down.

"I have seen the General, at his residence, and in this place, several times within four or five days past. He is in excellent health and busily occupied upon his farm, and in the various duties incident to his elevated position in society; such as the promotion of literature and the arts, and more particularly in whatever relates to the improvement of agriculture, and domestic manufactures. I am, with great regard, your friend,

"E. P. GAINES.

"P. S. Col. Anderson was, for some years previous to the war, a member of Gen. Jackson's staff, but never, I believe, in action with him. Those who have fought under Jackson, and who have done their duty faithfully, respect and love him

"E. P. G.

"Since writing the letter of which the foregoing is a copy Col. Anderson has frankly admitted some of his errors, and acknowledged that some of his pretended friends have deceived him; as you will have seen in the last Nashville papers.

"As regards the accusations of the friends of Gov. Shelby who are doubtless doing his memory and reputation great injury, I have only to remark that, if it is indeed the greatest of all possible virtues in a United States negotiator to cheat the Indians, then may we consider Jackson to have been without this virtue; he would not intentionally cheat the most worthless of the human family; he makes no bargains but such as are fair and honorable.

"E. P. G."

The Nashville Republican and State Gazette, September 28, 1827, publishes the following:

"In order to see how foreign nations regard these attacks upon a patriotic soldier, let the American people read the following from the London Courier of the 27th of July last.

"The New York papers abound with discussions and documents relative to the 'life, character and behavior,' of General Jackson for the last thirty-six years. Some journals in the interest of the existing administration have, in their eagerness to defeat the General's pretensions to the presidency, ransacked all the depositories of private slander, for weapons to assail the candidate's reputation; their success has been such as generally attends this unfair and atrocious mode of warfare. It has been of infinite use to the party intended to be injured, it has roused the General's party and personal friends into the most active effort to defend their favorite, it has led to the investigations which have completely refuted the slanderous imputations of his character, and has created for him a sympathy and an energy of support from all classes, except that of his own personal enemies, that seem to promise almost certain success at the ensuing election."



The National Banner and Nashville Whig of September 11, 1827, published a card from William I. and John W. Williams addressed "To the Public," in reference to Sam Houston, of which the following is a part.

"Do we not justify for you, General, when we state that the minions who cater to your passions led you to believe that you were a great man, and that inasmuch as all great men were hunted down in these days of degeneracy, you were necessarily included? Now, General, permit us to remark, that as it regards your claim, you can neither be identified with those who seek its destruction, nor used as instruments by them. It is but candid to say that although we knew that the legislature of Tennessee had called an academy 'Houston academy,' that although you had been during the late war in one inconsiderable battle and there accidentally and slightly wounded, and that you had made two speeches, one upon Webster's Greek resolution, upon which occasion rumor says you were more remarked and remarkable for the ornament of your dress than for the force of your argument, the eloquence of your diction, or the light you shed upon the subject; the other upon Saunders' famous resolutions where your ignorance about ancient and modern history as well as about passing events, had nearly effected the ruin of Jackson's reputation, and caused, if reports be true, the Jacksonians to exclaim, God save us from such friends; yet were never apprized that your literary, political or military fame stood pre-eminent upon the rolls of greatness. We have never conceived the powers of your mind to be forcible and brilliant enough to make you serviceable either as a leader or an instrument in the hands of the combination, or, to induce for one moment, a wish on the part of the coalition to put you down. No, General, we never could believe that the coalition entertained views of this kind, nor can we well perceive, sir, how you could believe so. If you would for one moment lay aside your vanity and arrogance, you would learn, that is, if it is a crafty and politic coalition, and consult their ulterior political advancement, that they would always place you, and a mind like yours loosely fixed in its sphere, in a conspicuous situation, knowing that the deepness of its vapoing must, sooner or later, rivet upon it contempt. In conclusion, permit us to observe that it is 'strange, passing strange, pitiful, wondrous pitiful,' that your vanity should for one moment feed upon the delusion that the mighty powers of coalition should direct its strength to the prostration of so miserable a thing as yourself, and what to us is no less surprising, is, that your friends should have permitted you to wield a topic so sickly and so destitute of truth to kindle up the sympathies and fire the passions of intelligent communities. We are, however, consoled with the belief that we have discharged our duty, and that an honest and



virtuous public will never hail with pleasure such efforts, but on the other hand will sooner or later frown them into contempt, and teach you, whether figuring upon the arena of morals or politics, that the moral lights of the present day even, blaze with sufficient brilliancy to reflect contempt upon all such beings.

“WILLIAM I. WILLIAMS, S. S. C.

“JOHN W. WILLIAMS, D. S. S. C.”





Jackson Statue by Clark Mills, Capitol Grounds, Nashville, Tennessee.

## CHAPTER 24.

Andrew Jackson—Unveiling of Equestrian Statue at  
Nashville—Speech of Congressman John F.  
House—Statue a Duplicate of the  
One in Washington, D. C.

The one hundredth anniversary of the founding of the City of Nashville was celebrated beginning April 23d and ending May 29th, 1880, during which period imposing demonstrations and celebrations of various kinds were held and participated in by multiplied thousands of citizens of both Nashville and other parts of Tennessee and the country. The crowning event of the centennial was the unveiling of the equestrian statue of General Andrew Jackson on Capitol Hill, to which some of the most distinguished citizens of the United States lent their presence and participated in the exercises. A very imposing street procession in which several thousand persons rode or marched, wound up by its entrance into the capitol grounds, where the statue was to be unveiled and the ceremonies held. At no public demonstration in Tennessee was there present ever a larger number of persons of distinguished reputation.

On the speaker's stand were General G. P. Thruston, Chairman of the Tennessee Historical Society Committee, in charge of the unveiling; United State Senator Joseph E. Brown, of Georgia; Ex-Governor Thomas A. Hendricks, of Indiana; General Joseph E. Johnston, General D. C. Buell, Governor J. S. C. Blackburn, of Kentucky, General E. Kirby Smith, Governor A. S. Marks, Ex-Governors Neil S. Brown, D. W. C. Senter, James D. Porter, Col. John C. Burch, Secretary of the United States Senate; General William B. Bate, Bishop H. N. McTyeire, Col. E. W. Cole, Dr. J. D. Plunkett, Dr. J. B. Lindsley, Dr. T. A. Atchison, President of the Board of Centennial Directors; Captain John Augustine, of New Orleans; Captain Breckinridge Viley, Blackburn Guards, Kentucky; General W. H. Jackson, Mayor T. A. Kercheval, Colonel John D. Scott, Chief of Staff of Louisiana State



Guards; General John Glynn, Commander of the Louisiana State Guards; Major General W. J. Behan, of the Louisiana State Guards; General C. W. Squires, of the Missouri National Guards; Captain Skipworth, of Battery A., St. Louis, and Col. John F. House, the orator of the day. Of all the immense throng present it would probably be agreed that William Lovelady, Henry Holt, Enoch Jones, James Baxter and Thomas Reed, all of whom were veterans of the Battle of New Orleans, were the most interesting persons, and upon Enoch Jones was conferred the honor of pulling the rope by which the statue was unveiled.

Prayer was offered by Bishop H. N. McTyeire. The address of welcome was delivered by Dr. T. A. Atchison, President of the Board of Centennial Directors. Distinguished visitors were called for and briefly addressed the throng. At the conclusion of Bishop McTyeire's prayer, the Honorable John F. House, the orator of the day, delivered the oration of the occasion.

Colonel House was born in Williamson County, Tennessee, January 9, 1827, attended the Transylvania University at Lexington, Kentucky, graduated from the Lebanon, Tennessee, Law School in 1850, and was admitted to the bar; was a member of the State Legislature 1853-1854; Presidential Elector on the Bell and Everett ticket in 1860; member of the Confederate Congress from Tennessee; enlisted in the Confederate Army and served until paroled at Columbus, Mississippi, in June, 1865; delegate to the Democratic National Convention, 1868; member of the State Constitutional Convention of Tennessee, 1870; elected as a Democrat to the 44th, 45th, 46th and 47th Congress (March 4, 1875, to March 4, 1885); died in Clarksville, June 28, 1904.

#### REPORT ON THE JACKSON STATUE.

As this unveiling was held under the auspices of the Committee of the Tennessee Historical Society, a report on the unveiling was made at a meeting of the Society held June 15, 1880, by the Honorable John M. Lea, Chairman of the Committee, and signed by Anson Nelson, a member. This report entered into full details on the various efforts to erect a monument to General Jackson, beginning immediately after his death on June 8, 1845, and is as follows:

"The committee appointed at a meeting held the 29th day of January, 1880, for the purchase of Mills' equestrian statue of General Andrew Jackson, respectfully report:

"That so long ago as the session of the General Assembly of 1845-6 the idea was conceived of erecting at the capitol in Nashville a statue in honor of Gen. Andrew Jackson, whose death took place the 8th day of June, 1845, and an act was passed the 2d day of February, 1846, appropriating the sum of seven thousand five hundred dollars 'when a sufficient sum shall be subscribed by the people in connection therewith to complete said monument.' Commissioners were appointed in the sixth section of said act to receive any voluntary contributions, control the disbursement of all funds, contract with an American sculptor or artist, and superintend the erection of said statue. The passage of the act seemed a dismissal of its provisions from the public attention. The indifference to the performance of a duty so manifest and obvious was, however, more apparent than real, and the feeling that such an honor would some day be accorded to the name and fame of the illustrious hero and statesman, though quiescent, was nevertheless right in the breast of every Tennessean. The times were not favorable for the inspiration of patriotism or any expression of it in works of art designed to commemorate important events in our public history. The first ten years succeeding General Jackson's death were marked by an interest in material development and a devotion to the accumulation of wealth so absorbing that there was scarcely time or opportunity for the entertainment or discussion of any other subject. The next decade witnessed an excitement on political subjects so fierce and violent that the apprehension of impending peril caused a temporary forgetfulness of all the recollections of the glorious past, culminating in war with all its attendant horrors. The next decade brought peace, but to a people with crippled fortunes, who, with a courage as undaunted as that exhibited by them upon the field of battle, entered upon the noble task of repairing the evils, morals, political, and financial, wrought by the destructive energies of military force.

"The General Assembly soon after the re-establishment of civil authority, with laudable pride, vested commissions with authority to lay out and ornament the capitol grounds, and in obedience to the general but passive sentiment, the space so long vacant—now, we are happy to say, adorned by the statue—was, we presume, designed for the reception and erection of this or some other imposing monument significant of men or events connected with Tennessee history. The severe ordeal through which the people passed for a few years succeeding the declaration of peace forbade attention to this or any other subject not bearing directly upon the interests of the passing hour.

"Early in the month of January, 1879, Gen. Marcus J. Wright of Washington City, addressed a letter to the vice-president of the society, suggesting that Clark Mills' equestrian statue of General Jackson was on sale, expressing the hope that Tennessee could be induced to make the purchase, and tendering his ser-

vice to aid in the negotiation. A correspondence ensued between General Wright and the vice-president, and those papers with a letter from Mr. Mills stipulating the price, were laid before the society. There was a discussion of plans for obtaining the requisite funds to make the purchase, but nothing definite was agreed on, and the vice-president was instructed to communicate further with General Wright, and also to confer with the Governor of the State as to the policy of applying to the General Assembly for an appropriation. There was a conference with the Governor, and also with some members of the General Assembly—letters also passed between the Governor and General Wright—but, after due deliberation, the time was not deemed opportune to invoke the assistance of the State, and we did not care to have any future prospect clouded by a denial of favorable legislation. The facts were duly reported to the society, and, notwithstanding all obstacles in our path, so great was our earnestness that the subject was again brought up and discussed in connection with the celebration of the centenary, at a meeting held the 1st day of July, 1879. Various plans for raising the money were proposed, none of which, however, commanded that assurance of success which warranted immediate action, and the measure was indefinitely postponed with a firm conviction that under more favorable auspices our cherished desire might some day be gratified.

"On the 14th day of March, 1878, resolutions were passed by the society contemplating the celebration of the centenary of Nashville. At subsequent meetings the proper committees were appointed, reports made, etc., the entire proceedings to be conducted under the supervision of the society. Further reflection induced a change of purpose, and it was determined at a meeting held the 4th day of November, 1879, to ask the people of the city to unite with the society to make a combined effort to mark the centenary of Nashville as an event in our local history. A committee with this end in view was appointed to wait upon the Mayor and City Council and, an affirmative answer being given, the mayor invited a general meeting of the citizens for consideration of the subject on the 16th day of December, 1879. The attendance was large, and from the incipient action of the meeting on that evening has resulted a success beyond anticipation in any and every department connected with the celebration of the centenary. A glow of enthusiasm at once seized the entire community. There was a pause in the pursuit of individual interests, and the moment was given to unselfish and patriotic inspiration. Memories of the past seemed to rise spontaneously in the public mind, and it doubtless occurred to more than one that the conjuncture of circumstances was favorable for the acquisition of the Jackson statue. Such a thought did certainly occur to a venerable and patriotic citizen of Nashville, Major John Lucien Brown, who, early after the meeting in December, expressed his



intention to try to raise by voluntary subscriptions the money necessary for its purchase.

"He wrote to Senator Harris and Major Blair, of Washington City, to make inquiry of Mr. Mills as to the cost of the statue. Major Blair replied on the 23d of January, 1879, that the statue was for sale, but Mr. Mills declined to state the price, giving as his reason that Colonel Bullock, of Tennessee, then sojourning in Washington City, was negotiating for the purchase. Afterwards, ascertaining that the object of Colonel Bullock and Major Brown was identical—the procurement of the statue for Tennessee—the figures were given at 'five thousand dollars as the lowest price.' About this time an admirable letter written by Colonel Bullock on the subject of the purchase was printed in the 'American' of this city, and from that moment, so forcibly were the facts put forth, the public mind was impressed with the idea that our celebration would be incomplete if we could not present to the thousands of people who would throng our streets the grand spectacle of the unveiling of the statue.

"Much credit should be awarded to Colonel Bullock for the impetus which his letters gave to the movement, and especially is it to be noted that it was through his negotiations the price was reduced from twelve thousand dollars to five thousand dollars, thus placing the object within probable reach of our pecuniary ability. Our acknowledgments are certainly due and are most cheerfully rendered to our esteemed fellow-citizen, Colonel Bullock, for the interest thus displayed by him. Pending these negotiations at Washington, our fellow-citizen, Major Brown, was tireless in forming plans for devising ways to secure the necessary amount of money. He appeared before the Historical Society and stated that if he were armed with their recommendation and allowed to work under their name, he would guarantee success, counting alone upon the liberality and public spirit of the people. Previous to this time, however, without recognized authority from any society or association, he had secured some subscriptions, but after his appointment with the vice-president and secretary, at a meeting held the 29th day of January, 1880, 'as a committee for the purchasing of the statue for the State of Tennessee,' he set to work vigorously, earnestly, and systematically. He addressed letters to leading citizens in the different counties, made personal application, and used every means and appliance to further the enterprise, the success of which lay so near his heart. There were difficulties in his way. There had been heavy drains upon the people for subscriptions to the Exposition, and the public liberality had been strained to its utmost tension. In this emergency a suggestion was made that the 'Exposition' should buy the statue and count for its remuneration upon the increased receipts to be derived from this additional feature of its attractions. To this intimation Major Brown strenuously objected, contending that if



"The history of his career reads more like the thrilling story of some bold hero of romance than the achievements of an actor in the real battle of life. The days of his boyhood were passed amid the stormy scenes and fierce conflicts of the American Revolution. He received his first lessons in patriotism from the men who fought to redeem the pledge of life, fortune, and sacred honor, which was staked upon the issue of the momentous struggle. The clash of arms formed the music of his childhood, and while yet a mere boy he assumed the duties and faced the dangers of a soldier. This day one hundred and five years ago his native county of Mecklenburg adopted the first declaration of American independence.

"It was the forerunner of that immortal declaration of July 4, 1776, which, on each recurring anniversary of that memorable event, is read in the presence of our people as the canon of our freedom. Andrew Jackson was not quite eight years old when the Mecklenburg declaration was given to the world. It was amid such high and hallowed surroundings as these that the cradle of his young ambition was rocked. It was from these pure fountains of patriotism that his youthful spirit caught its inspiration. It was at this consecrated altar that he was anointed for the great work that lay before him in the coming years. In his long, eventful, and wonderful career he was always true to these lessons of his youth and the vows laid upon him in his early baptism of fire.

"After reading law in North Carolina, he determined to turn his face toward what was then regarded as the Far West. He cast his fortune with the little band of heroes who had gathered upon this Cumberland bluff, and were struggling for existence with the wild savage that crouched around their humble homes and thirsted for their blood. It was a long way then from North Carolina to this settlement on the Cumberland, and it lay through an almost pathless wilderness, where the stealthy savage lurked to impede the encroaching footsteps of civilization. It led through dangers to a dangerous place. But he was a man born to face, not fly from, danger. And why should he remain longer in North Carolina? The ties that had bound him to her soil had been rudely severed. Before he was born, his father was buried. His two brothers had fallen victims to the ravages of war, and his noble mother had lost her life in her unselfish devotion to her country and her kindred. From the British prison ships at Charleston a cry of suffering and distress from the imprisoned patriots reached the neighborhood where she lived. Among them were some of her relatives. She belonged to that noble band of heroic women of the Revolution whose sacrifices in the cause of our suffering country should consecrate in our hearts the liberties which they so largely aided in securing, and made the very name of woman forever sacred in our sight. Mrs. Jackson determined at once to go to the relief of the suffer-

ing prisoners. She had just buried her son Robert, who died from disease contracted in a British prison, and her little son Andrew was still feeble from a disease contracted at the same time while a prisoner with his brother. But, in company with two other noble women of the neighborhood, she set out to succor the prisoners. It was one hundred and sixty miles to Charleston, but these heroic women, without an escort, set out upon their pilgrimage of mercy. They reached Charleston in safety, gained admission to the prison ships, and administered to the wants and necessities of their distressed and suffering kindred and friends. Mrs. Jackson never again saw her only child, whom she left behind her, and he was never again to catch the light of a mother's eye, or to enjoy the hallowed boon of a mother's sympathy and love. She contracted the ship-fever, and soon after died and was buried in an unknown and unrecorded grave. Such a woman was worthy to be the mother of such a son. Andrew Jackson at the time of his mother's death was not fifteen years old. Fatherless, motherless, moneyless, could any situation be more forlorn and cheerless than that which now clouded the young life of this desolate and stricken boy? Look upon him, then, and look upon this scene today, and thank God for a country that holds out her honors to all who have the heart and nerve and genius to grasp them.

"It was an eventful day in the history of the little colony here that saw Andrew Jackson added to their number, and the people among whom he cast his lot were not slow in discovering and appreciating his merit. He was born an orphan, but they took him by the hand and stood in loco parentis during the struggles of his early manhood. He was not a man to remain long in any community without impressing himself upon its people. For the first eight or ten years after his arrival he was engaged in practicing his profession and discharging the duties of prosecuting attorney, to which he had been appointed. When, in 1796, a convention was called to meet at Knoxville to frame a constitution for Tennessee, preparatory to her admission into the Union, we find the name of Andrew Jackson associated with the honorable names of John McNairy, James Robertson, Thomas Hardeman, and Joel Lewis as one of the five delegates that Davidson County sent to the Knoxville convention to lay the foundation of our future State. And when it was resolved by the convention to appoint two members from each county to draft a constitution, Judge McNairy and Andrew Jackson represented Davidson County on that committee. Soon after the formation of her constitution, Tennessee was admitted into the Union, and her name was enrolled among the sisterhood of States. Upon her admission she was entitled to only one representative in Congress, and Andrew Jackson was elected by the people to that position. Crowned with this honor of the young commonwealth, he mounted his horse for an eight-hundred-mile journey

through what was then little better than a howling wilderness, to Philadelphia, to represent his people in the national councils. His brief career as a member of Congress was marked by watchful devotion to the interests of his constituents, and fearless and independent action on all measures that came up for consideration. Before his term as a member of the House of Representatives expired a vacancy occurred in the Senate, and he was appointed to represent the State in the Senate of the United States. This was a high honor to confer upon one who, less than ten years before that time, had come among the people who thus honored him, as a briefless, friendless young lawyer. He was only thirty years old when he took his seat in the Senate. These high positions to which he was so soon elevated after his arrival here are unmistakable evidences of the fact that he had made a deep impression upon the public mind and effected a firm lodgment in the popular heart. Yet he was not a man of any great learning or eloquence. In these respects he doubtless had superiors among his fellow-citizens—men better qualified to shine in these positions than himself. But there was that about him which marked him as a man to be trusted and a leader to be safely followed, and the people, with that keen, intuitive insight into the real character of public men, discovered and appropriated it. He seems not to have liked the duties and modes of procedure of the Senate. It is not strange that he did not. In a few months after his appointment he resigned the position. He would, in all probability, never have risen to any great eminence in that body if he had remained a member of it. It was an arena unsuited for the development and display of the gifts with which nature had endowed him. It was simply impossible for him to consent to remain in a place where he could hope to reach and maintain nothing more than the common level of mediocrity. It was wholly foreign to his nature to sit down quietly and day by day watch his intense individuality sink in the dead sea of senatorial dignity. Soon after his retirement from the Senate he was elected by the Legislature to a seat on the bench of the Supreme Court of the State. The people seemed unwilling to dispense with his services altogether, and determined to have the benefit of his labors in some public capacity. No reports of his decisions have come down to us, as the first volume of reports of the decisions of the Supreme Court of Tennessee commences with the decisions of Judge Overton, Jackson's successor. That Judge Jackson brought any great amount of law learning to the performance of his duties while on the bench cannot be safely assumed, but that he displayed a clear judgment and a high sense of right cannot be fairly questioned.

"Member of the Constitutional Convention, a representative in Congress, a Senator of the United States, a Judge of the Supreme Court of the State—these were high positions and worthy the ambition of the best men in the State. But Jackson



had not yet reached the theater where the genius with which the God of nature had so richly endowed him could fitly expand its wonderful power. True on a field where he was not peculiarly qualified to excel, he had won the prize of honor from the men by whom he was surrounded. But these positions and honors did not possess for him the attractions they have for most men, and their uncongeniality doubtless had much to do in his retiring to the shades of the Hermitage, intending thereby to shake hands with public life forever. How little we know what the future has in store for us! If this conviction of his had been verified, we would not be here today engaged in these august ceremonies. His services already rendered to the State would have preserved his name among her archives and rescued it from oblivion, but few save the students of her history would have known that such a man as Andrew Jackson ever lived.

"But the time and the occasion were approaching which would call for a man, and in that call the name of Andrew Jackson would be heard.

"In June, 1812, war was declared against Great Britain. General Jackson (he had been elected a Major-General of militia) tendered his services with two thousand five hundred men to the government. Their services were promptly accepted, and in November Governor Blount was requested to send fifteen hundred men to reinforce General Wilkinson at New Orleans. The Governor at once issued orders to General Jackson, and the work of preparation commenced to transport the troops to their point of destination. Jackson issued to his troops one of those stirring addresses which, considering the times and circumstances that called them forth, whatever critics may say of their literary merits, are models of their kind. Nothing shows more clearly his thorough comprehension of the instincts and character of the men he commanded than the addresses he issued to them from time to time, as the occasion or emergency suggested. After receiving this order to repair with his troops to the reinforcement of Wilkinson, he was all animation, excitement, and energy. By the 7th of January he had everything ready to leave. He wrote to the Secretary of War: 'I have the pleasure to inform you that I am now at the head of two thousand and seventy volunteers, the choicest of our citizens, who go at the call of their country to execute the will of the government, who have no constitutional scruples, and if the government orders, will rejoice at the opportunity of placing the American eagle on the ramparts of Mobile, Pensacola and St. Augustine, effectually banishing from the Southern coasts all British influence.' These confident and enthusiastic utterances, coming from some men, might be considered as mere sound and fury, signifying nothing. But Andrew Jackson felt it, and meant it all.

"At the head of two thousand choice Tennesseans! At last he had found his destined element. At last he stood upon a field



where the guerdon of deathless fame was to be won and the garlands of immortality were to be garnered. At last he planted his feet upon the pathway of glory, and every instinct of his nature told him it was the road that destiny had marked out for him to travel.

"Soon his infantry was floating down the Cumberland, and his cavalry was on the march through the country to their destination, full of the hope and patriotism and martial pride that burned in the heart of their leader. But this was doomed to be a brief and bloodless campaign. After Hull's surrender the government, fearing that the enemy might direct his attention to the Southern coast, thought it advisable, as a precautionary measure, to reinforce the command at New Orleans. Hence the call on the Governor of Tennessee for troops. On reaching Natchez, General Jackson was commanded to halt at that place for further orders. The contemplated necessity not arising which had caused the government to call these troops to the field, an order came to General Jackson from the Secretary of War to disband them. This seemed a strange order, dismissing troops five hundred miles from home without pay, without transportation, or any provision for the sick. Now was displayed that iron promptness and readiness to assume responsibility so characteristic of the man. General Jackson at once resolved not to obey the order, and determined not to dismiss his troops in a strange country without the means of returning to their homes, but to march them back in a body to Tennessee. He at once set about providing the means of transportation for the sick, impressing whatever he needed, and giving orders on the Quartermaster-General for payment. Of course these preparations required the incurring of a liability for a considerable amount of money. He well knew that these expenses, incurred not only without the authority of the government, but in disobedience of its order, would fall upon him personally if the government should refuse to honor his draft; but he did not hesitate a moment on that account. It was no spirit of insubordination that prompted him to take this course—far from it. He placed too high an estimate upon the value of discipline to be swayed by any such motive as that. He felt that he could not obey that order without perpetrating a gross wrong and injustice upon the brave men who had followed him to the field, and he determined not to be a party to it whatever might be the consequences to him personally. Throughout the whole march he was with his troops, often dismounting and giving some sick or exhausted soldier his horse to ride while he trudged along in the mud with his men. It was the firmness and power of endurance displayed on this long march that caused his soldiers to give him the nickname of Old Hickory—an appellation which he proudly wore through all of his subsequent career. He led his army back, and on the public square at Nashville they were disbanded. Their commander had not led them to

victory, they brought back no laurels gathered on the field of honor, but they returned to their homes and with the proud consciousness of having obeyed their country's call and with unbounded admiration for their commander, who had stood by them, even at the risk of bringing down upon his head the displeasure of his government and wrecking his private fortune.

"But he was not long permitted to remain inactive. The great Tecumseh, the implacable and unappeasable foe of the white man, having formed an alliance with the English, like a herald of fate had visited the different tribes of Indians, and kindled a flame of vengeance and aroused a thirst for blood in the savage heart from the lakes to the Gulf. The massacre of Fort Mims sent a thrill of horror throughout the entire South. The mother in her troubled sleep dreamed of the war-whoop, the tomahawk, and scalping-knife, as she instinctively pressed her unconscious infant to her bosom. Consternation seized upon every heart in the Mississippi Territory. Farms and homes were abandoned, and families fled to blockhouses and such other places of safety as offered protection from the barbarity of the Indian. The voice of Jackson like the blast of a trumpet called his brave Tennesseans to arms to avenge the atrocities at Fort Mims and protect the country from the horrors of savage brutality. The men who had followed him to Natchez and back were not slow in responding to the summons of their leader. The massacre of Fort Mims sent a thrill of horror throughout. Before the middle of October, Jackson, at the head of two thousand five hundred Tennesseans, stood on the south bank of the Tennessee River. I cannot pause to recount the difficulties and perplexities that now beset him. Disappointed on account of low water in the river in receiving the supplies he expected from East Tennessee, he found himself in that sparsely settled region almost wholly without forage for his horses or subsistence for his men. Most commanders would have recrossed the river, fallen back to a more plentiful region, and awaited the arrival of supplies before making a forward movement. But Jackson's ways were not the ways of most commanders. He determined to take no step backward. Through worn and wasted by disease and a severe wound he had received from the effects of which he still suffered, nothing could tame his proud spirit or bend his iron will. He seemed never to have entertained a doubt of the success of his campaign, and the idea that he might be defeated in a battle with the Indians never entered into his calculations. He resolved never to recross the Tennessee River until he had taught them well the lesson of peace and submission. It was for this object he had taken the field, and he meant to accomplish it. In the face of every difficulty and discouragement he marched boldly forward into the untrodden forest in search of the enemy. The victory at Tullusatches by the gallant Coffee soon followed, and the warlike Creeks were given the first lesson of the campaign. In a short time this vic-

tory was emphasized by that of Talladega. The want of supplies now forced General Jackson to fall back on Fort Strother. Here new difficulties and complications confronted him. Pressed by hunger and privation, his gallant little army became discontented and desired to return to the settlements, the volunteers claiming that their term of service had expired and they were entitled to an honorable discharge. I shall not enter into a discussion on the merits of their claim. They and their commander differed in their construction of the terms of the enlistment. The controversy grew warm and bitter, until it almost reached the point of open mutiny on the part of the troops. He found his army melting away from him, but he stood as firm as the everlasting hills, declaring that he would hold the posts he had established or perish in the attempt. He called on the Governor of Tennessee for new levies, but the Governor informed him that he had no authority to make such levies, and advised him to disband a portion of his troops and with the remainder march back to the settlements, where forage and provisions were plentiful, and await the action of the government until men and means could be provided for a vigorous and successful prosecution of the campaign. The situation, indeed, seemed hopeless, and to warrant the patriotic governor in advising a termination of the campaign for the time being. Never did history present a grander spectacle than Andrew Jackson, at this advanced post in the heart of an enemy's country, with a mere handful of men, but resolutely determined to hold the fort or be buried in its ruins. Never did a lofty spirit climb the 'toppling crags of duty' with a firmer step or a sublimer faith. With the instincts of a great soldier he saw that retreat was ruin, and he determined at all hazards to avert it. His letter to Governor Blount is sufficient of itself to immortalize him. He called for new troops; he appealed to the Governor to take the responsibility and send forward new levies that he might advance and complete the conquest which he had so auspiciously inaugurated, and which he felt was so necessary to the peace and safety of all that portion of the country menaced directly by the Indians and prospectively by their British allies. He concludes his immortal letter to Governor Blount in these memorable words: 'You have only to act with the energy and decision the crisis demands, and all will be well. Send me a force engaged for six months and I will answer for the result, but without it and all is lost—the reputation of the State and yours and mine along with it.' These were brave words. They were utterances of a patriot unselfishly devoted to his country's welfare, and of a great soldier who felt that her safety at that critical moment hung upon his single arm. This letter changed the whole aspect of affairs. Its trumpet tones stirred the public heart and awoke the slumbering energies of the people. New levies of troops were soon on the march for the distant front, where their intrepid leader stood, deaf alike to murmur or mutiny



in his own camp and danger from the attack of the foe. Thus reinforced he fought the battle of the Horseshoe, and the Creek War was virtually ended. The unconquered warriors of the tribe who disdained to surrender fled for safety to the everglades of Florida, and those who remained laid down their arms and sued for peace. The hardy settler and his wife and little ones could now lie down at night in security and repose. The battle of the Horseshoe made the 8th of January a possibility, and the 8th of January made the 4th of March a certainty. In a campaign of a few months he had broken the power of the warlike Creeks and brought them as suppliants at his feet.

"The great value to the country of this brief and brilliant campaign of Jackson was soon apparent to all. Napoleon had fallen, and the peace of Europe was restored. England, no longer confronted by an enemy at home, was left free to concentrate her undivided strength and power against us. General Harrison, having resigned his commission as a Major General of the United States, General Jackson was tendered the position by the government, and accepted it. He was ordered to take command of the Southern division of the army, if that could be called an army which was composed of only three skeleton regiments of regular troops. He now had before him a task well calculated to tax to the uttermost the genius and prowess of the greatest commander. He had met the savage in his mountain fastness and conquered him, and therefore, thanks to his foresight and intrepidity, left no enemy in his rear when he went to the perilous front. But he had now to meet a well-appointed army, trained in the best schools of European warfare, and decked with laurels won upon historic fields. The proud mistress of the sea, her bronzed cheek yet glowing with the light of recent triumph, was coming with a formidable force towards our devoted shores. She came breathing vengeance against our people and confident of victory, full of the boastful and invincible spirit so grandly expressed by one of her own poets:

" 'Britannia needs no bulwarks,  
No towers along the steep;  
Her march is o'er the ocean waves,  
Her home is on the deep.'

"Our government was yet in its infancy; our treasury was empty, and our credit sorely crippled. Jackson, with no army save raw and inexperienced troops, had a thousand miles of coast to defend, and not a fort garrisoned on the entire line.

"The situation was far from cheerful and encouraging, and was generally regarded by our government and people with anxiety and alarm. But there was one man whose heart never quailed, whose hope never waned, whose faith never wavered, and whose step never faltered in the presence of the dangers which confronted him. That man was Andrew Jackson. How he met



the responsibilities and demands of the occasion, let Mobile, Pensacola and New Orleans answer. The result is too well known ever to fade from the memory of our countrymen, and especially from the recollection of Tennesseans. The Volunteer State reaped in that grand campaign too large a harvest of glory to ever allow its splendors to fade or suffer its achievements to be forgotten. Peace once more lifted its white wings upon the breeze, and Andrew Jackson stepped into his destined and appointed niche in the temple of fame. In all our glorious history no page burns with brighter lustre than that which records the genius of Jackson and the prowess of the brave men under his command, who protected our soil from the invader's foot and saved the mouth of the Mississippi and an empire to the Union. A grateful country canonized him as one of her great heroes, and enshrined him in her heart. No West Point had ever laid its anointing hand upon his head, but a mightier than West Point had anointed him for his work and furnished him with his credentials to immortality. I appeal to history to scan the names of the heroes inscribed upon her roll of honor, and point to one who, with the same means at his command, and the same odds arrayed against him, ever accomplished more than stands to the credit of Andrew Jackson upon the pages that record his achievements.

"The war ended, he returned to the bosom of his family and the delights of home, to nurse his shattered health and enjoy the confidence and affection of his neighbors and friends. But he had done too much for his country for her people ever to rest satisfied until they had crowned him with the highest position in their gift. Our people have always thus remembered and thus rewarded the heroes of the wars in which we have been engaged, without an exception. Much eloquence and declamation have been expended in the effort to impress the public mind with the danger of elevating successfully military chieftains to the Presidency, but Washington, Jackson, Taylor, Grant, stand as monuments of the admiration and gratitude of the American people for the men who have shed glory and renown upon our arms.

"It would extend these remarks far beyond the limits of propriety and your patience to attempt a reference in detail to all the notable acts in the life of Andrew Jackson, crowded as it is with distinguished services to his country and abounding in evidences of the esteem and admiration of his countrymen. After his Seminole campaign and the differences with Spain had been satisfactorily adjusted, his country no longer needing his services in the field, he resigned his commission in the army. Soon the eyes of the people began to turn towards him as a prospective candidate for the Presidency, and the Legislature of Tennessee formally nominated him for that exalted position. As is well known he was defeated in this contest, but it was because the will of a majority of the American people was de-

feated in the result reached by the election in the House of Representatives.

"That result by which another wore the honors which a majority of his countrymen had intended for him, only postponed the inevitable hour. At the end of Mr. Adams' administration, Jackson was again a candidate for President. Perhaps no Presidential election in our history has been disgraced by a greater amount of personal defamation than that with which General Jackson was assailed. There was no weapon that slander disdained to forge or calumny to use. Every act of his life was scanned with microscopic care, to discover something that could be set down to his discredit. The reputation of the mother who bore him and the good name of the wife of his bosom were assailed with cruel and merciless mendacity. Could any one acquainted with the genius of the American people doubt what their decision would be in the case of such a man so assailed? Did his traducers imagine that they could demolish the colossal temples of his fame with such weapons as these, or drive him from the hearts of his countrymen, where the glorious achievements of his life had entrenched him? All the changes were rung upon the dangerous experiment of elevating a military chieftain to the high office of President of the United States. He was denounced as a tyrant and despot, whose elevation to power would result in the destruction of the liberties of his country. He was represented as a coarse and ignorant man, unacquainted with public affairs and unfitted in every respect to be the chief magistrate of this country. There was no calamity that could befall a country that was not predicted as certain to overtake this unhappy land if its infatuated and misguided citizens should in an evil hour commit the supreme folly of electing him President. But the people remembered that there was a time when the dark clouds of war hung low and threatening over their devoted land, and they recalled the fact that Andrew Jackson was not an enemy to his country then, nor could they be made to believe that he had become so since. He was elected by an overwhelming majority. The people had rendered their verdict, and Andrew Jackson wore the crown of their emphatic and spontaneous endorsement. They crowded to his inauguration in such enthusiastic multitudes as to leave no one room to doubt the firm hold he had upon the masses of his countrymen. This military chieftain, of whose administration so many dire and gloomy prophecies had been made, was now about to be tried upon a new and unaccustomed field. He had never been found wanting in any position which he had hitherto occupied, but how would he wield the destinies and conduct the vast and complicated affairs of a great country as a civil magistrate? The fierceness of the conflict through which he had passed warned him that the ship of State while under his command was not destined to sail upon a tranquil sea or to meet only favoring

winds. But he knew well that he owed his elevation to the unbought suffrages of a free people. He always said that the people would never desert those who were true to them. If there ever was a man with whom patriotism was an absorbing passion, Andrew Jackson was that man. He never saw the day or the hour after he came to the years of discretion that he would not willingly have laid down his life upon the altar of his country if her welfare had called for the sacrifice. Her enemies were his enemies, her honor was his honor, and her cause was his cause.

"Her greatness and renown was the ruling aspiration of his heart and the chief inspiration of his life. There was not an un-American hair in his head or an un-American drop of blood in his veins. Such a man might make mistakes or commit errors, but could never be false to what he believed to be the best interest of his country. With this faith in the people and this love of country burning in his heart, he grasped the helm of State with a firm and unfaltering hand. What he encountered and what he achieved belongs to history. As his administration advanced it grew in favor with the people. At the end of his first term so firmly grounded was his popularity that he was re-elected by a largely increased majority. Out of two hundred and eighty-eight electoral votes, he received two hundred and nineteen. He had fought the battle of the people, and they were fighting his. He had stood by them, and they were standing by him. No administration in our history has encountered a more formidable opposition than that which confronted the administration of President Jackson. The great triumvirate of Clay, Webster and Calhoun had hurled their triple powers against it, but it had stood the shock unmoved, for it was imbedded in the confidence of the people, and presided over by a man whom no power could appall, no wealth corrupt, no titles seduce, and no threat intimidate. In his great battle with the bank it seemed at one time that he would be overborne. A resolution passed the Senate censuring him for the removal of the deposits. But he lived to see the day when the clerk of the Senate was ordered to bring the Journal containing the resolution before that august body and draw black lines around it and write upon its face in a bold hand the word—EXPUNGED. Clad in these habilaments of mourning, and wearing this scar upon its dishonored face, it remains for the inspection of posterity. He was as near the master of every situation of danger and responsibility in which he was placed as any man who was ever called upon to face the one or assume the other. He never lost the courage of his convictions in any presence. The supreme hour, the crucial test, always found him self-poised, like the magnificent war horse on which the genius of the sculptor has mounted his martial form to ride through the future ages. The mingled blood of two races ran in his veins and imparted to his nature



some of the best characteristics of both. When aroused he was as terrible as a tornado, but in the social circle with his friends as mild and gentle as a woman. His devotion and fidelity to his wife comes out as a rainbow, to span with its beauty and promise every storm-cloud that rises on the horizon of his life. He was a man of strong passions, and when acting under their impulse not, perhaps, always just—no man is. But it was not in his nature to do conscious or intentional injustice to any one. He was positive and imperious—all great leaders of men are. He was not learned in books; he never studied them; he studied men, and no student ever more thoroughly mastered his subject. The slow and painful processes by which many men of books and culture reach their conclusions were unknown to him. His mind acted with the rapidity of lightning, and an intuitive sagacity conducted him to conclusions with telegraphic speed. He had reached conclusions and stood ready to act them before hesitating prudence had adjusted her spectacles to examine the subject or timid conservatism had taken up her scales to weigh probabilities. Not that he was rash or inconsiderate in matters of moment, far from it. No man ever looked at all the bearings of a subject with closer scrutiny, or balanced the chances of success or failure with keener discrimination. His chief object was to ascertain the path of duty; when he saw that he was ready to travel it, whatever dangers might environ it. No array of learning or brilliancy of reputation in an opponent ever dwarfed or absorbed his individuality. He was born to lead, and he always led. Those who wished to join the expedition were welcome; those who feared to embark might stay behind, and those who chose to face him might take the consequences. He never deserted friends or enemies until they first deserted him. For the one there was no sacrifice he was not willing to make; in respect to the other there was no gage of battle he was not ready to take up. He never allowed his friends to go forward and assume responsibilities for him in great emergencies, that he might, in the event of disaster, throw the burden of failure upon them. If risks were to be taken, if popularity was to be hazarded, if responsibility was to be assumed, if danger was to be met, he took his place at the front, and the word of command rolled down the line.

"His fame is in the custody of his country. There it will remain secure forever. No friend of his need fear or doubt the verdict of posterity or the judgment of history upon his greatness as a soldier or his wisdom as a statesman. Full of years and full of honors, he closed his eyes in peace among the people who took him by the hand in his youth and loved him to the last. When Tennesseans cease to honor his name and revere his memory, they will be unworthy descendants of those whom he led to victory. A few of the old soldiers who followed him through the storm of battle still linger with us upon this side of the river.



May the hand of time deal gently with their declining years, and the evening of their days be as full of peace and happiness as their morning was of storms and dangers.

“ ‘Oh, honored be each silvered hair,  
Each furrow trenched by toil and care;  
And sacred each old bending form  
That braved with him the battle storm.’ ”

“Here, where tree and rock and rivulet and river are vocal with the traditions of his past, we inaugurate his statue to-day. I rejoice that the venerable sculptor who has given to us this life-like image of the man has been spared to be present on this occasion, to receive the tribute this day paid to his genius by the descendants of those who knew and loved and honored his illustrious subject while he moved amid the walks of men.

“Tennesseans, the honor of the State, upon whose name Andrew Jackson has shed such imperishable renown, is in your keeping. As we gaze upon his storied form to-day, let us swear that no act of dishonor shall ever stain her proud escutcheon or sully her spotless name.

“Since he closed his eyes upon a peaceful and happy country, our land has been drenched in fraternal blood. The earthquake shock of contending armies was felt around the very tomb where he sleeps. But these unhappy days are passed, and it is to the interest of all that the passions and animosities that marked them should also pass away.

“Tennessee has no future, no aspirations, no hopes save in a restored Union, and to-day within the shadow of Jackson’s statue, without mental reservation or purpose of evasion, but in sincerity and in truth, she can repeat to her sister States the immortal words of her immortal son, ‘THE FEDERAL UNION—IT MUST BE PRESERVED!’ ”

#### ADDRESS OF CLARK MILLS.

At the conclusion of Colonel House’s oration, Clark Mills, the artist of the equestrian statue, was introduced to the audience, and said:

“Ladies and Gentlemen: Having been requested to make some remarks on this occasion before the distinguished people of Nashville, I will state that the statue before you is a triplicate of the one now standing in front of the President’s house in Washington, which was not only the first equestrian statue ever self-poised on the hind feet in the world, but was also the first ever molded and cast in the United States.

“The incident selected for representation in this statue occurred at the battle of New Orleans, on the 8th of January, 1815. The commander-in-chief has advanced to the center of the lines in the

act of review. The lines have come to present arms as a salute to their commander, who acknowledges it by raising his chapeau four inches from his head, according to the military etiquette of that period. But his restive horse, anticipating the next evolution, rears and attempts to dash down the line, while his open mouth and curved neck show that he is being controlled by the hand of his noble rider.

"I have deemed this explanation important to answer a criticism upon the fact that the horse is rearing and Jackson has his hat off. Critics should reflect that a spirited war-horse, although brought to a halt, will not long remain so.

"The city of Nashville has just cause for pride from the fact that of the three statues cast from the same model the one before you is the most perfect of them all."

## CHAPTER 25.

### Battle of King's Mountain—Address by Bishop E. E. Hoss.

Bishop E. E. Hoss of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, delivered an address in 1912, before the Library Committee of Congress, on House Bill 4035, which provided for the erection by Congress of a monument at Abingdon, Virginia, to Gen. William Campbell, one of the patriot leaders of the Battle of King's Mountain. This speech embodies the sentiment of the people of Tennessee as to who is entitled to the credit for the victory in the battle, and very fully sets out the facts connected with it, and the leadership in the preparation for it, and it is, therefore, given in full as it appears in the Congressional Record of February 15, 1912. Bishop Hoss said:

"Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of the Committee: I thank you very sincerely for the courtesy of this hearing, and I shall try to show my gratitude by confining my remarks within due limits. If I should, out of my exceeding interest, trespass too much on your time and attention, I beg that you will not for a moment hesitate to indicate the fact.

"That there may be no misunderstanding of my purpose in appearing before you, I shall begin by saying that I am here to oppose the passage in its present form of House Bill 4035, which is identical with Senate Bill 5295, and the object of which is to provide for the erection in the town of Abingdon, Virginia, of a monument to the memory of Gen. William Campbell, as the chief hero, so alleged, of the Battle of King's Mountain in our Revolutionary War. Desiring to make no statement that would not stand the test of discussion and criticism, I solicited the presence on this occasion both of Senator Martin and of Representative Slemp, who are the sponsors of the measure under consideration, and I very much regret the fact that they could not comply with my request. Their absence, however, will only make me the more careful to be utterly candid and fair in all that I shall say. In the end the exact truth will prevail, and any attempt to distort it, no matter by whom made, would prove a boomerang.



**Bishop E. E. Hoss of the Methodist Episcopal Church South, now deceased  
and buried at Muskogee, Oklahoma.**





"There can be no shadow of doubt, Mr. Chairman, that the Battle of King's Mountain is abundantly worthy to be commemorated by the Federal Government. In every important sense of the word it was a crisis in the struggle of our fathers for independence. Coming at a time when Georgia and South Carolina were in the iron grip of the British forces, and following hard upon Gates' disaster at Camden, and Cornwallis' invasion of the Old North State, it put new heart into the desponding patriots throughout the whole country and set in motion that train of influence which issued in the crowning triumph at Yorktown.

"Among students who have given it their careful attention, there is not the slightest difference of opinion as to its tremendous significance. Thomas Jefferson, who was a good contemporary authority, said of it:

" 'It was the joyful enunciation of that turn in the tide of success that terminated the Revolutionary War with the seal of our independence.'

"A hundred years later Theodore Roosevelt—who is always right except when he is wrong, and always interesting even when he is wrong, and frequently irritating even when he is right—added, in his 'Winning of the West,' volume 2, page 286:

" 'The victory was of far-reaching importance and ranks among the decisive battles of the Revolution. It was the first great success of the Americans in the South, the turning point in the southern campaign, and it brought cheer to the patriots throughout the Union. The loyalists of the Carolinas were utterly cast down and never recovered from the blow, and its immediate effect was to cause Cornwallis to retreat from North Carolina, abandoning his first invasion of that State.'

"Similar judgments from competent historians could be multiplied by the score, and nobody with a right to speak has ever ventured to utter a contradictory opinion.

"All these things get an added emphasis from the circumstances that preceded and accompanied the expedition—circumstances which, in comparison, make such contests as those of Lexington and Bunker Hill look like holiday parades. For, bear in mind, Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of the Committee, that the men who conceived and set on foot this great enterprise were members of a frontier community only a few thousand strong; that their own homes were in constant danger of attack from the Cherokee Indians, a fierce and valorous tribe, who were in close league with the British, and hung like a storm cloud upon the western skirts of the settlements; that they acted on their own initiative, being summoned by no government and receiving neither equipment nor compensation for their services; that they did not wait till the enemy was at their own gates, but took the offensive and went in search of him, thus making common cause with all the colonies, and especially with the two Carolinas;

that they marched twelve full days over one of the roughest routes ever traveled by a mounted army, right square across both the Alleghanies and the Blue Ridge; that for the last thirty-six hours, the most of the time in a pouring rain, they were out of their saddles only once, and then for but an hour; that at the end of this long ride, tired almost to exhaustion though they were, they threw themselves on a foe numerically as strong as themselves, securely posted, well drilled, and commanded by one of the bravest and most accomplished officers in the British army; and that, within a little more than an hour they achieved what, taken all in all, was one of the most signal victories of the war, killing, wounding, or capturing nearly every one of their antagonists. Sirs, if there be any citizen of the United States whose blood does not flow a little faster at the recitation of such a story, I envy him not.

"For elaborate accounts of all that I have thus in brief set forth, and for a vast array of other related facts and incidents, see the chapters *ad rem* in Haywood's 'Civil and Political History of Tennessee,' Ramsey's 'Annals of Tennessee,' Wheeler's 'History of North Carolina,' Kirke's 'Rear Guard of the Revolution,' Roosevelt's 'The Winning of the West,' and, especially, the wonderfully full account in Draper's 'King's Mountain and Its Heroes,' in the preparation of which the author spent forty laborious years. I might add an indefinite number of other authorities, but do not wish to cumber the pages of this brief.

"Why, then, you may be inclined to ask, am I opposing the bill under notice. My answer to such an inquiry shall be very concise; it is because this bill coolly proposes to bestow upon the single State of Virginia the honor of the whole undertaking, which primarily belongs to the States of Tennessee and North Carolina, and upon Col. William Campbell the whole credit, which primarily belongs to Isaac Shelby and John Sevier. When I tell you that I am a Tennessean and a descendant of Sevier, you will perhaps need no further explanation of my attitude.

"The report on which the Senate has already acted was drawn up, or was at least presented, by the late Senator John W. Daniel, a man so high and clean in character that it would be folly to call in question the sincerity of his motives. Nearly everything in it is strictly true. The only paragraph to which I should seriously object is the quoted one that suggests the superior quality of the Virginians on the Upper Holston to their Tennessee neighbors lower down the same stream. It is unfortunate that such a hint—so wide of the fact, and so entirely without bearing on the case—should have been introduced into a printed document. I shall not waste time in seeking to rebut it. My chief quarrel with the report is based not on what is in it, but on what is left out of it. A casual reader glancing through it, would not infer that the Tennesseans and North Carolinians played anything more than a very unimportant part in the affair with which it deals, though at one

place, presently to be noticed, their primacy is conceded in two or three lines.

"Do not suppose for one moment, Gentlemen, that I wish to belittle what the Virginians did at this great juncture. Then, as ever, they played the man. Myself of Virginia blood and ancestry reaching back to 1650, I am proud of the record which the Old Dominion has put into our national history. Nor shall I be guilty of the low task of trying to asperse the good name of Colonel Campbell, who was unquestionably a brave and patriotic man, and whose posterity embraces a body of American citizens equal to the best to be found in all the land. The old controversies, which did not touch any essential point in his character, but bore only upon his action during the latter part of the battle, ought never to have been raised, and should certainly now be allowed to rest.

"All this said, however, there are some important facts that, in the interests of truth and justice, must not be overlooked.

#### "WHO ORIGINATED THE EXPEDITION?"

"It is certain that General Campbell had nothing in the world to do with it. The credit of it belongs solely and wholly to Isaac Shelby and John Sevier. More than this, Colonel Campbell was with difficulty persuaded to join in it even after it was set on foot. See Shelby's pamphlet published as an appendix to Draper's 'King's Mountain and its Heroes,' pages 560-563; Draper's own statement, pages 168-173; Roosevelt's 'The Winning of the West,' pages 252-255; Ramsey's 'Annals of Tennessee,' and Senator Daniel's report, page 6, lines 26-30.

"The following short outline embodies the substance of what is contained in these volumes: During the summer of 1780 Colonel Shelby, Major Charles Robertson and Captain Valentine Sevier, a younger brother of Colonel Sevier, went on a campaign into South Carolina with about two hundred men, and participated in the successful battles of Thicketty Fort, Musgrove Mills, and Cedar Spring. On their return to their homes they were pursued as far as Gilbert Town, North Carolina, near the foot of the mountains, by the British Colonel, Ferguson, who, by all accounts, was one of the most courageous and most capable soldiers in the King's army. Through a paroled prisoner, one Samuel Phillips, he sent word to the mountain men from that point that if they did not at once lay down their arms he would cross over the intervening ranges, hang their leaders, and devastate their country. Never did a vain and insolent message meet with a swifter response. Phillips took it straight to Colonel Shelby, of Sullivan County, who was his kinsman and lived near the present city of Bristol. Within a day or two Shelby mounted his horse and rode about fifty miles to see Colonel John Sevier of Washington County. When he started on that ride there is not the slightest evidence that he had formed any definite plan of action. On the contrary, he himself affirms over and over again that he and Sevier between



them—they were together two full days—determined, 'after some consultation', what they would do. Here is his exact language, repeated for substance in many places: 'In a few days I went fifty or sixty miles to see Colonel Sevier, who was the efficient Commander of Washington County, North Carolina, to inform him of the message I had received and to concert with him measures of defense.' But before they separated all thought of mere 'defense' was abandoned, and an agreement was reached to strike the first blow. 'After some consultation,' continues Shelby, 'we determined to march with all the men we could raise, and attempt to surprise Ferguson by attacking him in his camp, or at any rate before he was prepared for us.' Which of the two leaders first proposed this bold stroke can never now be known. Neither of them, as far as I am aware, ever claimed the exclusive honor of it. Somehow or other it came out in the course of their discussion, but any attempt to say just how must now be futile. The minds of the two men were like flint on steel. (See Appendix to Draper, p. 562.)

"Having decided on the main point, Shelby and Sevier went vigorously to work to arrange all the details of the proposed campaign. They resolved, first, to get their regiments in readiness and rendezvous at the Sycamore Shoals of the Watauga on September 25; secondly, to secure through Sevier's efforts, the co-operation of Colonel Charles McDowell and the one hundred and sixty North Carolina refugees, who had crossed the mountains for safety and were scattered among the residents of the Watauga and the Nollichucky; thirdly, to secure through Colonel Shelby the co-operation of Colonel William Campbell and the men under him in the adjacent district of Virginia; and, fourthly, to raise on their personal security the sum of \$15,000 for the purchase of necessary equipment.

"Everything went through without a hitch, except that Colonel Campbell at first positively refused to lend his assistance, stating that he was minded to raise what men he could and start down into southern Virginia, to oppose Lord Cornwallis as he approached that State. Shelby himself shall tell the rest of the story. He says:

" 'Of this'—

" 'Campbell's refusal—

" 'I notified Colonel Sevier by an express the next day, and at once issued an order calling on all the militia of the country to hold themselves in readiness to march at the time appointed. I felt, however, some disappointment at the reply of Colonel Campbell. The Cherokee towns were not more than eighty or one hundred miles from the frontiers of my county; and we had received information that these Indians were preparing a formidable attack on us in the course of a few weeks. I was, therefore, unwilling that we should take away the whole disposable force of our counties at such a time; and without the aid of the militia under Colonel

Campbell's command I feared that we could not otherwise have a sufficient force to meet Ferguson. I, therefore, wrote a second letter to Colonel Campbell, and sent the same messenger (Moses Shelby) back with it immediately, to whom I communicated at large our views and intentions, and directed him to urge them on Colonel Campbell. This letter and messenger produced the desired effect, and Campbell wrote me that he would meet me at the time and place appointed. It surely cannot detract from the merits of Colonel Campbell that this expedition was set on foot, not by him, but by others. He lived in Virginia, in a state of comparative security, and was preparing to aid his own State when she should be invaded. We lived in North Carolina, a great part of which was prostrate before the British arms. We were nearer to the enemy and were threatened. We determined, therefore, to anticipate the invasion and vengeance that were meditated against us, and to strike the first blow. To do this effectually, we asked for, and we received, the aid of the nearest county in a neighboring State. This was surely the natural and ordinary course of things.'

"Such first-hand evidence from such a man as Shelby, even if it stood alone, would be sufficient to establish my contention: but it does not stand alone. Every historian of any consequence confirms it in toto. In short, then, Shelby and Sevier, with Campbell or without him, and even if they had to strip their own counties of every available fighting man, had fully made up their minds to take the risk of meeting Ferguson's bluff; but they naturally desired to avoid, if it were possible, the necessity of leaving their families utterly exposed to the tender mercies of the Cherokees. For this latter reason, they asked for and, after some delay, received the generous support of Colonel Campbell and his men.

"The later career of General Campbell is given so fully in Senator Daniel's report that it is scarcely necessary to repeat it here. Suffice it to say that he took an honorable part in the Battle of Guilford Court House and one or two other minor engagements, then resigned his commission in the army and was elected to represent Washington County, Virginia, in the State Legislature. In 1781, however, he was made a Brigadier-General of the Virginia line, and recalled to the field under Lafayette. During August of the same year he was seized with a sudden illness and died a few days afterwards in his thirty-sixth year, to the grief of the whole Commonwealth.

"Both Shelby and Sevier lived on until old age, with increasing fame to the end, the latter expiring in 1815 and the former not till 1826. The following sketch of Shelby is taken without change from the Souvenir Program published on the occasion of the presentation of a portrait bust to Memorial Continental Hall at the Twentieth Congress of the National Society of the Daughters of the American Revolution:

"Born December 11, 1750, in Frederick County, Md., near the North Mountain and in the vicinity of Hagerstown. Employed until 21 years of age in farming and herding cattle for his father, Capt. Evan Shelby. In 1771 removed with other members of the Shelby family to the Holston region in southwest Virginia. Shared the customary experiences and adventures of a pioneer and frontiersman. Served as lieutenant in company of Fincastle troops, of which his father, Evan Shelby, was captain, Dummore's War, fighting valiantly at Point Pleasant on October 10, 1774. Of the affair at Point Pleasant, which has often been called the first battle of the American Revolution, Lieut. Shelby, in a letter to his uncle, John Shelby, written a few days after the battle, has left us the best first-hand account. He remained as second in command of a garrison at the mouth of the Great Kanawha until July, 1775. For nearly a year following he explored, located and surveyed lands in Kentucky. In July, 1776, while in Kentucky, he was appointed captain of a minute company by the committee of safety in Virginia. In 1777 he was appointed by Gov. Patrick Henry, of Virginia, a commissary of supplies for an extensive body of militia guarding the frontier posts. In 1778 he was engaged in the commissary department, providing supplies for the Continental Army and for an expedition, by way of Pittsburgh, against the northwestern Indians. He rendered similar service in 1779. In the spring of that year he was elected a member of the Virginia Legislature from Washington County, and in the fall of the same year was commissioned a major by Gov. Thomas Jefferson, in the escort of guards to the commissioners for establishing the boundary line between Virginia and North Carolina. By the extension of this line his residence was found to be in North Carolina, and shortly afterwards he was appointed by Gov. Caswell a colonel of the new county of Sullivan. On the 30th of July, 1780, he captured a formidable Tory stronghold on the Pacolet River. He was largely responsible for the victory in the Battle of Musgrove's Mill, August 18, 1780; was one of those in chief command in the Battle of King's Mountain, October 7, 1780, and contributed most largely to the success there achieved. A few months later, in command of a troop, he joined Gen. Francis Marion, and served under him until near the end of the war.

"In 1781 he was elected a member of the North Carolina Legislature; in 1783 moved to Kentucky; member of three of the Kentucky conventions held in 1787, 1788 and 1789, preparatory to applying for statehood; in January, 1791, appointed with Gen. Charles Scott, Benjamin Logan, and two others a member of the local board of war, created by Congress for the district of Kentucky with full discretionary power to provide for the defense of the frontier settlements, and the prosecution of the war with the Indians; high sheriff of Lincoln County, Ky., until his election as governor in May, 1792; member of convention which framed



first constitution of Kentucky in April, 1792; one of the first trustees of Transylvania Seminary (afterwards Transylvania University), appointed in 1783; also member and chairman of the first board of trustees of Center College, founded in 1819; first governor of Kentucky, 4th of June, 1792-1796; again elected governor, 1812-1816; and led 4,000 Kentucky volunteers to join Gen. Harrison in the Northwest for the invasion of Canada, where the British were defeated at the Battle of the Thames, 5th of October, 1813. For his heroic services in this campaign and battle he was awarded a gold medal by Congress on the 4th of April, 1818. In 1817 selected by President Monroe as Secretary of War, but declined office on score of age. Was one of the presidential electors for Kentucky in 1797, in 1801, and in 1805. In 1818 was commissioned with Gen. Andrew Jackson to hold treaty with Chickasaw Tribe of Indians for purchase of lands west of Tennessee River, which service he performed with entire satisfaction to all parties concerned. Died 18th of July, 1826, at his historic home, 'Traveler's Rest,' Lincoln County, Ky. Counties in nine States have been named Shelby in his honor. Married at Boonesboro, Ky., in 1783, Susannah Hart, daughter of Capt. Nathaniel Hart, one of the proprietors of the Transylvania Co.

"Sevier was born September 23, 1745, 6 miles from the present village of New Market, in what was then Augusta and is now Rockingham County, Va. His father, Valentine Sevier 1st, the son of a Huguenot refugee and an English mother, had come to the colony from London between 1730 and 1740, settling first in Culpeper and removing thence to the valley; and his mother, Joanna Goode, was the granddaughter of John Goode, who immigrated by way of the Barbados in 1650, and became the ancestor of an immense posterity. Sevier himself, after securing at Staunton the best education obtainable on the border, was married in his seventeenth year to Miss Sarah Hawkins, the daughter of Mr. Joseph Hawkins and the granddaughter of Samuel Hawkins, one of four brothers who came over about 1685. Before he was 25 he had amassed what was for that time a comfortable fortune in farming and merchandising. He had also taken some part in the French and Indian War and had been appointed a militia captain by Lord Dunmore, the last royal governor of Virginia. After two trips in 1771-72 to the infant settlement on the Holston he removed his family thither in the early winter of 1773, reaching his destination on Christmas Day of that year. His next brother, Valentine Sevier 2nd, had preceded him, and his venerable father, then 74 years of age, and his four brothers and three sisters, accompanied him.

"From the day of Sevier's arrival in the Holston country he was a marked man, as he would have been anywhere. His primacy on the border for the next forty years is an indisputable fact. Almost at once he was elected one of the five judges of



the Watagua Association, the self-governing community, which the newcomers, with the hereditary political instincts of English-speaking people, had organized for their own protection. In 1776, in connection with James Robertson, he defended Fort Lee, near Elizabethton, against an attack of the Cherokee Indians. In the autumn of the same year he drew up the petition to the provincial council of North Carolina, praying to be formally annexed to that colony. This document, full of courage and patriotism, was signed by one hundred and fifteen persons, only two of whom found it necessary to make their marks. A little later he was chosen, together with John Carter and John Haile, to represent the Watauga and Nollichucky region, thenceforth known first, as Washington District, and after 1777 as Washington County in the provincial congress, which met at Halifax November 12, 1776, and framed the first constitution of North Carolina. Even at that early date he foresaw the necessity at some future time of a new State beyond the mountains, and secured the insertion into the constitution of a clause providing for it.

"In 1777 he was made Lieutenant Colonel of the Washington County militia, and full Colonel, to succeed Colonel John Carter, on February 3, 1781. Between the first-mentioned date and 1793 he was in thirty-five battles or skirmishes with the British and Indians, and was never once defeated. John Fiske says that he speedily won for himself the title of 'the lion of the border.' Governor Blount declared at the time that 'his name carried more dismay than a regiment of soldiers.' McMaster affirms that 'he lived more romances than were ever written in any book.' Phelan says:

" 'No one, indeed, was more generous than he. In many respects he was one of the heroes of our history, a veritable knight templar.'

"Roosevelt adds at greater length:

" 'For many years Sevier was the best Indian fighter on the border. He was far more successful than Clark, for instance, inflicting greater loss on his foes, though he never had anything like Clark's number of followers. His mere name was a word of dread to the Cherokees, the Chickamaugas, and the upper Creeks. He wielded great influence over his own followers, whose love for and trust in 'Chucky Jack' were unbounded. He was open-hearted and hospitable, with winning ways toward all, and combined a cool head with a dauntless heart. He loved a battle for its own sake, and was never so much at ease as when under fire.'

"The mere list of Sevier's services, civil and military, would fill a page. From 1780 to 1784 he led half a dozen brilliant campaigns against the Indians, besides joining with Shelby, in response to an appeal of General Greene, on an expedition of relief to Marion. From 1784 to 1788 he was Governor of the abortive State of Franklin, which was created out of necessity

when North Carolina ceded its western territory to the moribund Continental Congress. That this movement was not intended as an act of disloyalty to the General Government is evident from the fact that it promptly sent its Representative, in the person of William Cocke, to Congress, asking to be admitted with the other colonies. When it collapsed in 1788, Sevier was indicted for treason against the State of North Carolina. With this indictment hanging over him he was elected to the State Senate in 1789, and went to Fayetteville to claim his seat. By act of the Legislature all his disabilities were promptly removed, and he was designated Brigadier-General for the whole section from which he came. What is now the State of Tennessee was also set up as a Congressional district, and in 1790 he was, without opposition, elected to the Federal Congress, and sat in that body as the very first Representative from the Mississippi Valley.

"North Carolina having made, in 1790, another act of cession of the territory to the Federal Government, Sevier was named by President Washington both as Brigadier-General of the militia and as a member of the Governor's Council or Territorial Senate, both of which positions he continued to hold till 1796, when Tennessee was admitted into the Union. He was then chosen first Governor of the State, and by two subsequent re-elections occupied the gubernatorial chair till 1801. Being succeeded by Archibald Roane, he became a candidate for the Major Generalcy of the State militia, a post then for the first time created, with Andrew Jackson, twenty years his junior, as his antagonist. The choice was in the hands of the field officers, and the balloting resulted in a tie. Roane, as Governor, cast the deciding vote, which, by the way, sent Jackson to New Orleans, and probably affected the whole subsequent history of the country.

"In 1802 Sevier was one of the commissioners to run the boundary line between Virginia and Tennessee. The next year, being again eligible under the Constitution, he once more sought the Governorship, and though Roane, with the active and vociferous backing of Jackson, stood against him, he was elected by a large majority, and continued for three other terms, the last two without even a show of opposition. For 1810-11 he was a member of the State Senate. From 1811 to 1815 he was a member of Congress from the Knoxville district, serving during the whole period of our second war with England as a member of the Committee on Military Affairs. Mr. Madison, at the beginning of the war, offered him a Generalship in the army, but he declined it on the score of advanced age. It is also to be said that President Adams had given him a similar post in the Provisional Army in 1798, when war was threatened with France.

"At the close of the Congressional session of 1815 President Monroe appointed him one of the commissioners to run the lines of the Creek Indians in Alabama. While on that service he died in camp on the east side of the Tallapoosa, near Fort Decatur,

Alabama, September 24, 1815, being seventy years and one day of age. During his absence from home his constituents had unanimously re-elected him to Congress. His remains rested in their lonely grave until 1887, when the State of Tennessee, which had treated his memory with a niggardliness beyond conception, appropriated the munificent sum of \$500 to remove the dust to Knoxville. A ceremonious reinterment, participated in by thousands of people, took place in the courthouse grounds of that city. Private citizens, in default of public action, erected a handsome monument over his grave.

"In view of the foregoing facts, Phelan is doubtless justified in saying:

"John Sevier is the most prominent name in Tennessee History, and within these limits and upon this field, he is the most brilliant civil and military figure this State has ever produced. \* \* \* \* His enthusiasm, his daring, his resolute quickness, his knightly disposition made him the idol of his soldiers and his neighbors. \* \* To say that he was in his sphere a statesman of the first order of ability, and that as a warrior he was excelled by none who engaged in the same mode of warfare, and that he never lost a battle, claims for him a high place among the great men of the world. \* \* \* The basis of his character was laid in truth and in honor. He was loved because he had a loving heart. The gentle word, the quick sympathy, the open hand, the high purpose, the dauntless courage, the impetuosity, the winning suavity, were the wings and the turrets and the battlements of a magnificent and harmonious structure."

"It is a somewhat remarkable fact that while most American historians seem to have a personal grudge against our other Tennessee hero, 'Old Hickory,' they are all fascinated by Sevier. With one more quotation from Roosevelt I shall close my account of him:

"Sevier, who came to the Watauga nearly a year after Robertson and his little colony had arrived, differed widely from his friend in almost every respect save high-mindedness and dauntless, invincible courage. He was a gentleman by birth and breeding. \* \* To the end of his days he was an interested and intelligent observer of men and things both in America and Europe. He corresponded on intimate and equal terms with Madison, Franklin, and others of our most polished statesmen. \* \* \* Sevier was a very handsome man, reputed during his life the very handsomest in Tennessee. He was tall, fair-skinned, blue-eyed, brown-haired, of slender build, with erect, military carriage and commanding bearing. \* \* From his French forefathers he had inherited a gay, pleasure-loving temperament that made him the most charming of companions. His manners were polished and easy, and he had great natural dignity. \* \* \* \* Such were Sevier and Robertson; and these two men afterwards proved themselves to be, with the exception of George Rogers Clark, the greatest of the first generation of trans-Allegheny pioneers."



"WHAT FORCES THE VARIOUS STATES PUT INTO THE EXPEDITION.

"On September 25, as above stated, the backwoodsmen mustered at Sycamore Shoals, on the Watauga River, in what was then Washington County, North Carolina, and is now Carter County, Tennessee. Shelby and Sevier brought each two hundred and forty men, or about one-half the fighting strength of their respective regiments. McDowell brought one hundred and sixty North Carolina refugees, eager to return and fight for their own soil, and William Campbell two hundred Virginians. The next day Arthur Campbell appeared with two hundred more, gathered from farther east. These he turned over to his cousin, while he himself went back home. The start was made, therefore, with 1,040 men. A more romantic scene was never witnessed. Beside the soldiers, who were clad in home-made hunting shirts and buckskin shoes, armed with Decherd rifles, and mounted on tough horses, there were hundreds of others present to say good-by. Among the latter was Samuel Doak, the Presbyterian minister, a graduate of Princeton, and the founder of the first college west of the Alleghanies, who feared God so much that he feared nothing else, and would have made a fit chaplain for a regiment of Cromwell's Ironsides—a man of immense influence on the early history of the State.

"On September 30, having made the passage of the mountains, the army reached Quaker Meadows, the beautiful home of Colonel McDowell, and received its first reinforcement of three hundred and fifty North Carolina militiamen from the counties of Wilkes and Surrey, who were creeping along through the woods, hoping to meet with some party going to harass the enemy.

"They were commanded by Benjamin Cleveland, a mighty hunter and Indian fighter, and an adventurous wanderer in the wilderness. He was an uneducated backwoodsman, famous for his great size and his skill with the rifle, no less than for the curious mixture of courage, rough good humor, and brutality in his character.

"It cannot be said that he was very devout in his life, but he was, nevertheless, a most orthodox Presbyterian in his belief. One of his grim pieces of humor, as we learn from the diary of Lieutenant Allaire, of the British army, who was captured at King's Mountain, was to require the prisoners under his charge, officers and all, to attend divine service and listen to a Calvinistic sermon 'as full of republicanism as the rebel army is of horse thieves.' It is even said that he was a ruling elder, with the accent no doubt, on the word ruling.

"Five days later Hill, Hampton, Lacey and Williams fell in with about four hundred men, chiefly from York and Chester Counties, South Carolina. Smaller detachments under Chronicle and Hambricht, from Burke and Lincoln Counties, North Carolina, and under Major William Chandler, from Georgia, as well as a number of straggling bands, were likewise taken up on the



march, raising the total strength of the army to between eighteen hundred and fifty and nineteen hundred men. It will thus be seen that Virginia furnished only a little more than one-fifth of the men on the march. That they were real men nobody should be rash enough to deny.

"Late in the evening of October 5, after a march of only twelve miles during the whole day, a halt was made at Green River. Both men and horses were so jaded that the leaders knew it would be impossible for the whole of them to move fast enough to overtake Ferguson, who had rapidly fallen back in front of them from Gilbert Town. They therefore, determined to select about seven hundred and fifty of the least tired and best mounted men, and make a bold push for their game, leaving the rest to follow as rapidly as possible. For days they had been living on green corn, but before starting on the final stretch they slaughtered some beeves and had a great feast. At the Cowpens on the evening of the 6th they met the South Carolinians before mentioned, enough of whom joined in the advance to bring their strength up to nine hundred and ten, besides a squad of perhaps fifty, who followed on foot, and some of whom managed to get up in time for the fighting. Of the nine hundred and ten, only two hundred were of Campbell's Virginians.

"Then came a marvelous feat of endurance. Leaving Cowpens after dark, these resolute patriots marched without halting through the whole night, which was dark and drizzly. Many of them got scattered in the woods, but rejoined their commands at break of day. Right on to the south they bore, never pausing nor slacking their gait. In the course of the morning a pouring rain came down upon them, but they wrapped their blankets about their rifles, sat in their saddles, and spurred ahead. At a little after noon, October 7, they had reached the end of their journey, and were not more than three miles from the elevated spur, five hundred or six hundred yards long and two hundred and fifty wide from base to base, on which Ferguson had taken his position and was waiting for the help from Cornwallis which never came. Of the battle itself I shall speak hereafter. Another matter demands attention now.

#### "THE QUESTION OF A COMMANDER.

"Until the expedition had reached Cane Creek, on October 4, no question appears to have arisen about a commander-in-chief. Each Colonel, as was customary in border warfare, led his own men. As, however, some lack of discipline had shown itself, and as they were now approaching the enemy it was wisely thought necessary to have one head for the rest of the march and for the battle which seemed certain to be fought. This place would naturally have fallen to Colonel McDowell, who was the senior officer present, and, besides, was then in his own

district. But he was not deemed sufficiently alert for such a post. So the determination was formed to send a messenger to the camp of General Greene and ask for a general officer to assume the command. McDowell consented to the plan and volunteered to be the bearer of the written message, which was signed by the Colonels in the following order: Cleaveland, Shelby, Sevier, Campbell, Hampton, and Winston. (See Roosevelt, Vol. II, p. 263, footnote.)

"In the meantime Shelby nominated Campbell as temporary commander, and he was chosen *nem. con.* The reasons assigned by Shelby for his action were as follows: McDowell would not have submitted gracefully if any one of the North Carolina Colonels, all of whom were his juniors in rank, had been preferred before him; and, secondly, Campbell was not only a Virginian and less likely to arouse McDowell's jealousy, but he was also at the head of the largest regiment.

" 'In this way—

" 'Says Shelby—

and upon my suggestion, was Colonel Campbell raised to the command, and not on account of any superior military talents or experience he was supposed to possess. He had no previous acquaintance with any of the Colonels except myself, nor he at that time any experience or distinction in war that we knew of.'

"How much and how little Campbell's elevation meant is indicated by Draper, who says, page 190:

" 'Colonel Campbell now assumed the chief command in which, however, he was to be directed and regulated by the determination of the Colonels, who were to meet every day for consultation. Equally significant is the fact that the report of the battle, which was made several days after it occurred, was signed first by Cleaveland, then by Campbell, and then by Shelby. Sevier's name was not attached, he having already started home to meet a threatened uprising of the Cherokees.'

"Dr. Draper says, footnote to page 352:

" 'Perhaps, as a compliment, Colonel Cleaveland was permitted to head the list in signing the report, as shown in facsimile in Lossing's Field Book of the Revolution. But when General Gates sent a copy, November 1, 1780, to Governor Jefferson, to forward to Congress, having properly placed Campbell's name first, Shelby next, and Cleaveland's last, and so they appear as published in the gazettes at the time by the order of Congress.'

"Whether Colonel Campbell, who carried the report to Jefferson, suggested the change, which there would have been no impropriety in his doing, cannot now be told. The circumstances are warranted simply as showing that Campbell's command carried no such precedence, in the estimation of his associates, as would belong to a commander in a thoroughly organized modern army.

"THE BATTLE ITSELF.

"And now, Gentlemen of the Committee, having followed the track of the patriot army from Sycamore Shoals to within about three miles of King's Mountain, it remains to give a brief account of the battle itself, which will show that no one of the colonels in command had such a pre-eminence in the actual fighting as to entitle him to the sole credit of the victory.

"After falling back for some days in a leisurely and circuitous fashion, Ferguson had halted here and gone into camp. Why he should have done so it is difficult to say. He knew that he was pressed by a strong force. His appeal to Cornwallis for three or four hundred dragoons shows that he was not insensible to the dangers that compassed him about, though it is evident that he had taken no accurate gauge of the martial qualities of his adversaries. If he had moved right on from Gilbert Town without needless delays, he might easily have reached Cornwallis' main army at Charlotte, thirty-five miles distant. The only rational explanation of his conduct is to be found in the assumption that, as a proud and successful British officer, unused to defeat or retreat, he could not bear the thought of being driven in for safety by what he was pleased to describe as 'a horde of banditti.' In short, it was simply another case of pride going before destruction and a haughty spirit before a downfall.

"The spot which Ferguson chose for a secure encampment, was simply one of the ridges of King's Mountain, sixty feet high, five or six hundred yards long, seventy yards broad on top, and two hundred and fifty or three hundred yards from base to base. It was bare on the summit, but covered with boulders and trees on the sides, a fact which, as ought to have been foreseen, gave a great advantage to an attacking force. The only supply of water was a rather inconveniently situated spring on the northwest of the mountain. An abundance of wood might have been secured for abatis, but Ferguson did not take the precaution to use it. In fact, the only appearance of defense was the line of baggage wagons drawn up in the neighborhood of headquarters along the northeastern part of the mountain. Confident that he could not be dislodged, Ferguson fatuously awaited his doom. As to the exact number of men under his command there is some doubt. The official report of the American officers, based on papers found in the camp after the battle, puts it at 1,125; but it appears probable that some two hundred had gone away in the morning on a foraging expedition, leaving, say, nine hundred in the fight. Of these about one hundred were provincial rangers, gathered largely from New York and New Jersey. They were seasoned soldiers, a sort of corps d'elite, having seen much service and being especially expert with the bayonet. The rest of the corps was made up of Tory militiamen from the two Carolinas. They had been carefully drilled under Ferguson's direction and were formidable fighters.



"The mountaineers were well aware that Ferguson might yet change his mind and continue his retreat or that he might receive such a re-inforcement from Cornwallis as would make him too strong to be safely attacked, so they resolved to deliver an instant blow. Having traveled so far and undergone such hardship in pursuit of their game, they were not in the least inclined to miss it at the very last.

"It was determined to march at once upon the camp and decide the conflict without further rest or refreshment. Each man was ordered to tie up his overcoat and blanket, throw the priming out of his pan, pick his touchhole, prime anew, examine his bullets, and see that everything was in readiness for the battle. While this was being done the officers agreed upon the general line of attack, which was to surround the eminence and make a simultaneous assault upon every part of the camp. The men were soon in their saddles and on their march.

"When not more than half a mile from Ferguson's camp and in full view of it, they dismounted, tied their horses, leaving a small guard with them, and proceeded on foot. To march as cavalry and fight as infantry was their uniform habit. On this particular occasion no other course would have been a possibility.

"Draper gives an excellent diagram, facing page 236, the careful study of which will be a great help to anyone wishing to understand the exact order of the battle. It shows that the regiments of Campbell and Shelby were thrown almost square across the southern end of the mountain, the former on the right and the latter on the left, and the two together constituting the center of the American army. Joining Campbell on the right, and stretching thence to the east along the northern base of the mountain, Sevier, McDowell, and Winston, in that order, made up the right wing; while joining Shelby on the left, and stretching north along the southern base of the mountain, Williams, with several small detachments, Lacey, and Cleveland, in that order, made up the left wing. At the northern end of the mountain, Hambright and Chronicle completed the circle of investment, touching Winston on the right and Cleveland on the left, and thus making the escape of the British impossible, except by their breaking through the lines. To use different language, Campbell commanded in person the right center, Shelby the left center, Sevier the right wing, and Cleveland the left wing. Under these four the other officers took their places according to rank.

"Up to about this time, owing to the nature of the ground and the thick screen of forests, Ferguson had not become aware of the proximity of his foes. As soon, however, as he spied them he prepared for action. The facility with which he got his men into line is a great tribute to his ability. There can be no doubt that he was a true British bulldog, and had also a rare capacity for infusing his own spirit into those who fought under him. It is not belittling our countrymen to admit that they had found a foeman



worthy of their steel. On the contrary, it is enhancing their merit to say that they dared to precipitate themselves upon even such an antagonist.

"At length the several divisions started for the scene of action, marching two men deep, and led by their commanders. As the right and left wings had to make a considerable circuit to get into their assigned places in the line, they were delayed ten minutes longer than had been expected. The first fire of the enemy was delivered, it appears, on Shelby's column, wounding some of his men, but he bade them keep quiet and press on till they were in position to give an effective return. Campbell opened the ball by pressing up the southern front of the mountain, his men loading and firing with great execution as they went. Before they reached the summit, however, they were met by DePeyster and his rangers, whom Ferguson had sent to check them, and were driven with considerable confusion to the bottom of the hill. Indeed, they did not stop until they had crossed a narrow hollow and climbed another elevation beyond it. Facing cold steel was an unusual experience with them, and naturally they recoiled from it. But with true courage they soon rallied to the call of their officers and again moved forward.

"The rangers, meantime, had found other work to do, for Shelby also had pushed his line against the enemy immediately in his front. This bold action on his part drew the Rangers off to oppose him. He fought most bravely, as he always did. Bancroft describes him as 'a man of the hardest make, stiff as iron, among the dauntless singled out for dauntlessness.' But, he too, was compelled to retreat before the charging column.

"By this time the right and left wings were in place and pressing hard against the British position. When Campbell and Shelby, therefore, came on once more they found less difficulty than at first. Ramsey says that the next bayonet charge against them, though the Rangers were joined in it by a considerable number of militiamen, who had butcher knives, was short and feebly executed. This statement does not agree with the declarations of some who were present, but all the circumstances indicate that it is probably correct. Nevertheless, the fact that Campbell lost fourteen men killed, of whom thirteen were officers, shows how fierce the fighting was in his front. Shelby also lost heavily, though, strangely enough, no complete list of the killed and wounded in his regiment has ever been published. It is also a fact that both Campbell and Shelby were again driven down the declivity, though not as far as before. It was at this juncture that the report spread among the mountaineers that Tarleton was coming with his cavalry.

"It seemed to have a dispiriting effect, when the officers, including Colonel Sevier, rode along the lines, calling upon the men to halt, assuring them that Tarleton was not there; and that if he were, they could also make him, like Ferguson's Rangers, turn his back and flee up the mountain.' (Draper, p. 267.)

"The battle lasted for about an hour and every part of the army behaved admirably. Hambright and Chronicle, weak as they were in numbers, ventured to clamber up the northern end of the ridge, though Chronicle himself was killed at the very beginning of the onset, and several other of the officers and men before they reached the summit, and the rest were met and temporarily repulsed by the bayonet. Cleaveland was a little late getting started on the left wing, but played a man's part to the end. On the right Sevier never wavered. A portion of his regiment on the left got mixed up with Campbell's men and were in the rushes from the front. But his main body was not charged. So says his son, Maj. James Sevier, who, as a boy of sixteen, fought through the whole battle, as did also an older son Joseph and his four brothers, Captains Valentine and Robert and Privates Abraham and Joseph Sevier. Capt. Robert Sevier was mortally wounded toward the end of the engagement and died while on the way back to Watauga.

"As to which particular commander was the first to reach and hold the summit there has been some dispute, but the question would appear to be settled by the official report, signed a few days later by Campbell, Shelby, and Cleaveland. It says:

" 'The troops upon the right, having gained the summit of the eminence, obliged the enemy to retreat along the top of the ridge where Colonel Cleaveland commanded, and where they were stopped by his brave men.'

"The Hon. W. C. Preston quoted this passage many years later to show that Campbell was entitled to the distinction in question, in apparent oblivion of the fact that Campbell commanded the right center, while the whole of the right wing was commanded by Sevier, with Majors McDowell and Winston under him. Draper fully confirms the view that I have expressed, page 226:

" 'Sevier's column at length gained the summit of the hill, driving the enemy's left flank upon his center.'

"But, really, the whole matter is comparatively trivial, for before the end came all the different commands were on the summit and had girdled Ferguson's men, who were now huddled together on the northern end of the ridge with a ring of fire. In spite of his heavy losses and the utter desperateness of his situation he refused to think of surrendering. Once and again his men hoisted white flags, but he promptly rode up and cut them down with his sword. It is said that even De Peyster begged him to submit to the inevitable, and that he profanely spurned the suggestion. At last, satisfied that all was lost, he rose in his stirrups and started to escape by dashing through his foes. But in the very act of doing so he was pierced by half a dozen rifle balls. 'It was in the region of Sevier's column,' says Draper, 'that he received his fatal shots.' De Peyster then promptly raised a white flag, but owing to some misunderstanding the firing did not cease till a few moments later.

"After some confusion the prisoners were disarmed and put under guard, Shelby and Sevier appearing instantly on the spot, and Colonel Campbell a few moments later. There are positive statements from equally reputable men as to who received De Peyster's sword, some saying that it was Maj. Evan Shelby, and others that it was Colonel Campbell. The only possible reconciliation of the contradiction is that it may have been handed first to Maj. Shelby and then passed on to Colonel Campbell. Ferguson's sash, a magnificent one of red silk, and his long and heavy field glass, as well as his lieutenant colonel's commission were brought off by Sevier, and are now in possession of the Tennessee Historical Society. Draper says that Sevier also got De Peyster's sword, page 308. Of this there must be some doubt. Each of the commanders secured some memento of the battle.

"The victory was complete. On the American side the loss was only eight-eight killed and wounded; on the British it was three hundred and thirty-four killed and wounded, and six hundred and forty-eight taken prisoners. Thus closed a great day in the woods. A humane and Christian man must revolt from bloodshed, and yet he may well feel that resistance to cruel aggression is justified, and may admire without stint the heroism of the men who offer it.

#### "IN CONCLUSION.

"And now, Gentlemen of the Committee, I invite your attention to the claims with which I set out. Not saying a word to which any partisan of Colonel Campbell could rationally object, I think I have shown, first, that he was not in any sense the originator of the expedition, but simply, after urgent and repeated solicitation, fell in with the plans of Shelby and Sevier; secondly, that, including both his own muster of troops and those that were brought to him by Arthur Campbell, he had under his command less than one-fourth of the men who were actually on the march or in the fight; thirdly, that the fact of his being appointed chief commander was not due to his superior military ability or experience, but was simply a piece of wise magnanimity on the part of the other colonels, and especially of Isaac Shelby, who really ranked him in seniority; fourthly, that even so his command was chiefly nominal, and that, after he received it, all the plans of the expedition, and finally the battle, were determined, not by him, but by a council of the colonels; fifthly, that while his part in the battle was honorable and courageous, it was not a whit more so than that of the other gentlemen associated with him. On what ground of right or justice, then, can he be elevated to a pinnacle of honor, while Sevier and Shelby, without whom certainly this chapter of our national annals would never have been made, are left to oblivion? If Virginia desires to put Gen. Campbell into such a lofty place, let her do it. But she ought not to ask the Federal Government to give its official sanction to such unhistorical pretensions.



"Nor is it, Gentlemen of the Committee, for Shelby and Sevier alone that I plead, but for McDowell, and Cleaveland, and Winston, and Lacy, and the other notable men who contributed so much to American independence on that fateful October 7, 1780, and for the subaltern officers and private soldiers who matched the courage of their leaders with a spirit that was equally as high. As a Tennessean, moreover, I ask justice for my native State and for the mother State of North Carolina. King's Mountain, though not our first or last, was yet our chief point of contact with the Revolutionary War, and we cling to it. Why should Virginia, whose inheritance is so rich, desire to deprive us of our due share of the honors which our fathers fairly won? Sirs, we may safely claim to be a patriotic people. It is a source of pride to us that our ancestors, even in the lusty infancy of our great State, showed the metal of their manhood. When have Tennesseans ever failed to do so since? At the very time when Shelby and Sevier were leading their riflemen through the woods to South Carolina James Robertson and John Donelson were leading another band of Watagua folk three hundred strong who less than a year before had plunged four hundred miles farther into the depth of the wilderness to found the fair city of Nashville, at that time the uttermost outpost of the Republic in the valley of the Ohio. At their first gathering on the banks of the Cumberland to form some sort of provisional government, they had nobly resolved that they would 'hold themselves liable for their ratable share of the expenses of the war for freedom.'

"In later years the descendants of these same men broke up the Creek Confederacy at the battle of the Horseshoe and liberated the Southwest from the further fear of savage wars. They went with Andrew Jackson to New Orleans, and put a glorious and emphatic period to our second struggle with England. They were present in large force with Houston and Crockett in the contest for Texas independence. At the outbreak of hostilities with Mexico, being called on for 4,000 men, Tennessee offered 27,000, and thus anew vindicated her ancient title of 'the Volunteer State.' In our civil strife nearly the whole body of our citizenship shouldered arms on one side or the other. The first Congressional district, in which Sevier and Shelby both lived and from which their force was entirely recruited, put regiment after regiment into the Confederate Army and then furnished more volunteers for the Federal Army than any other congressional district in the United States.

"And once again, in 1898, when the nation rose up in mortal combat against Spain, Tennesseans were in the front rank and eager to take part in the fray. In the Philippines and in Cuba the records show that they deported themselves in a manner worthy of the fathers from whose loins they had sprung.

"If, therefore, a memorial of any sort is to be erected on what was in 1780 our western border, it should be either at Sycamore



Shoals, from which point the army set out, or at Bristol, on the line between the two States of Virginia and Tennessee and in the immediate vicinity of the home of Shelby; and when it is built it should stand not for one of the leaders only nor for one above the rest, but for all of them alike. In case any discrimination must be made let it be made in the interest of those who conceived the great project in advance of the rest and made its execution a feasible thing.

"But I insist, Mr. Chairman, that such an event as that which I have been discussing ought not to be belittled by any cheap or common monument in a country village. It deserves to be glorified here in our national capitol. There is an epic grandeur, Sirs, in the movement of our Anglo-Saxon stock across the Alleghanies and into the wide stretches of the Mississippi Valley, a grandeur that has never yet had adequate recognition. Does it not appeal both to our imaginations and to our hearts to think of the manly audacity of the pioneers, who, in their own strength, and without help from any external source, planted our civilization on that fertile soil, and with unequalled constancy guarded it against all intrusions till it grew to imperial dimensions? In that line of movements which has the majesty of a pageant stands out the battle of King's Mountain, not isolated and solitary in its character, but part of that great and orderly chain of sequences which has made the Middle West and the Southwest what they are today.

"Surely it would be most fitting to select some suitable site in this city of Washington, and rear on it a column of marble as a testimonial to the foresight and fidelity of these men who in their day and generation 'had knowledge of all things to know what Israel ought to do,' and did not hesitate to take the lead in the doing of it. On this marble pillar let the names be carved of Campbell and Shelby, and Sevier, and McDowell, and Cleaveland, and Lacy, and under them a group of riflemen clad in hunting shirts and armed with Dechard rifles. So may the nation acknowledge a debt of gratitude which it can never fully repay."

## CHAPTER 26.

**John Sevier's Diary—Its Authenticity—He becomes  
Congressman—Issues Address to the Cherokees  
—Expedition Against the Indians—Inaugu-  
rated Governor—Salute of Sixteen  
Cannon Discharge.**

In the preparation of the first edition of this work the author sought information about Gov. John Sevier and the Sevier family from every source he was informed or thought information of value could be had, and the substance of what was obtained was reproduced in the Sevier chapters. He learned that what purported to be a diary of Governor Sevier was in the possession of the State of Mississippi and a copy, or part copy, in the Tennessee Historical Society at Nashville; that this diary had never been printed and its existence known to but very few persons and its contents to fewer still; that no writer on Sevier ever quoted from it or even referred to it; and that it was alleged to have been in the possession of Mississippi for many years—all of which argued that the diary was not to be taken historically very seriously.

In addition to this the idea of a man of John Sevier's type and tireless activity keeping a diary was opposed altogether to the author's conception of Sevier, and made it *prima facie* incredible that a diary purporting to be his could be authentic.

Further, the space that could be accorded to Sevier and the Seviars in a one-volume history was fully taken up with material already obtained, and more could not be used and at the same time justice be done to other subjects connected with early Tennessee.

But conditions were different when it was determined to print two volumes in the present edition, and the author determined to go as thoroughly as possible into the merits of the diary and use it if found worth while. To that end he addressed a letter to Dr. Dunbar Rowland, Director of the Department of Archives and History of the State of Mississippi.

THE AUTHOR TO DR. DUNBAR ROWLAND.

Knoxville, Tenn., July 25, 1919.

Dr. Dunbar Rowland,  
Director Department of Archives  
and History, State of Mississippi,  
Jackson, Miss.

My Dear Sir:

The Department of Archives and History of the State of Mississippi has in its possession the diary of Governor John Sevier of Tennessee, of which I have a copy, and my purpose in writing is to ascertain, if possible, the evidence upon which the authenticity of this diary rests. My information is that Governor Sevier died in Alabama and that this diary, together with other personal effects of the Governor, fell into the hands of his son George W. Sevier, and that George W. Sevier later was employed by Governor Claiborne, and died while in his service and that the diary came into the hands of Governor Claiborne, who gave it to the State of Mississippi.

Will you kindly tell me the full history of how the diary came into the possession of the State of Mississippi? I am considering issuing a two-volume edition of my book, "Andrew Jackson and Early Tennessee History" (see leaflet enclosed) and want to quote from this diary of Governor Sevier, and, as it has never been printed, and is not generally known to be in existence, it will be necessary for me to give its history and show that it is authentic.

This information from you would be very highly appreciated.

Yours very truly,

S. G. HEISKELL.

Dr. Rowland made this reply:

DR. ROWLAND TO THE AUTHOR.

Jackson, Miss., August 15, 1919.

S. G. Heiskell, Esq.,  
Knoxville, Tenn.

My Dear Mr. Heiskell:

Replying to your courteous letter inquiring of the diary of Governor John Sevier, which is on file in this Department, the Sevier papers came to this Department in 1884, through the will of J. F. H. Claiborne, the Mississippi historian. He secured them for historical purposes from George W. Sevier. The diaries consist of quite a number of small memorandum books. They are in the well known handwriting of Governor Sevier and you may entirely rely on their authenticity. No complete copy of the diaries has ever been made. Extensive excerpts were made for the Tennessee Historical Society, several years ago.

With the best wishes for your undertaking, I am,

Cordially yours,

DUNBAR ROWLAND.

The copy of the diary in the author's possession is a copy of a copy obtained by Col. William A. Henderson, Assistant General Counsel of the Southern Railway Company, from the original books in which Sevier had written. It is made of 150 legal cap typewritten pages of about three hundred words to the page. A request was made of Col. Henderson for any information he might have not only in reference to his copy, but also in reference to the original books themselves, and in reply Col. Henderson wrote as follows:

W. A. HENDERSON TO THE AUTHOR.

Washington, D. C., August 25, 1919.

Hon. S. G. Heiskell,  
Knoxville, Tenn.

Dear Sir:

On my return to the city I find your letter of August 17th in reference to the Sevier diary, of which you spoke to me on the street in Knoxville. The history of that diary, so far as I am concerned, is as follows:

I had made many addresses concerning Sevier, with some of which you may be familiar. He is the most popular man that ever lived in Tennessee, Andrew Jackson notwithstanding. While in Nashville on one occasion I learned from the Chancellor of the University of Mississippi at Oxford that they had on file some ten or a dozen little pocket books which contained Sevier's diary. I soon thereafter went down to Oxford and saw them. They were little books that you could carry in your pocket and there were quite a number of them, which I looked through. I prepared an Act of the Mississippi Legislature, then in session, providing that they should be donated to the Tennessee Historical Society, which was about to go through until some patriotic Mississippi man raised the howl of State rights which killed it. I then got permission to have same copied, which he did for me at a cost of \$84.00.

The history of the little books is this: On the death of the General these books fell into the hands of his son, George, who was the private secretary of W. A. Claiborne, Governor of the Territory of Mississippi. George died in Mississippi and all of his documents went into the possession of the Governor, who was afterwards made Governor of the Territory of Louisiana and was elected Senator, but died before taking his seat; but he gave all of his historical documents to the University of Mississippi and this diary went along with the balance. So far as I know and believe what I got was a complete copy of the books and it was so bargained and paid for by me.



I gave a copy to Thos. H. Cook, Esq., and also one to the Tennessee Historical Society.

Anything I can do for you I will do with pleasure.

Yours very truly,

W. A. HENDERSON,

Asst. General Solicitor.

Col. Henderson is in error as to the Claiborne to whom George W. Sevier gave the diary; it was Col. J. F. H. Claiborne, for use in his first volume of the History of Mississippi and not to Governor Claiborne, and it was bequeathed by Col. J. F. H. Claiborne in his will to the State of Mississippi, and the Legislature of the State accepted the bequest by a joint resolution of March 8, 1882. The diary was among numerous papers so bequeathed, and, after their acceptance, the entire collection was placed at first in the custody of the University of Mississippi at Oxford, and in 1903 removed to the State Department of Archives and History at Jackson, where it now is.

#### JOINT RESOLUTION.

"Joint Resolution accepting from J. F. H. Claiborne, certain historical documents, and for other purposes.

"Whereas, Hon. J. F. H. Claiborne, the historian of Mississippi, has offered to donate to the State under proper restrictions, for the use of any of her citizens, a large and valuable collection of historical documents, embracing all the papers connected with the Indian war that desolated our eastern frontier, the voluminous correspondence and official papers of some of our Governors, files of newspapers and pamphlets published at a former era in the history of our progress as a commonwealth, and the letters and correspondence, private and public, of many of our most eminent citizens, senators and representatives in Congress, officers distinguished in the war between the States, and also the voluminous correspondence of J. F. H. Claiborne, besides other documents illustrative of every stage of our progress, from the withdrawal of the Spaniards down to the reconstruction of the State after our civil war; and

"Whereas, There are many Mississippians who share the pride cherished by the donor for his native State, some of whom may be able, with these papers to complete the work, which age, infirmity and failing health, now disqualify the donor from doing; now, therefore be it

"Resolved by the House, the Senate concurring, That we gratefully accept the valuable donation of Hon. J. F. H. Claiborne,

for the State, and in its name and for our people we hereby extend thanks to him for material so valuable to the future historian of the State and so interesting to all our citizens.

"Be it further resolved, That the custody of all the documents embraced in the donation aforesaid be committed to the care of the University of Mississippi, as the property of the State, subject to the use in the building where said documents are kept of any citizen of the State at such times and hours as the library of said university is open for use; provided however, should said J. F. H. Claiborne appoint a literary executor, facilities shall be furnished such executor by the authorities of the university, under such rules and regulations as they may prescribe, for the use of the documents described in these resolutions in preference to others on the university grounds.

"Be it further resolved, That the authorities of the University of Mississippi shall, on the delivery of said documents, cause a list of the same to be made, in duplicate, the original of which shall be forwarded to the Secretary of State to be by him deposited for safe keeping in his office.

"Be it further resolved, That the sum of one hundred dollars, or so much thereof as may be necessary, be and the same is hereby appropriated, out of any monies in the treasury not otherwise appropriated, payable on the warrant of the Auditor, in the name of the Governor, for the purpose of carrying out the object of these resolutions with respect to delivery, listing and custody of the documents herein before set forth, and that these resolutions take effect and be in force from and after their passage.

"Approved, March 8, 1882.

"A true copy of the original Act. Witness my hand and seal this 17th day of April, 1920.

(Signed) DUNBAR ROWLAND,

(Seal.)

Director."

Dr. Rowland calls the books in which the diary was originally written "small memorandum books" and Col. Henderson speaks of them as "ten or a dozen little pocket books" \* \* \* \* \* "which I looked through." This with Dr. Rowland's statement that the books are "in the well known handwriting of Governor Sevier" would seem to settle that the diary is authentic.

The authenticity out of the way, questions arose whether it should be published in full or only the material parts; whether the spelling, punctuation and capitalization should be corrected; and whether explanatory notes should accompany it.

The author decided that while the greater part of the diary is of no general historical value, it would be best for the reader to have it all placed before him to the end of lighting up the life,

trend of thought, motives, activities and incentives of the real John Sevier—John Sevier the man—and that the document should be left identically in every respect as he wrote it.

Whether notes should be added was more difficult of decision, but was settled in the negative. To be of any great value notes would take space equal to probably half of the diary, and explanations would be made of entries of no real value, and of little if any interest to the reader, either in Tennessee or elsewhere.

#### THE REAL VALUE OF THE DIARY.

The real value of the diary is as a portrayal of John Sevier, the man, and as a picture of the everyday life of the times. Of governmental, political and public matters it has little to say. Of living, personal activities and the occurrence of daily events it has much, if fact everything, and makes an expose that is always interesting and frequently delightful. It is so human and life-like and realistic. In it Sevier is not on dress parade. He is not writing for effect or for posterity. He tells of things just as they are and of events just as they happen. It makes as fine and as accurate a picture of genuine, unadorned country life and the details of that life, as was ever painted in words; and if an illustrator or a painter were to put the pictures on canvas, what a feast of realistic art they would give us and what a joy to see them.

The diary opens on May 19, 1790, when Sevier started to the City of New York to become the first Congressman from what subsequently became the State of Tennessee, but which at the time was a part of North Carolina. He tells us that he took his seat as a member of Congress June 16, 1790.

This diary is different from the work of two other distinguished Tennesseans who wrote about themselves—James K. Polk and Dr. J. G. M. Ramsey. Polk's diary is almost exclusively about his public life and occurrences during his term as President, and begins August 26, 1846 and ends June 2, 1849, thirteen days before his death, covering less than three years. While it is of immense historical value, few of the details are of the personal or everyday kind that Sevier's is filled with.

Dr. Ramsey's "Autobiography" was written for his family and descendants, with nothing on its face to show conclusively whether it was for publication or not, and the author has no other evidence on this point. It covers the Doctor's varied and widely extended personal and official activities, and many details as to

his ancestry and descendants, but it is not a diary—rather a history—and has not as strong coloring as Sevier gives.

Sevier was of French descent and after he became a member of Congress his partiality for the French is shown by his frequent visits to, and his evident intimacy with, the French Minister at Washington; and his liberal sentiments in religious matters is exhibited by his numerous visits to the Roman Catholic as well as Protestant churches.

#### RANGE OF TOPICS IN THE DIARY.

The range of topics in the diary is shown by reference to hundreds of persons and things of which the following are illustrations:

His children take dancing lessons; he buys forty-one gallons of whiskey at seventy five cents a gallon; sells a slave woman for \$333.33. Cannon were fired in 1797, celebrating Washington's birthday, and also, with other marks of respect, on his death. He goes hunting and kills a wild turkey. Has a dispute with Andrew Jackson near Kingston, Tenn. Dines with the President of the United States numerous times. Dines with Henry Clay, Speaker of the House of Representatives. Attends Mrs. Madison's levees at the President's mansion. Takes tea with James Monroe, Secretary of State. Buys two gallons of cherry wine for \$2.50. Is pall bearer at the funeral of Vice President George Clinton, and again pall bearer at the funeral of Vice President Elldridge Gerry. Received February 1, 1808, a gold medal from the Secretary of the Navy. Left his daughter Ruth's likeness with a silversmith at Georgetown to be set in gold. Had fodder pulling; slaughtered hogs and beeves; went to ball games; loaned money to friends. Gives hundreds of details of traveling expenses, hotel bills, shoeing and feeding horses and buying clothes for Mrs. Sevier and family. Paid \$100 to wagoners for hauling goods from Richmond, Va. Notes the arrival of the French Orleans Princes at Knoxville. Notes that Francis Baker was whipped at Jonesboro, Bealer whipped, cropped, branded and pilloried for horse-stealing, Robert Baker executed for burglary and Stevens burned in the hand for larceny.

#### THE GAMBLING OF THE PERIOD.

The gambling of early Tennessee was mostly confined to the games of whist and billiards, and to horse-racing and cock-



fighting. Andrew Jackson supported the last two. It is certain that Sevier sported whist and billiards and bet on horse-racing. We find no mention of draw poker in the early days, although that game and whist and billiards could look back some three or four centuries to their birth; and in other parts of the world draw poker was recognized as a standard sporting game. In the absence of that game our ancestors were not quite up to the advancement of other parts of the world.

Sevier seems to have been successful in his gaming. He tells that he went to Georgetown and won \$80.00 from Joseph Gale, editor of *The Intelligencer*, by betting on Mr. Stewart who was playing cards with Mr. Gale. He adds a plaintive little ending to this entry saying "the money is not yet paid." He says that he spent the evening of November 17, 1812, with Col. Dawson and won \$5.00 of the Colonel's money. On another occasion he won \$2.00 from Dr. Blake, and \$5.00 from the Honorable John Dawson—which was not paid when the diary was written. The only winning of any substantial amount was from Captain McCormack on December 20, 1814, of \$160 at a faro bank. He nowhere tells of any losses.

On November 1, 1812, he received from Andrew Ross, merchant, 3 jugs containing 2 gallons of sherry, 2 gallons of Maderia, 2 gallons of whiskey, half an ounce of nutmeg and one loaf of sugar.

#### GAPS IN THE DIARY.

The reader will find many gaps in the diary and many references which are not clear. These may arise from the imperfect writing in Governor Sevier's "little pocket books," or from defective copying or decay or blotting or fading of the ink which was originally used. We believe, however, that with all its imperfections, the reader—especially those of a real historical turn of mind—will say that it is amply worth reading and studying, and that it affords, as above stated, a very fine picture of the life of that day. Sevier does not lessen in our estimation by his diary. We have heretofore always thought of him as a knight on horse-back, a fearless leader and a military genius who did more than any other man to erect the white man's government. We are surprised at his indefatigable attention to details and money matters, and everyday, commonplace affairs, but this only demonstrates him as a fully rounded man and increases our estimate of his intrinsic worth, strength and caliber.

## JOURNAL OF GOVERNOR JOHN SEVIER (1790-1815).

## May

Left home Wednesday 19th May 1790 at 10 o'clock. Rained on us in the evening. Lodged that night at my father's. 25m.

20. Sent my horses to Z. Abdis & got them shod cost 10/. 2 o'clock set out, & lodged all night at Mr. John Keewoods. . .20 mls.

Left this place 10 o'clock, received of Mr. John Keewood 950 Dollars Virginia paper money called the forty for one money, which I am to endeavor to exchange for Hard money.

21. Lodged at Col. Wm. Edmistons in Washington County Virginia Called on Saml. Edmiston Esqr. and dined on our way to the Cols. 28 mls.

22. Set out at 12 o'clock, fed at Genl. Campbles plantation, pd. 8d. for some Greene wheate proceeded from thence to Col. Arth. Campbles. Lodged there all night 18 ms (?).

23. Set out in the morn Sat 10 o'clock Fed our horses & dined at Englelooon paid 2/6. From thence to Capt. Robt. Sawyers on Reed Creek Lodged there all night. 33 miles.

Monday 24th. Set out from Capt. Sawyers at 8 o'clock in the morning. Fed Horses at Mr. Carters pd. 1/. Crossed the Ferry at Englishes pd. 1/3. Lodged all night at Mr. Harrisers Choked (?) my horse (?) in the morning paid for expenses 3/8 . . . . 34 miles.

T 25th Set out at 10 o'clock. Dined at McCraigs (Hans Meadows) pd. 4/. Fed at Mrs. Kempes pd. 4d. Lodged at Col. I. Robertsons, P. O., 21 miles (Wednesday 26th pd.)

Set out at 7 O'clock Breakfasted at Mrs. Aierly (?), pd. 2/6. Lodged all night at Mrs. Brackenridged pd. 2/6. 25 miles.

Set out on the 27th Thursday morning. Breakfasted at Mr. Leatherdales Called on D. Wood & got while vitrol for my eyes. fed at Andersons Ferry pd. 1/3. Lodged at Mr. Berkleys pd. 4/8. 30 miles.

Fryday 28 Set out 9 o'clock Arrived at Lexington 1 o'clock. Tarried all night 12 miles.

Saturday 29 It rained. Lay by till Sunday morning the 30th at 9 o'clock set out for Staunton arrived there 8 o'clock. Lodged all night, (rained, went in the morning to visit Mr. McClaiahan (?) Col. Alexr. McClaiahan Mrs. Reed & some other aquains. Bought of Col. Gamble a pr. Boots, price 40/, paid Mr. Herschall with whom I lodged for Expenses 15/9: 35 miles.

Monday 31 I left Staunton about 3 o'clock. Arrived at Rockingham at 8 o'clock (evening) Lodged all night at Mr. Rutherfords being 25 miles. pd. for Oats 1/

## June

Tuesday June 1st day Set out at 11 o'clock fed and dined at Reuben Harrisens pd 1/. From thence to New Market there fed

pd for Wine & Oats 4/6. From thence to Mr. H. Goarn Lodged all night 20 miles.

2d day Wednesday 10 o'clock set out for Mrs. Hawkingses 12 o'clock Lodged that night at Mrs. Hawkings.

3d. Thursday 2 o'clock went to Woodstock Lodged at Col. O. Browns 17 miles. Tarried there till Saturday the 5th. Had made by the tailor a jacket & britches cost 9/ paid for trimings 5/. paid for Wine and Expenses 10/. paid Col. Brown a dollar he lent Mrs. Sevier in Jones (?) 10 17 miles.

Saturday 5th day Set out from Woodstock a(t) 2 o'clock in company with Mrs. Pugh, dined and fed at Stovers town with Mr. Huffman pd for Expenses 2/6 Lodged that night at New town paid for Expenses 7/6. 22 miles.

Sunday 6th day 7 o'clock Brakfirsted at Edmondses in Winchester paid for Expenses 6/. dined and fed at Slaughters old place pd. 3/6. rained on us, Lodged at Myers pd. 8/1 41 miles.

Monday 7th day Set out at half after six o'clock in the morning very cloudy Crossed at Wadkins Ferry paid 2/. Brakfirsted at Mr. Porters in the town at this place (fed our Horses, pd. 3/10. Set out from this place half after 9— Fed in Greene Castle town pd 3/6 Fed in Chambersburgh pd 2/6. had the stallions shoes removed. pd 8d. Expenses gifts & 8/6. Lodged all night with Joseph Campble Shippensburgh 42 mls.

Tuesday 8th day tarried in town, bought five yds callico, got a Gound made cost 20 shillings. paid for Wine Expenses &c 4/.

Wednesday 9th day Set out at 11 O'clock from Shippensburgh fed at McClarys pd. 2/9 Dined and fed at Carlyle pd 4/3 Lodged at Betts tavern pd 8/11 Gave a byer (?) 2/ 26 miles.

Thursday morning Set out at 12 o'clock (Some what wearied) (?) Fed at Harrisess Ferry (Fergs. Expenses &c 5/. Lodged all night at Eliz Town paid Expenses 13/. 30 miles.

Fryday mornig Set out 6 o'clock Fed & Brakfirsted at Dazeys 3/4. Dined in Nancaster at Turkshend paid Expenses 6/6 Set out at 4 o'clock Towards Philladelphis Lodged at Capt. Crawford's that night rained till 2 o'clock pd. for Expenses 15/. 29 miles.

Saturday morning 12 day Set out at 3 o'clock lodged that night at Mr. Millers. (Foggy in the morning pd for Expenses 7/8 19 miles.

Sunday morning 13 day Set out 6 o'clock Fed at Brahp d at Fouchan pd for Expenses 3/7 left there half after 9 o'clock Fed at Sign of Eagle Dined &c pd 3/6 Lodged at Millers Sculkill Ferry.

Monday 14th day I went into Philadelphia. bought a beaver hatt 7 dollars price. 3 Hand & pair cotton stockings cost 16/.  
 . . . . . Two N. papers 3d. paid to Mr. Jacob Miller for Expenses 5/8. Went to Philadelphia this evening Left our Horses with Mr. Miller to pasture and be fed till I return from Congress—paid for washing 2/. pd. for fare in stage 6 dollars Ex-

penses Philadelphia 11/3. Tuesday morn'g 15th day set out in stage 3 o'clock Brakfirsted at Teasitors (?) pd 4/. 30 miles. Set out from thence 9 o'clock dined at Brunswick pd 4/. Wine &c on the road 8/. Crossed the ferry & Arrived in New York 9 o'clock. Lodged all night at Stair Ferry pd Expenses 10/4.

Wednesday morning 16th day Took a seat in the House, and that day took up lodgings at Mrs \_\_\_\_\_ at 6 dollars pr week.

Thursday morning 17th day.

Fryday 18th Josial Parker Dr To cash won at whist 1 guinea  
Mrs. Burns Dr To cash at sundry times ten dollars.

### July

Col. Josiah Parker Dr TO cash lent 20 silver Dollars

Memo. that John Hartwell lives on Walkers Creek Montgomery County Virginia.

G Return 9th october 1793.

Col. Doherty officers & privates.....179

Col. Kenedy.....108

Kelly.....183—470

9th Octo 1793

Officer of the day Colo. Doherty

Par. Blount

E. C. Smith      Cap. Taylor Vann &

Cap. Magahee rearguards.

Smalls place 10 Octo. 93

parole Burke

C. S. Christian

Col. Kenedy officer of the day

Cap. Evans van & King rearguards.

7 miles

30 miles

Creek half way from

Tennessee to Highwassee

P. Washington

C. S. Greene

Col. Christian off of the day

11 Oct. 1793

Capt. Beard & Gillaspv vann & Blair Rearguards.

Saturday 29th October 1793

Camp at Springstons town

24 miles.

P. Jefferson

C. S. Knox

Col. Kelly officer of the day

Cap. Richardsons cavalry & Harrison's Infantry van &

Carson's rearguards.

Cureys place 25 miles

Sunday 13th October 1793

P. Hawkins

C. S. France

Officer of day Col. Blair

Cap.—Gest & Allison Van & Harrison's Rearguards

Camp east Vinesty (?) 15 miles.

Monday 14th Octo. 1793.



C. S. Judson (?) Officer of the day Maj. Taylor & King Guards  
Fired on the army Gen. orders.

It is ordered that from this time forward no person presume  
to set on fire any Indian Hutt or town in which there is corn or  
\* \* \* \* provision without there is orders from me to do  
the same. No firing of guns in or out of camp except leave from  
me or a field officer be first obtained, and as the officers of every  
rank is sensible of the banefull Consequences of such unwarrant-  
able Conduct. It is earnestly requested that they will use their  
utmost exertion to prevent the same.

Easternoly 14 October 1793. Lewey Gant & Breed wounded  
last night Colonel Kelly with Know Reg is detached to Coosa-  
cootee returned & burnt and destroyed the place.

Easternoly Tuesday 15 Octo. 1793.

P. Kenedy

C. S. Doherty

Col. Doherty officer of the Day.

Evans & Carson guards.

Fired on the army last night.

Frost last night Easternoly 16th Octo. 1793.

Easternoly 16 Octo. 1793.

P. Columbia

C. S. America

Col. Kelly Off. of the day.

Harrison van & Gillespy & Richardson  
rearguards.

Fired on by the enemy in the morning no damage done.

Camp Spring Creek 15 miles 17 Octo. 1793.

Par. Boston

C. S. New York

Col. Blair off. of the day.

Magehee Van Taylor rearguards. Knox

Reg. attacked Cap (?) 8 Hightower Weir & Pruitt killed John  
Wallan wound.

Fryday 12 miles 18th Octo. 1793.

Camp Forks of Coon & Hightower.

Parole Knoxville

C. S. Jonesbo.

Col. Kenedy Off. of the day.

Evans Charles Allison Van & Tany rear-  
guards.

Camp Nou town 4 miles below the  
forks of Coon & Hightower 19 Oct.  
1793.

Par. Washington

C. S. Greene

Col. Christian off. of the day.

Carson van Blair & Beard rearguards.

Wallan died of his wounds last night.

Your murders and savage Barbarities have caused me to come  
into your Country Expecting you would fight like men, but you  
are like the Bairs and Wolves. The face of a white man makes  
you run fast into the woods and hide, u see what we have done  
and it is nothing to that we shall do in a short time. I pity your

women & children for I am sure they must suffer and live like dogs but you are the Cause of it. You will make war, & then is afraid to fight,—our people whiped yours mightily two nights ago Crossing the river and make your people run very fast  
Copy. J. S.

To the Cherokees and their warriors if they have Any.  
Camp Head of Amutekah Creek 25 miles  
Parole Sullivan. from last encampment 20 Octo. 1793.  
S. C. Liberty Major Kelso officer of the day.  
Taylor van & Harrison rearguards.

Camp 2 miles from Big Spring 25 miles  
Parole Doherty from last camp 21 Octo. 1793.  
C. S. Kelly Maj. McFarland officer of the day.  
Cap. King van & Allison & Evans rear-  
guards.

Some sentinels fired on the enemy.  
Camp 25 miles from big Spring and 4  
Parole Blount from Chiestown (?) 22 Oct. 1793.  
C. S. Smith Maj. Taylor Off. of the day.  
Cap. Magehee van & Carson & Beard rear-  
guards.

Camp halfway between Highwassee  
and Tenessee 21 miles from last camp.  
23 Oct. 1793.

P. Philadelphia  
C. S. Boltimore Col. Doherty officer of the day.  
Capt. Richardson & Gillaspay van & Harri-  
son rearguards.

Camp Henry, Fort 24 October 1793.  
The army discharged.

John Chism Esq. told me in presence of Col. Christian that the Indians in Easternoly hung up seven Greene scalups the time he was first there August was a year by Gov. Blount to hold a talk (Mr. Ish & Wife present also as well as Col. Christian)

24 Oct5ber 1793

Returned to Isms (?) Fort. Gave leave to Ensign Hammond & Four privates to return to Washington.

October 25th 1793.

Returned to Knoxville.

Memo of due bills money &c Taken by Jno. Sevier Junr. with him to the No. Ward the 23 deccem, 1793.

	dols	cents
James King to Page Sims.....	55	23
Do. to Genl. Sevier.....	194	40
Do. Michael Harrison & Co.....	328	86
Sundry small due bills to James King.....	140	
David Allison note to Col. Christian.....	266	80
	985	29

	forward	
	dols	cents
	985	29
In bank bills.....	320	
In cash with Geo. Sevier Junr.....	136	
Dr. Luciholas (?) act.....	438	
	1879	29
Drafts from Gov. Blount.....	8000	
	9879	29

George North dr to cash lent at Knoxville 20/10 (2 Crowns  
1 dollar 1/4 of dollar).

Capt. Harrison cr. By his due bill 328 dolls & 86 Cents.

Do Do

To cash 10 dollars. 1 due bill on King 9 dollars.

	dol	ct.
George North Cr. By due bill on King.....	8	64

9th Dec. 1793.

Capt. Harrison to one due bill 8 dols. 64 cts.

Staid at Gambles the 12, 13 & 14th of Septr. at Do the 1st  
2d 3d of Novr.

Staid at Woods 7th Decr & 5th.

January begins on Wednesday 1794.

W. I. Mr. McKee & lady dined here, (Fair day).

T. 2 Mr Lovely & Mrs. Murphy Do. (Fair day) (also David  
Brown & John Set up a bed stead for which I give him 30/ in  
cash pd a ginues down.

F. 3 Rained today.

S. 4 Fair day Jack Sevier Junr. came here with Miss Mary Ann.

Sun 5 Fair day. Jack Sevier went away. Mrs. Sevier & Kitty  
went to meeting.

M. 6 Cloudy. Mr. Wier fell off his house Vol Sevier lay here  
all night & took me Fulltons horse away.

T 7 Went to see Mr. Wier & let him blood (Snowed today)  
(Tobys sow piged last night and three of mine.)

W 8 Snowed last night 2 Inches deep,—cloudy. Gillaspys J.  
Gelliher and Mr. Condlig lay here.

T 9 cloudy. Frank came here, Blooded Mr. Wier, G. Gillaspys  
served (ex'o) John Sevier Junr vs Taylor execr.

F 10 cloudy & rainy (Self Poorly) (Mr. Wier some better).

S 11 Cloudy.

Sun. 12 went to see Mr. Weir he is some better Received letter  
from G. Blount sent by James Gallispie 12th Mr. Harrill dined  
here on his way to Guare (?)

Mon 13 Cloudy Blooded Mr. Weir (Snowed).

Tues. 14 Mr. Murphy dined here.

Wed. 15 Fair & cold.

Thu. 16 cloudy towards evening (Rained).

Fry 17 Rained & cloudy all day (John MaMahon borrowed one Gall of Linseed oil killed three Hogs)

Sat 18 Rained & Cloudy also warm.

Sun 19 Fair and warm, Mrs. Sevier and Nancy went to meeting. Cap. Brown dined here.

On the 14th Jany John Sevier Genl Dreamed he was in an unknown country Supposed from some immagination that it was france, at which place his son Dickky came to see him, & welcomed him there, thought that his son Dickky was in a military service Dressed in dove couloured Silk cloth trimed with blue sattin and said to me I will go with you to head Quarters & introduce you to the Commander in Chief to which proposal I agreed & as we went there appeared the largest number of people ever beheld & all in quiet being some distance I conversed with him on the way respecting his fare and how he liked the service, to which he replied that the fair was better than he could describe the officers had taken great notice of him, and he was well contented to remain there all his days. I Thought we gradually assented towards the top of a high Hill of beautifull ground where there stood a large building which appeared to be built of either Diamond or Glass as I could see through the walls with doors & windows all round. The same we entered in, and immeadeately ascended the first pair of stairs. My son going before me, then proceeding up the second, then the third &c till we got to a very great height, the building still appearing to be a great eight above us, he then told me they had the best station that was ever formed, for says he, we can from this place see all the nations in the world & what the armies are doing pointed out at the same time Large Countrys & Cities. Told me that such a place was Russia, another that was Germany, then prussia, England, Holland, Denmark Turkey, and as well as I can remember all the Countries in the known world. They seemed to lye at a great distance, looking like great piles of old buildings, both in Cities & Countries & of different sizes, lying all around the place we stood which appeared to be so high that we had an easy view of all the world, notwithstanding we were not near the top my son told me I could not see the commander in chiefe at that time, but he would intriduce me some other time. I then began to take great notice of the beauty of the palace, I thought I was then in; everything appeared to be all light & beauty & wondered that I had never seen nor heard of such a building before & that other nations had not built in the same advantagious manner, on which I awaked.

Monday 20 Warm, & Rained in evening & night: Mr. Waddle lay here all night went to see Mr. Wier who is getting better.

Tues. 21 Rained in the mornng. Mrs. Sevier Betsy & self dined at Mr. Sherrills John Fuhky put a floor in the stable.

Wednes. 22. Rained & snowed, cleared up in the night & turned cold John Fuhky put a floor in the stable.



Thu. 23 Fair day & pleasant for the season (John Fuhkee went to Gillaspys).

Fry. 24 Fair & cold. Jo. Greer & Ben parker was here all night. Self & wife went to see Mr. Wier.

Sat. 25 Fair and Pleasant (In the night Thundered & Rained. Col. King L. here, 1. night.

Sun. 26 Cloudy in the morning.

Mon. 27 my father came here (Fair day & warm)

Tues. 28. Rained & cloudy day

Wed. 29 Snowed & Rained cleared up in the night & turned cold.

Thurs. 30 Father went to Mr. Sherrills (Clear day & cold)

Fry. 31 Fair & cold, (Sylva delivered of a Female child in the night.

Sat. 1st. day of Feby Father set out for home (good day) dined at Mr. Sherrills with Mr. McKee and wife, Mrs. Sevier along.

Sun. 2d. Pleasant, son Jo wife & Sally Keewood here turned cloudy in the night.

Mon. 3 cloudy (Jo. set out for Knoxville wrote by him to Meek & Simms.

Tues. 4 Pleasant. The girls went to Ben Browns.

W 5 Warm, self wife Jos. wife Miss Sally Keewood, Mary Ann & Ruth went to Jonesbo. & came home in night. Wind rose high & rained in the night. Bought 8 lbs. shugar from May 1 bottle mustard 2 pr w. shoes & sundry other things.

Thu. 6 Cloudy but warm

Fry. 7 Pleasant, Bavildin (?) Harrill lay here all night.

Sat. 8 Pleasant, went to Wm. Colliers & dined there, stopped at Mr. Lovelys Charles (?) (?) (?) lay here all night.

Sun. 9 Went to meetg. self wife & Ruth a Mr. Doake text 5 Ch. Ephesians 15 & 16 verses. Cloudy & like for rain.

Mon. 10 Warm & pleasant.

Tues. 11 Warm Rob. McFarland & polly lodged here.

Wed. 12 rained & turned cold transplanted two old apple trees.

Thur. 13 Snowed & rained

Fry 14 Cold & Cloudy

Sat. 15 Clear & cold

Sun. 16 cold

Mon. 17 went to Greene lodged at Cs. Richardsons.

Tues. 18 Brak. at store

Wed. 19 Rained nothing Extraordinary

Thur. 20 cold & Snowed at night.

Fry. 21 very cold & some snow

Sat. 22 Pleasant—came home in comp. with Mr. Simms & wife. who went to Mr. Sherrills bro. home 12 1/4 lbs. maple sugar 6 yds plains 9 yards check 1 bott (?) (?) drops Do Brittish oil & peppermint spirit 1 lb Raisons

Sun. 23 Rained.

Mon. 24 very cold.  
 Tues. 25 very cold.  
 Wed. 26 cold went (?) (?) (?) (?)  
 Thur. 27 Rained & (?) (?) (?)  
 Fry. 28 Moderated (?) (?) (?)

March 1794

Sat. 1st. Warm & pleasant (?) (?) (?) (?)  
 Sun. 2 Warm (?) (?) (?) (?)

Tuesday 22 July rained  
 Wednes. 23 Worked on road. Rained.  
 Thur. 24 rained nothing extraordinary  
 Fry. 25. Self & Mrs. Sevier wt to J. Seviars & ret'd same day  
 a light shower in eveng.  
 Sat. 26 Rained heavily; Rebecca & nancy came here. Wash-  
 ingtn wt. to town & cam home  
 Sun. 27 Rained.  
 Mon. 28 Rained.  
 Tues. 29 rained, self & wife wt. to Mr. McCallisters returned  
 the next day.  
 Wed. 30 Light shower of rain (Dog days began—  
 Thur. 31 Fair, began to drink & diet drink  
 Fri. 1 day of August 1794.  
 Sat. 2 day of August Mr. McKee & Lady dined here—  
 Sunday 3d wt. myself wife & girls to meeting to Mr. Doaks  
 Mon. 4 Dry weather, Creek Indian hung Knoxville  
 Tues. 5 Dry weather. Wed. 6 Ditto. Thur. 7 Ditto. Fry.  
 8 Ditto.  
 Sat. 9 dry. (Self wife Ruth Betsy & Tobe went to Jonesbo.  
 in carriage.  
 Sun. 10 return from Jonesbo (Dry)  
 Mon. 11 Fine Small rain  
 Tues. 12 A. Sherrill & d. Murphy came up  
 Wed. 13 rained.  
 Thur. 14 Fry. 15 rained. Sta. 16 Sun. 17  
 rained. Mon 18th Tues. 19  
 Wed. 20 Set out to Knoxville, my wife & Rutha went as  
 far as Greene Staid till Fryday when we all left it  
 Thu. 21st Staid at Greene  
 Fry. 22d Ditto Lodged at Hoskins. B. C  
 Sat. 23 Lodged at Brasiltons (?)  
 Sun 24 arrived at Knoxville.  
 Mon. 25 Assembly met, dined with Governor.  
 Wed. 27th dined with Governor  
 Thu. 28th drank tea at Mr. Summervilles  
 Fry. 29 brakfirsted with Mrs. Duncan  
 Sat. 30 drank tea with Mrs. Blunt  
 Sun. 31 rained, rode out to J. Jackson C. o. with Cap. Richard.

## September 1794

(Remarks,) this month was uncommonly warm with one or two Cool evenings.

Mon. 1 Dined with Governor

Tues. 2 brakefirsted with C. Richard.

Wed. 3 Supered at Mr. Sommervilles

Thu. 4 Brakefirsted & dined with Jo. Sevier. Fry. 5 Do.

Do. Do.

Sat. 6 dined with Governor.

Sun. 7 Drank tea at Mr. Summervilles

Mon. 8 Drank tea with Mrs. Blount

Tues. 9 played Billiards at Mr. Duncans.

Wed. 10 Lodged at Mr. Woods.

Thu. 11. Suppered at Mr. Chisoms

Fry. 12 dined &c at Jo. Seviars. Sat. 13 Do. Sun. 14 Do.

Mon. 15 Do

Tues. 16 Dined at Governors.

Wed. 17 Drank tea at Governors.

Thur 18 drank tea at Mr. Somervilles.

Fry. 19 dined at J. Seviars. Sat. 20 Do.

Sun. 21 Do with Governor wt. to meeting with him & his lady to hear Mr. Carrick.

Mon. 22 Dined with Governor

Tues 23 took tea Mrs. Blounts.

Wed. 24 Brak. at C. Richards.

Thur 25 Dined &c Jo. Seviars. Fry 26 Do.

Sat. 27 Dined at Mr. Stones.

Sun. 28 Dined with Governor. wt. to meeting with Gov. & his lady.

Mon. 29 ditto.

Tues. 30 Assembly was peroughed till first Monday next  
October Members collected with the Governor at (?) (?) and  
drank wine that evening.

Wednesday 1 day of October dined at Governors

Thurs. 2 dined at Governors.

Fry. 3 dined with Governor set for home for Knoxville Accompanied by the Governor & Dr. White about 6 miles, also Maj. lovely & Mr. Harrill came all the way Lodged that night at Mr. Meeks (Frost).

Sat. 4 Lodged with M. Lovely at Judge Andersons.

Sun. 5 Lodged with ditto at Col. H. Conways.

Mon. 6 Lodged at Mr. Wyleys in Greenville. Bro. home a loaf of sugar. Tues. 7 came home. Wed. 8. Thur. 9 hard frost. Fry. 10 ditto. Sat. 11 ditto (began to take medicine) Sun. 12 Mon. 13. Mrs. Sevier went to Embrees (?) & her mothers

Tues. 14 Rained in the night & in morning (killed sm. Beef.)

Wed. 15 frost. Thur. 16 Do Fry. 17 Do. Sat. 18 Do. Sun. 19 Mon. 20 Tues. 21 Wed. 22 Thur. 23 Fry 24 snowed in the night. Sat. 25 rained. Sun. 26 Fair. Mon. 27 Fair. Tuesday

28th Wed. 29 Thur. 30 Memo An order on J. Richardson in favour of Rogers for £15 (?) (?) (?) dated 10th August 1892. Fry. 31. Rained Sat. 1 day of November.

Sun. 2 Fair. Mon. 3 Dry began to pull corn. Tues 4 Dry & warm. Wed. 5 warm & dry. Th. 6 Warm & dry Fry. 7 warm. Sat 8 rained a little.

Sun. 9 Mrs. Sherrill much better Mon. 10 Mrs. Sherrill taken suddenly. Tues. 11 rained finished halg. corn. Frank ran away. Wed. 12 fair & warm. Thur. 13 warm. Fry. 14 cloudy. Sat. 15 rained & snowed at night.

Sun. 16 cold and Fine snow Mon. 17 clear & pleasant. John Richmond came this day and set in for the year at £25. Put up our Fattening Hogs. Tues. 18 I went to court Wed. 19 rained. Thur. 20 cold Thos. Young died suddenly at Frank Alligons (?) Fri. 21 snow. Sat. 22 cold, negroes began to grubb.

Sun. 23 came home from Court Recd. from Jno. Sever Junr 10 do lars. Mon. 24 Fair & Pleasant. Tues. 25 Fair. Jas. Oliver Died. Wed. 26 Fair & pleasant Thur. 27 same Fry. 28 cloudy. gave L. Peters order for 3 to the store. Sat. 29 cloudy & light rain. Mrs. Sherrill Died. 3 o'clock at night.

Sun. 30 Mrs. Sherrill buried in evening (rainy) Mon. 1 first December, rained a little. Tues. 2 snowed at night. Ruthy went to the Wheelrights Wed. 3 Fair. Th. 4 Joseph Sevier sit out for Knx & catey & his wife wt. to Greenville. Toby wt. to bring some things from there clear & cold Killed a beef. Cone reed this day from Mr. Sherrill. Fry. 5 fair (sick myself) Sat. 6 Fair self & wife dined at Mr. Sherrills.

Sun. 7 Fair rained in night. Negro Bet delivered of a Female child. Mon. 8 rained in the morning. cloudy & Cool sent J. Richmond to shoemakers. Sent by him 2 dollars to shoemaker. Tuesd. 9 Wm. Greene Cr. 180 lbs. pork. John Richmond 2 pr. overals 24/. John Fickey 1 pr. Do. 12/3 yds. linen a 3/. 3 yds of check some time ago. Wed. 10 warm & pleasant. Thur. 11 went to Jonesbo. Fry. 12 staid at Jonesbo. The X Comissrs for town sit. Sat. 13. staid at Jonesbo. Mr. Sims came up.

Sun. 14 came home. Mr. Sims wt. home. Mon. 15 cloudy. Negro Frank wan away. Tues. 16 Fair & pleasant. M. Sevier's wife delivered of a son. Wed. 17 Fair & pleasant. Mrs. Sevier went to Jonesbo. Thur. 18 warm. Fry. 19 rained & snowed in the evening & in the night 6 inches deep. Sat. Cloudy & flying snow. Snowed in the night.

Sun. 21 Cloudy & flying snow. Mon. 22 Fair & Pleasant. Killed 8 fatning Hogs. Tues. 23 clear & pleasant. Mrs. McCallister Mrs. J. Gillespy Miss Daisy & Miss came here wt. home next day Wed. 24 pleasant weather self & Mrs. Sevier dined at Mr. Sherrills. Mrs. McCallister & Young ladies wnt. home. Thur. 25 cloudy & some rain. Mr. Sherrill Wm. Sherrill Mrs. Beard Mr. Andrew Beard Mr. McKee Mrs. McKee Miss Peggy McKee Mr. Wier & wife Mal. Murphy dined here today



Came up a thunder Gust with Hail & small rain. Fry. 26 Fine day  
Sat. 27 Washington & Fickey wt. to Greene Fair day.

Sun. 28 pleasant day. Mon. 29. wt. Jonesbo self & Washington cloudy. Tues. 30 rained a little returned from Jonesbo.  
Wed. 31 Fair.

Thurs. 1 Jany 1795. Rained. Self wife Catery Rutha Chatty & Batsy dined at Mr. Wiers. Friday 2 Mr. King came here George Gillapy came here. I wt. with him to Cap. Browns to take in the list of taxes. Sat. 3 Dry Weather.

Sun. 4 Dry. Mon. 5th wt. to Jonesbo to meet the commissrs for the town. Rained in the night. Tues. 6th rained. Wed. 7 ditto Thur. 8 wt. to Colo. Carters rained. Fry. 9 rained. returned to Jonesbo. Sat. 10 came home very cold.

Sun. 11 snowed at night, Jos. Sevier Retd. from (?) (?) with letter from G. Blount. Mon. 12 day Fair & cold killed some fatted Hogs. Tues. 13th snowed in the night. Wed. 14 warm & thawing. Thur. 15 rained. wt. to Greene with col. Robertson. Fry. 16 rained & snowed. Sat. 17 clear came home from Greene.

Sun. 18 clear & cold Mon. 19 Fair & pleasant. Tues. 20 Fair & pleasant. Mr. Keeler (?) Brought Home the Hogs I Bought from him. Wed. 21 rained & cloudy. Th. 22 cloudy & cold. Fry. 23 rained lightly Mrs. Sevier Ruthy & betsy went to Jonesbo. Sat. x 24 cloudy and some rain.

Sun. 25 Some rain and snow. Mon. 26 cloudy Washington & John Fickey carried horses to Jonesbo. That run away from Sevier & Ruthy—Col. Carter came home with them. Tues. 27 set out myself Washington & Col. Carter, Lodged at Greene all night. Wed. 28 we all Lodged at Col. Carters. Thur. 29 it rained We all Lodged at Jesse Reeves. Fry. 30 we all lodged at Mr. Perkins. Sat. 31 wt. to Knoxville (cold).

Sun. 1 Feby. Fine day. Mon. 2 fine day. Tues 3 ditto. Wed. 4 ditto. Thur. 5 ditto. Fry. 6 rain. Sat. 7 Rained set out in evening self Col. Carter & Washington. From Knoxville lodged that night at Mr. Bees Ferry.

Sun. 8th we lodged at Col. Cakes (?). Mon. 9 we lodged at Greenville. Very cold. Tues. 10 lodged at Greene. Wed. 11 ditto Thur. 12 ditto. Fry 13 ditto. Sat. 14 we Came home very cold.

Sun. 15 cloudy & cold. Mon. 16 wt. to Court to Jonesbo, Tuesday 17 very cold & snowed. Wed. 18 cold. Thur. 19 Mr. King & Nancy married. Maj. & Jimmy Wiers family here Mr. Harrill Mr. Waddle, Mr. Claiborne, Mr. Wiers family was here. Cousin Jack & Mr. Doake. Fry. 20 clear weather. Sat. 21 self & Mr. King wt. to Jonesbo and came home that night.

Sun. 22 wt. with John Sherrill & wife to Woods foard. Mon. 23 rained. col. Conway & James Sevier came here cloudy snowed & rained in the night. Tues. 24 snowed in the morning. Wed. 25 cloudy. Thur. 26 cold Rebecca Sevier & John Waddle married. Fry. 27 cold. Sat. 28 very cold came home from Rebecca weding.

Sun. 1st March 1795 Mon. 2 wt. to Jonesbo cold. Tues. 3 self & son John went to Mr. Kings works (?) (warm). Wed. 4 warm Mr. King & myself came home. Thur. 5 warm. Fry. 6 warm. Sat. 7 high winds & rain.

Sun. 8 Fair & pleasant. Mon. 9 warm snowed at night. Tues. 10 snowed in the morning. Bought of Mr. Paine 150 B. corn at 2/. Paid him £7 (?) (?) (?) (?) (?) (?). Wed. 11 clear & cold. Thur. cold snowed at night. Fry. 13 cold. Jno. Fickey 1 pr. overalls 12/ Sat. 14 very cold.

Sun. 15 pleasant old Frank returned snowed in the night Mr. Sherrill & Wm. Dined here. Mon. 16 Genl. Mustery (?) Washington Fickey & Richmond wt. rained & snowed. Tues. 17 went to court. Wed. 18 pleasant. Tues. 19 Cox had his Tryal Fry. 20 pleasant wife & Girl came to town in carriage. Sat. 21 pleasant.

Sun. 22 Ditto: Mon. 23 Pleasant & Fair. Tues. 24 ditto. Wed. 25 ditto. Thur. 26 ditto. Fry. 27 came home from Court. Sat. 28 Judge Campble his lady & Mr. Claiborne & Doctor Reed came here, tarried till Monday morning. Sun. 29 Judge Campble & lady Mr. Claiborne & Doctor reed came here. Mon. 30 pleasant self & Claiborne went to court. Tues. 31 pleasant. Wed. 1st day April came home from court. Thur. 2 pleasant & warm Fry. 3 ditto. Sat. 4 ditto.

Sunday 5 ditto John Richmond 1 soldiers shirt. Mon. 6 ditto planted potatoes. Tues. 7 Rained & warm began to plant. corn this day. Sylva delivered of a female child. Memo. pd John Keels 3 dollars Do. to John Silbourne 2 Doll. Do. to Chairmaker 3 Doll 18/8. Wednes. 8 planted corn, frost. Thur. 9th went to Jonesbo Frost that night. Fryd. 10th returned from Jonesbo Let Wed. King have £6.4. for the use of the iron works received from Major Sevier 30/0. Sat. 11 Fair & cool W. King & wife went to the Iron Works.

Sun. 12 Rained Mrs. Sherrill & son William dined here. Mon 13 Fair & pleasant. Tues. 14 ditto. Let John Lellburne have 6/8. Wed. 15 ditto. Thur. 16 Rained that night. Fry. 17 Cool. Sat. 18 Frost at night Recd. a horse from Jom (?) Greene (a bay at about £20 price.

Sun. 20 Wintry & cool. Mr. Sherrill & son Wm. dined here. Mon. 21 dry weather. Tues. 22 ditto. Wed. 23 ditto. Thur. 24 ditto. Fry 25 cloudy. Sat. 26 warm & Dry.

Sun. 27 light shower self Wm. Sevier & Catsey went to Mr. Doakes meeting. Mon. 23 dry weather. Tues. 29 ditto. Frost that night. Wed. 30 ditto. Thurs. 1st day of May dry & Hot. Fry. 2 went to Jonesbo staid all night. Sat. 3 wt. to Greene staid all night.

Sun. 4 came home with Maj. Sevier, brought from the store 20 lbs. tree sugar. Mon. 5 Mrs. Sevier Rutha Nacy & Mr. King wt. to Jos. Seviars. Began to plant our New Ground Corn Tues. 6 of May 1795 very warm Mr. King went to Iron Works.

Wed. 7 very warm & dry. Thur. 8 ditto. Fry. 9 ditto began to weed corn. Sat. 10 rained a fine shower. Memo. Redc. from Joseph Hanna 600 feet of poplar plank, 280 ditto of pine, 108 laths, 12 feet long each, 22 Rafters, 14 long each. Memo. Recd. from Mr. Bains plantation 100 feet of plank.

Sun. 11 Rained. Mon. 12 Rained. Tues. 13 Fair. Wed. 14 Rained in Evening. Mrs. Sevier Catery (?) & Sammy went to Doctor Holts. the Doctor sent for Sammy half a viol of castor oil & a small viol of drops. Memo. gave to old N. Frank a pair of overalls. Thur. 15 went to Greene Court. Recd. a horse of Wm. willson price £30. Fry. 16th Rained. Sat. 17 returned from Greene.

Sun. 18 dry and hott. Mon. 19 ditto. Tues. 20 ditto. Wed. 21 went to Jonebo court. Thur. 22 rained. Fry. 23 warm & wet in the morning. Sat. 24 came home from jonesbo. Bought from Mr. keel 24 Hoggs 1 sow 11 years old marked with crop in right Ear a hole & nick in under part of the left year. 12 piggs unmarked all of which is since marked with my own mark. One of the sows has since 6 piggs. Memo. lent unto Said (?) Gayer a Land warrant No. 2728 for 200 acres in land of Jos. Sevier Located at No. of Little lick Creek the warrant returned.

Sunday 24 warm. Mondy 25 ditto. Tues. 26 ditto. Mr. Carson sent horse to pasture is to work corn two times dry. Wed. 27 ditto & dry. Mr. Wier & wife returned from river. Thur. 28 fine rain Mr. Lilburn (?) hauled (?) of plank from Embrees paid him 1 dollar Fair. Memo. paid Tho. Embree for John Fickey 4/. paid Mr. Sherrills Jane 4/ for Do. sent to Shoemaker Mr. Messer by John Fickey 3 dollar 18/. John Richmond 1 pr. shoes. made by Messer. John Fickey 3 pr. shbes made by Messer. Fry. warm & dry. Sat. 30 do.

Sun. 31 do. June Mon 1 Dry. Tues. 2 do. Wed. 3 went to Iron works. Th. 3 small shower, C. L. B. Fry. 5 Do. Sat. 6 Do. See Do.

Sun. 7 staid at M. Seviars. Mon. 8 came home from works Tues. 9 very warm. Wed. 10 small shower. Mrs. Sevier and Kitty went to Jonesbo. Thur. 11 Fine rain and rained all night began to lay by corn. Fry. 12 Shower in morning. Mrs. Sevier and Kitty went to meeting a very High flood in the river Rained in afternoon. Sat. 13 Mrs. Sevier Rutha & Sammy went to meeting, rained in the morng. Memo. when at the Iron Works let Mr. King have 2 dollars 16/.

Sun. 14 rained myself, wife, Rutha & Catery & Joanna went to meeting the sacrament was administered by the Rev. Doake, Balsh & Hueston. Mon. 15 self Catery Rutha & Mrs. Sevier went to meeting Dined at D. Holts (rained). Tues. 16 rained. Mrs. Sevier & Catery went to Sherrills. Recd. from Jos. Hannah 720.10 lbs. at 22/6 per M. 260.8 ditto at 15 per M. 130 Feet Pine plank some time ago. Wed. 17 Hot & Dry. Thur. 18 ditto. Fry. 19 went to Jonesbo. rained in evening. Sat. 20

staid at Jonesbo. Sun. 21 Sot off for Col. Carters & met him near home seting out for Assembly Staid all night at Maj. Loviers with Col. Carter. Mon. 22 came home Reaped wheat Rained in the night Frank run away. Tues. 23 rained went to Jos. Seviars Rained all night Recd from Jos. Sevier 22 3/4 dollars. Wed. 24 Rained (planted cabbage) Thur. 25 rained Fry 26 cleared up & cool sit out for the Assembly Lodged at Greene Memo. to bring for Betsy (?) a pr of shoes 7 inches long. Sat. 27 sit out in the morning in company with Col. Hardin (rained) Eat dinner and fed at Parks Recd from H. Conway Junr 2 Guineas & 1 dollar Lodged at Evans Painter Spring.

Sunday 28 Brak. at Mr. Reeses Dined at Mr. Meeks Arrived in Knoxville & Lodged at Mr. Stones. Mond. 29 Assembly met. Tues. 30 L. Council agreed to conference Representatives did the same. Memo. 219 P. beloe Little River in the county desired to be Laid off amt. of Taxes in the same, 148 dollars 84 Cts. Wed. 1 July both houses met both Houses unanimous for change of Government except Tho. Hardiman of Davidson county Dined at Judge Cambles. Thur 2 Nothing extraordinary. Fry. 2 nothing extra. Sat. 4 (?) (?) (?)

Sunday. July 5 Nothing Extra. Mon. 6 hott & Dry weather. Tues. 7 ditto. Col. Tho. Blount arrives in Knoxville. Wed. 8 a bill for (?) Of (?) Rejected in Council. Thur. 9 nothing E. Fry. 10 N. E. Sat. 13 Assembly adj. sine die.

Sunday 14 N. E. Mon. 15 N. E. Tues. 16 N. E. Won at whist from S. Milche (?) & Somerville (?) dollars. Wed. 15 N. E. Won. of Mitchell & Duncan 213 dollars. Thur. 16 N. E. Fry. 17 very Hott. Dined at Governrs. Sat. 18 dined at Gov. Blounts.

Sun. 19 set out for home from Knoxville. in company with Governor, Willie & Tho. Blount, Mark & Sam Mitchell, dined at Jas. Kings Lodged at Brasiltons paid 4/6. pd. Mr. Stone his bill £7.1 . 6. Mon. 20 dined & Fed at Mrs. Smith paid 7/6. Lodged at Colo. Roddies. Tues. 21 Brakfirsted at Greenville came home at sunset. Mr. Sherrill Raised his house this day. Wed. 22 went to Jos. Seviars house Raising in company with Mrs. Sevier & Betsy. Thurs Small shower of rain Sewed some Cellery & Radishes. Mr. Sherrill dined here. Memo. Saml. Mitchell is indebted 15 dollars being part of the money won from Mr. Crawford C. by 15 dols. sent pr. Brother Joseph. Fry. 24 rained. Sat. 25 Set off to Col. Carters. Staid at Col. all night.

Sund. 26 Stayed at my Fathers; rained, Monday 27. Returned to Col. Carters. rained. Tue. 28 staid all night at Mr. Greer. rained. Wed. 29 Retd. to Col. Carter staid all night rained. Thur. 30. Rained. Came to Jonebo with Colo. Carter. Fry. 31 staid at Jonesbo in company with Colo. Carter. Sat. 1st. came home in company with Walter King & George Gordon.



Sun. 2 went to hear a sermon preached by Mr. Cobler at James Seviars. Mond. 3rd. Sent 150 land warrants 640 acres each (?) By Geo. Gordon to No. Carolina to Get Titles for the same, to be laid on Each Side of Cumberland near the mouth of Obias River (Supplied 100 dols. to Walter King for use of the working (?) Tues. 4 Rained self and Mrs. Sevier Dined at Mrs. Sherrills. Bt. 60 ls. Bacon from Mr. Mathews. Wed. 5. Bought of John Green 2 Cows and 10 Geese at 20 dollars. he was indebted to me 11 doll. J. Fickey 7 & pd. him 7 dollars. Willie Blount came here. Thurs. 6 Settled with Willie Blount for Major Scorers, notes given to David Allison in November 6, amounting to 6594 dols. 78 cents & 534 dolls. & 50 Cents. The interest due thereon, which notes I have paid unto Mr. Willie Blount in Land Warrants to the amount of twenty Eight thousand Eight hundred acres at 250 dollars per thousand, which has over paid the same 23 dollars. Maj. Willie Blount then set out for Jonesbo in the evening accompanied by myself as far as Mr. Slygars. Fry. 7 cloudy in morning. Yesterday I sent unto John Hunter 5 dollars pr. J. Richmond self Mrs. Sevier Catery & Ruthy Dined at Mrs. Sherrills. Sat. 8 rained in afternoon. Memo. on 6th. I put into the hands of Walter King a 300 acre & 640 acre warrant to be laid on lands in Sullivan Opposite the Iron Works on No. side holsen. also. a 200 acre & 640 acre warrants to be laid on vacant land adjoining the lands on Kendrick's Creek.

Sun. 9 rained. Monday 10 went to Greenes Court. Tues. 11 went to Mr. Bennetts staid all night. Wed. 12 rained. Thur. 13 ditto. Fry. 14 rained. Sat. 15 set out for home Dined at Mr. Aitkens. Came home in evening.

#### August 1795.

Sun. 16 Staid at home. Mon. 17 ditto. Began to pull blades Mr. Stygar came to my house. Tues. 18 went to Washington Court. Wed. 19 nothing Extra. Mr. Barlaben came to my house. Thur 20 rained. Fry. 21 dry. See Mrs. A. B. at night. Sat. 22. played four games. paid Mr. Carson school-master 12/. 2 dollars, came home evening. Memo. put in the hands of Geo. Gordon 640 Land Warrants to be his if he brings me a patent for 96 thousand acres of land from Secy. of No. Carolina.

Sun. 23 nothing Extra. Mon. 24 began to pull blades in the New Ground. Tues. 25 Fair a cow died. Sent n. Corn to mill. Wed. 26 a cow died at night. Uriah Sherrill came to P. Grove. Thur. 27 rained. Fry. self, Washington, Bardelsbin & p. Steiger went to W. Kings. Stayed there until Sunday Sunday and returned. Sat. 29th 1 See S. B.

Sun. 30 came home R. Campble came her from Wains Army. Mon. 31 Rained began to sew Wheat. Tues. 1 September. Bardlesbin sit for South Carolina (rained). Wed. 2 Thurs. 3

Sep. 1795.

Memo. paid unto Colo. Cristians Estate to this date 112 D. 16 C. Fry. 4 self Mrs. Sevier & Betsy went to Jonesbo staid all night at Mr. Waddells. Sat. 5 Brak. at Maj. Seviars. Dined at Mr. Cashties (?) & Returned home in Comp. with R. Campble.

Sun. 6 Rained. John Fickee Cr. by N Jno. Greene 2 dollars Some time ago. Memo. Geo. Gordon receited to Wal. King for 96000 acres of Land Warrants, which I furnished to W. K. which Gordon is to bring me titles for. Mon. 7 Rained. Tues. 8 fair A. Readerson (?) Drowned in Nolcuhooky (?) River. Wed. 9 Ditto. Sett off to Greene self & W. King staid all night at W. Gillaspies Thur. 10 arrived at Greenveill in the mornng. began to take in Inventory of the Goods. Fry. 11 finished taking the Inventory of the Goods amount to 700 pounds. Sat. 12 we returned home and was caught in a heave rain. John Richmond cash 3 dollars 18/.

Sun. 13 R Fair. Mon. 14 went to Jonesbo to C. Muster. Staid there till Sunday. Tues. court began being the 15th, nothing Extraordy. Wed. 16 Thur. 17 Fry. 18. Sat. 19. Sun. 20 nothing Extraordinary. Mon. 21 went to Jonesbo Frost at night Tues. 22 Frost. Wed. 23 Lodged at Bakers w Moth. Thur. 24 Fry. 25 Rained heavily in evening. Sat. 26 rained all day. caused great flood in New River and other places in Virginia.

Sunday 27 came home in Comp. with Mr. Claiborne, Mr. King & wife went to Washington College to the Exhibition J. Anderson Trembled (?) Sam Sevier 3 best speakers. Tues. 29 Mr. Claiborne set out for N. Fork Hasket came to work. Wed. 30 W. King & wife set out for Home. October Thurs 1st nothing Extra. Fry 2 went to Beard vendue bought 3 sheep 13 geese & 12 ducks. Sat. 3 nothing Extra.

October 1795.

Sun. 4 cloudy Memo. sent to Tho. Brown by Washington Sevier 5 dollars some time ago. Memp paid Mrs. Handley 2 dollars for 6 geese pd. Al. Moore for 2 C. & 12 ducks & An. Beard for 13 and 12 ducks Mon. 5 Tues. 6 went to Jonesbo with R. Campble who set off for Virginia. Wed. 7 Thur. 8 Fry 9. began to haul corn shut up the hogs got from Keele Sat. 10 cloudy.

Sun. 11th clear. Mon. 12 ditto Tues. 13 ditto. Wed. 14 clear. Thur. 15 went to Jonesbo (c'ear) Fry. 16 came home from Jonesbo. Sat. 17 hard frost at night.

Sun. 18 cool light frost. Memo. De berlabins horse & negro brought and left here. Mon. 19 pleasant. Mr. Messer the shoe-maker brought forward his account up to this date amounting to £5.3 put of which had before received 5 dollars, and at this time 4 more dollars. Tues. 20 Fair & pleasant. Wed. 21 raised the corn house. Thurs. 22 Mr. Stengar set out for So. Carolina. Fry. 23 rained. Sat. 24 Hard Frost.

Sun. 25 Fine day Hard frost that night. Mon. 26 Jno. Keele came to cover the corn house. Self Mrs. Sevier & Betsy went to Jonesbo. Washington bro. home 3 bushels of salt from Mrs. Matthews—Tuesday 27 staid in Jonesbo. Wed. 28 came home. Thurs. 29 Genl. Kennedy Dined here. Fry. 30 John F ckee pr. stockings from Mr. Mays store 6/6. Memo Settled with Joseph Hanna & there is due him 3 dollars and I am yet to Receive from him 700 Joint shingles & some blocks 250 Feet pine planks 1 Inch thick 200 feet  $\frac{3}{4}$  Inch poplar ditto. Sat. 31 clear & pleasant.

## November 1795.

Sun. 1 Do. Mon. 2 Do. Tues. 3 Do. Wed. 4 Do. Thur. 4 Do. Fry. 6 rained Sat. 7 Do. cloudy.

Sund. 8th clear. Mon. 9 Ditto, John Richmond cash 6 dollars. Tues. 10 Do. Went to Gollehen (?) vendue Mrs. & Mr. Gowan came home with me staid all night and set out in the morning for the Secys office—I furnished Mr. Gordon with Land Warrants to the amt. of 40000 acres & lent him cash 10 Dollars. Alex. McKee to Cash lent 3 Dollars. John Fickee 4 yds Foistos (?) out of Harrisons store 3/6 pyd. 5 yds. rusha sheeting from Deadericks at 4/6 pr. yd. Wed. 11 Digging potatoes began yesterday. cliudt. Thur. 12 recd. from Wm. Collier 2 Gallons honey at 5/ per Gallon. 4 Gble. Beeswax at 1/3 pr. (?) pd. to him 3 Dollars 18. Fry. 13th warm & pleasant Sat. 14 self Rutha Mary Ann Saml Joanna & Betsy & negroes wt. to J. Seviars husking of Corn. Rained at night. Mr. Claiborne came here.

Sun. 15 rained at night. Mr. Ward staid all night. Mon. 16 court began at Jonesbo Tues. 17th went to Court. Wed. 18 Staid at Court. Th. 19 ditto. Fry. 20 ditto. Won of Gerum 5 pr. Stockgs. Sat. 21 came home in evening.

Sun. 22 Find day? Mond. 23 Jos. Allen, the Mason came to work on kitchen chimney. Tues. 24 began to haul stones. Wed. 25 Lilbarns waggon came to. Thurs. 26 Lilbarns waggon worked. Fry. 27 Lilbarns went home. Self Mrs. Sevier Ruthy & Betsy went to Mr. Witkins worked 2 days in all rained. Quilla Sherrill was here to bramft. Memo. Solomon Horket (?) cash 4 dols. his work amounts to £210. Sat. 28 Returned from Mr. Aitkins Dr. Holts son Wm. fell off from horse. Tho. Talbett his wife Mrs. Johnson & Polly Greer Lodged all night. Capt. James Ward in Mayon (?) (Meigs) county near to Washington town. Memo. to cure the Scratches. an equal Quantity of Wine, oil & Lime, made into a poletice and left on 24 hours at a time.

## Road to Charleston.

To Iron Mountain.....	20 miles
Turky Cove.....	40 miles
Lincoln Ch.....	50 miles
York Ch.....	40 miles
Winsbo.....	50 miles

## Road to Charleston.

Col. Thompson.....	60 miles
Ustane (?) Spring.....	35 miles
Charleston.....	60 miles
	<hr/>
	255 miles

Memo. Kitt Bullard has in possession Rachel old Wench, Arthur Aggy children, Wm. Gest Lear, Wt. Reed Mary, John Bullard, Violte, Austin in possesso. of Kitt Bullard for his sister Sally (Hulday a girl dead) Widone Bullard has Ned.

Sun. 29 pleasant Self Mrs. Sevier Mary Ann & Rutha accompanied Mr. Talbott &c as far as Mr. Holts. Mon. 30 pleasant day. Tues. 1st of Decm. Very warm Wed. 2 some cooler. Thur. 3. fine day Fry. 4th paid to Allen Gilaspie for John F ckee 10 dollars. £3. Sat. 5 fa'r & pleasant. Richard Campble returned from Virginia.

Sun. 6 cold & clear in the day at Stormy & began to rain towards day, sent Jim to Jonesbo for R. Campbles negroes. Mon. 7 remarkable high winds with some rain Josiah Allen began the kitchen Cellar. Tues. 8 more moderate. Wed. Mr. Debardelebans family arrived, & took their Horse & negro away and got 2 bushels of corn and half bushel of meal. Mrs. Davis wife of Nathanl. Davis Died and is to be buried on the 11 inst. Self and Mr. Scout (?) Dined at Mr. Sherrills. Thurs. 10 I went to Jas. Seviars to Hunt turkeys. R Campble Rutha and Washng. went to Jonesbo. Fry. 11 cold mornng & hard Frost James Anderson came here in the evening and tarried at night. Sat. 13 windy Washington R. Campble & Js. Anderson went to Jonesbo & returned in the evening & tarried all night. Rained in evening & all night.

Sun. 13 cloudy in mornng. Mon. 14 Some snow in mornng. began to kill Hogs. Tues. 15 cold, Killed Hogs 16 in the 2 days. John Fickee to pr. stockgs got in Harrisons store preice 16/. Finished walling and plastering the Cellar of the Kitchen Wm. Bot 200 ls. Flour of Wm. Clarke at 12 pr. ct. Wed. 16 James laid the kitchen flour. Mrs. Sevier and R. Campble wt. to Jonesbo. Thurs. 17. I killed a large turkey cocke. cloudy. Fry. 18 went to the Election Sat. 19 tarried at Jonesbo let John Keele have 2 dollars.

Sun. 20 came home Mon. 21 Pleasant weather. Mr. Collier sent 4 Fine Fish by his son. Tues. 22. Ditto. Wed. 23 Windy. Thur 24 very warm R. Campble & Kitty Sevier married by Mr. Doake. Maj. Sevier his lady Mrs. Waddle Mr. Harrill Mr. Gordon Mr. J. A. Anderson Mr. McKee & his lady Miss Peggy Mr. Sherrill Mr. & Mrs. Wier James Sevier & lady, Mrs. William Clarke Benj. Brown & wife Josiah Allen John Fickee at the wedding. Fry. 25 Christmas. Most of the gest staid Brakfirst & went home. High wind in the night. Sat. 26 very warm. Mr. Sherri l came to Brak. I went to Mr. Debardelebans & Dined. H gh winds in the night & Rained. Doctor Chester came in the evening & tarried all night & lanced a 'ittle negro girls imposthumes (?) called Sarah Mr. R. Campble his wife & Mary Ann went to Mr. Doakes meeting.

Sun. 27 Warm & pleasant. Mon. 28 cooler & frost that night Tues. 29 Myself Mrs. Sevier Betsy & Mrs. Campble set out for



the Iron Works, arrived there that night and staid till fryday & came to Jonesbo & tarried all night. Next day came home. Rained in the evening. Wed. 30 rained. Thur. 31 Fair & warm. Fry. 1 day of Jany. 1796 a warm & pleasant day. Mrs. Thompson arrived at jonesbo. Sat. 2 a fine day.

Sun. 3 Rained, Josiah Allen set out for home paid him off for his work bu giving him up his note of £6.19. that I got from J. Lacky Let him have 2 coats for which he is to wall in a Cellar in Feby. next. Paid Josiah Allen for John Richmond 7 dollars for James Sevier at Mr. Mays store 3.2.9. also cash 4 dollars. John Richmond Dr to cash paid Josiah Allen 7 dollars. John Ficke 1 blk. Handkf got at Mr. Deadricks store. Mon. 4 warm, the violets in the garden bloomed. Tues. 5 very warm & pleasant in the night snowed. Wed. 6 snowed all day. Thur. 7 clear & windy set out for knoxville. styd. at Greenville. pd. Expenses 6/. Ferryed at Lick Creek (?) (?) to pay Gray 9d. Fed at Parks and owe him 1/. Lodged at Wm. Murphys. Sat. 9 Dined at Mr. Reeses Lodged at Browns pd. for expenses 5/.

Sun. 19 Crossed Holeson at McBees Ferry pd. 1/. Traveling in Co. with Jn. Anderson Colo. Roddy & Arc. Rowan esq. Arrived in Knox. in the evening & put up at Stones. Mon. 11 The convention met, & a heavy rain fell that day & night. Tues. 12 sent our horses to Cains. Wed. 13 Rained and the river very high. Thur. 14 Rained. Fry. 15 the committee reported the bill of rights. Sat. 16 cold.

Sun. 17 ditto. Mon. 18 Rained heavily. Tues. 19. Rained. Wed. 20 Very     Thur. 21 Do. Fry. 22 Do. Sat. 23 Snowed in the night.

Sun. 24 very cold. Mon. 25 ditto. Tues. 26 clear & cold Wed. 27 cold. A ball at Mr. Dunlops. Thur. cold & clear. Fry. 29 ditto. Sat. 30 ditto.

Sun. 31 very warm & pleasant. Mon. 1 Feby. 1796. Rained Tues. 2. rained all night Lodged at Woods. Wed. 3 clear & cold. Th 4 ditto. Fry. 5 some warmer. Sat. 6 cloudy. Convention adjourned.

Sun. 7 very warm rained in the night. Mon. 8 Cumberland members set out. I sent with them many letters to sundry persons. Tues. 9, warm & pleasant. Rained in the night. Wed. 10 dined at Govs. Thur. 11 left Knoxville in Company with Colo. Carter & Wm. McCinn (?) Lodged at D. Halys. Fry. 12 we lodged at Maj. Pres. (?) Sat 13 at Colo. Cockes.

Sun. 14 at Colo. Colls. Mon. 15 at Rogersville. Tues. 16 Lodged at Capt. Anies. Wed. 17 Lodged at Ar. Galbraths. Thur. 18 at Walter Kings S. B. deld. Fry. 19. ditto Lent John Christian 7/6/ Sent to him pr. his wife. Sat. 20 Snowed. went to Abel Morgans.

Sun. 21 Lodged at night at J. Yances. Mon. 22 came to Sullivans court. put up at Mr. Greghams. Tues. 23 Court. Wed. 24 ditto. Snowed 3 Inches Deep. Thur. 25 rained in the night.

Fry. 26 cloudy. raid. yesterd. From. Maj. Sevier 1 guinea & 4 dollars. Sat. 27 came home from sullivans swam our horses at Widow Ducanes (?) over the River holeson.

### February 1796.

Sun. 28 Cold & Frosty. Mon. 29 ditto. Tues. 1 day of March. wt. to Jonesbo. Wed. 2 came home. Thur. 3 staid at home Fry. 4th cold & clear. Sat. 5 went to Mr. Sherrills.

Sun. 6 Set out for Jefferson Election. Lodged that night in Greenville. Mon. 7th lodged in Company with Capt. Js. Stinson & Alex Carmichael at Parks on Bent Creek. very cold. Tues. 8th lodged at Mr. Fitzgeralds. Cold. Wed. 9 lodged at A. Wilcoxes. Lodged there in Comp. with Capt. Cauzby. Fri. 11. wt. to Sevier Election. Lodged at J. Thomas. Brakfirsted at Do. Sat. 12 Set out for home lodged at John Naves (?).

Sun. 13 Braket. at Capt. Pines. Dined at Greenville & Lodged there all night. Mon. 14 came home at night. Tues. 15 cold & Dry. Wed. 16 ditto. Ja. Sevier Lodged at my house. Thur. 17 cold & Dry. Fry. 18 self and Mrs. Sevier with Betsy wt. to Jonesbo. Sat. 19 staid at Jonesbo. *cold*.

Sun. 20 came home. *cold*. Mon. 21 cold. Tues. 22 Mrs. & Mr. Casson, Mr. & Mrs. Wier & Miss Jinny & Betsy, Mr. McKee & his lady, Mr. Debardeleben, James Sevier his lady, Mrs. Jack Sevier, Capt. Harrison, Mr. Evans, & Mr. Sherrill Dined here. Mr. Waddell, Capt. Harrison & Mr. Evans staid all night. Wed. 23 Capt. Harrison, Mr. Waddle & Mr. W. Evans took brak. and set out for Jonesbo. Rained some in the evening. Thur. 24 Rained some in the evening. Thur. 24 rained in the mornng. Frost in the Mornng. Memo. Paid Mr. Doake for schooling Washington & Saml. a half Joe (?). Paid Mr. James Paine towards Rye had some time ago 1 Guinea. Memo. Paid Alex Nelso for Expenses at Rodgers pr. order from Rodgers 34/2. put into the Hands of Walter King a patent of 25660 acres on waters of Cumberland. Ditto into the Hands of Capt. M. Harrison for 10500 on Sequatihee (?) River, to see if any person will purchase the same. 1 pd. Jos. Young 15 bushels.

### March 1796.

Fry. 25 cold & Dry Frost. at night. Sat. 26 cloudy. Colo. Carter & self set out out for Knoxville Lodged in Greenville cool & Dry.

Sun. 27th set out from Green. & lodged that night at Painters Springs. Mon. 28 Brak. at Haines, & arrived in Knoxville in the evening. Assembly met. Tues. 29 cool & Dry. Recd. message by committee, that I was duly elected Governor of the State of Tennessee. Wed. 30 was attended by a committee to the House of Representatives Chamber & was there Qualified as Governor. 16 round of cannon was Discharged. Thurs. 31 Dry

& cool, Dined at Gov. Blounts, Fry. 1st day of April, cool. Sat. 2 ditto.

Sun. 3 ditto. Mon. 4 ditto. Tues. 5 ditto. Wed. 6 ditto. Thur. 7 the members of Assembly, the clks., the Judges, the Senator Mr. Blount, Col. Henly and a number of Gentlemen Dined with me at Mr. Stones. Fry. 8 warm & Dry. Sat. 9 ditto.

Sun. 10 ditto. Mon. 11 Went to Mariessville to Compy with Colo. McKee. After granting coms. to Judge McNairy & Blount, Lodged all night at Mr. Wallises. Tues. 13 Rained. Went to P. Simmes, staid all night. Wed. 13 Returned to Knoxville. Thur. 14 rained heavily. Fry. 15 very warm. Sat. 16 accompanied by Gov. Blount as far as Cains on his way to Congress. McClung McClellan & self Returned same evening.

Sun. 17 Self Col. Ford, Maj. Johnson & Cak (?) went out to Loves 3 miles. Mon. 18 removed from Capt. Stones to the house of Col. Carter in Knoxville. Col. Carter set off home, I sent with him Wm. Wilsons bond for £63 for to collect. Tues. 19th cloudy. Wed. 20 Dry & warm. Thur. 21 Ditto. Took tea at Mrs. McClungs in Co. with Col. Gest & lady & Col. Whitto. Fry. 22 Very warm & Sultry. Sent in an address to the Assembly. Sat. 23 Assembly adjourned. Doctor Cabel & Deleon arrived.

#### April 1796.

Sunday 24 very sultry & cloudy. Mon. 25 Knox. Court began. Tues. 26 Fine rain, and rained in night. Mrs. Smith was here—Wed. 27 very cloudy in the mornng. Cool in the night river raised also. Thur. 28 very cool for the season. Frost. Fry. 29 light Frost. Sat. 30 some warmer.

Sun. 1 day of May some warmer. Mon. 2d. Mr. Barrow brot news from Mrs. Sevier all well, cloudy & some rain. Judges Blount & Roane Messrs. Dille, Johnston, Terril, Barrow, Maloy, Ross, & Others set out for Nashville, 2 o'clock afternoon. Tues. 3 to Natl. Hays. warm & dry. Wed. 4th lent unto James Hankins 4 dollars, he being the workman who is building the school house in Knoxville. (lent in presence of Secretary Madinn) Thurs. 5 fine shower. Fry. 6 warmer Dined at D. Whites. Sat. 7 Left with Mr. McCrory, James Kings receipt for cash powder. wt. 102 ls. Gross, which powder he is to get out of the public magazine, & give me Cr. for at 4/ per ld. Sat. set out for home, left with Secretary Madinn—Morgans reports. Simms military guide, the public papers & 2 Coats & 1 Hatt & a looking-glass. Lodged at Mr. Hains. pd. 5/. heavy rain.

Sun. 8th Fed at Mr. Cheeks Rode in company with Pegg Forrest. Lodged at Greenville. Hard Frost. Mon. 9 tarried in Greene—Dry & cold Tues. 10 ditto. dry & Cool. Wed. 11 tarried in Greene. Thur. 12 ditto. Fry. 13 came home in company with Mr. Claiborne. Sat. 14 Fine rain.

Sun. 15 some light showers. Mon. 16 went to Jonesbo to Court. Tues. 17 staid at Jonesbo at Mr. Waddles. Wed. 18

ditto: rained. Thur. 19 ditto—ditto. Dry. 20 came home Frost in morn'g. Mr. Norvel & Geo. King came home with me. Sat. 21 all of us went to Mr. Doakes meeting. Mr. Balsh, his lady & daughter came home with us.

Sun. 22 went to meeting. Sacrament. Miss Balch & Mrs. Hammes came home with us. Mon. 23 self Mrs. Sevier wt. to meeting Tues. 24 a violent Hsle & rained gust, did much damage to everything growing. Wed. 25 very cool for the season. Thur. 26 rained & cool Memo. to send Doctor Holt some different articles to make bitters. Memo. paid to Mr. Saml. May for Saml. Sherrill in part pay of negro man named *Will*. Saml. Sherrill own acct. with Mr. May £29.10.7 to Mr. May for goods to Josiah Allen on Mr. Sherrills acct. £4/10.0 Virginia money. Memo. pd. Mr. May for Charles Waddell pd. Mr. Doake of the 23 May 1796 6 dollars. Recd. from James Sevier 20 May 1796 12 dolls. Memo. Let a Quaker near Rogers will have a bushel of corn.

Three degrees used by Grammarians called the positive, the comparative & the superlative. The positive is the Quality for adjective itself; the comparative is known by adding the termination *er*, or prefixing the auxiliary quality *more* or *less* to the positive degree; superlative is known & formed by adding the termination *est*, or prefixing the auxiliary quality *most* or *least* to the positive also Therefore only such qualities as can be increased or diminished can be compared.

Comma, semicolon; colon; period. apostrophe ! interrogation?

#### June 1796.

few instances occur of more violent dissention excited by the more material differences in religion or rather the most frivolous. It is a just remark that the more affinity there is between theological parties the Greater commonly is their animosities.

Hume, England, Life of Edred, Celibacy, begun by the Pope & Dunstan of Wt. England.

Battle of Hastings William the Norman Divided his army in 3 lines. Montgomery led the first, consisting of archers & light armed infantry. 2nd commanded by Martel, composed of his best battalion heavy armed & arranged in close order—his cavalry at whose head he placed himself formed a third line, & were so disposed that they stretched beyond the infantry & flanked each wing of the army.

#### May 1796.

Fry. 27 rained & cool went to Jonesbo. Self & Mrs. Sevier. let Mr. Balch have 18 bushels corn, recd. 9 dollars for the same. Sat. 28 came home from Jonesbo.

Sun. 29 some more warm & pleasant. Mon. 30 rained lightly. Tues. 31 dry & some warmer, (?) Brown & others dined here. Wed. June 1st warm & dry Let Mr. Hunt (B. J.) have 2 bushels



of corn. Thur. 2 dry & hot let Miss Balch have half bushel corn. Fry. 3 rained in the mornng. let Mrs. Kennedy (widow) have 1 bush. corn. Sat. 4 rained. Memo. Jane Newman departed this life on 25th inst. at night buried 27th. Jacob Embree rendered an account against John Fickee for

Lyquor Amt.....	0.13.6.
John Richmond for Do.....	0. 6.0.
Myself 1 qt. brandy.....	0. 1.3.
To his mother Gallon Do.....	0. 5.0.

1. 5.9. V. M.

4 Chairs.....12.0

Gave Jacob Embree an order to Walter King for 150 ls. Iron Sat. 4th rained in evening.

Sun. 5 Self, Mrs. Sevier, Mrs. Campble & betsy went to Mr. Doakes meeting rained. Mon. 6 dined with Mr. Sherrill rained. Michl Woods & wife Lodged here all night. Mrs. Waddle also lodged all night here. Memo. of corn delivered to sundry persons. To Mr. Sec. H. pr. order from Mr. Doake 8 bushels. To Andrew Lilburns sundry times 12 bushels. To 2 men living at the Hotts (?) place 4 bushels. To Moses Hocket 2 bushels of rye. To William Celry 5 bushels. Mrs. Kenedy Corn 1 bushel. Mr. Hunt (B. Smith) 2 bushels. Tue. 7 Dry & warm. Wed. 8 very warm, Thur. 9 light shower Fry. 10 Gusty in the evening. Mrs. Sevier & self dined at James Seviere myself wt. to Colliers & Got cherys. Mr. John Waddle Junr. Lodged here all night Rained in the night. Sat. 11 rained in the mornng.

Sun. 12 Ditto. Mon. 13 Went to Jonesbo & returned home Tues. 14 rained. Wed. 15 dry & hot. Thur. 16 rained. Fry. 17 small shower. Sat. 18 Rained.

Sun. 19 Dry & hot. Mon. 20 warm & dry began to p. corn. 2nd time. Tues. 21 rained Eliz. Handly Died. Wed. 22 rained. Eliz. Handly buried. began to reap wheat. Tues. 23 reaped wheat & finished. Rained. Memo. wm. Colyer 2 bushels corn. Mr. Haislet Junr. reaped part of the day. Haislet Senr. a whole day paid by Richmond to Gen. Burget for 2 Gallons of whiske 8/. Wm. Collier 2 bushels of corn Mr. Hunt (B. S.) 2 Bushels. Thos. Hutson on Lick Creek near James Mauhons Dr. to 2 Bushels corn. Fry. 24 very hot. Sat. 25 Doctor Cathcart of Philadelphia & Mr. McCollister, Brak. here, and then we all went to Jonesbo. Tarried all night & Sunday night.

Sun. 26 tarried at Jonesbo. Mon. 27 paid John Hunter 14/6. in full of his (B. Smiths) account vs. me. Came home in Company with D. White who tarried all night, W. King also. Tues. 28 Doctor White left here, Hauled in our wheat, W. King returned home. Sold unto Doctor Cathcart Lead mines for £750 V. M. very warm Day. began to hoe corn in the lover field on the river. Wed. 29 Mrs. Geo. King came to my house. Thur. 30 self Mrs. Sevier, & Betsy in Company with Mrs. Sherrill & Mr.

Geo. King set out for Knoxville—arrived in Greenville that Evening—Lodged all night at Mr. Purdues pd. Expenses 3 dollars. Memo. left with Mr. Richd Campble 7 Dollars to purchase plank & salt. Let Mr. Richd. Jones have one Bushl. corn. Richd. Jones son & 2 daughters of Joshua Green died on the 29th with the flux—Fry. 1 July lodged at parks, pd. Expenses 10/. Gave him 2 Dollars.

### July 1796.

Sat. 2 Brak. at Col. Rodies Expenses 6/ rained lodged all night Hains Exps. 28/.

Sun. 3d crossed at Magbees Ferry pd. Expenses 4/. left with a dollar due me 2/. Arrived at Mr. Cains lodged their all night Expenses 21/ left 1/6 unpaid. Mon. 4 arrived in Knoxville 10 o'clock. An Elegant Ball at Mr. Stones very warm & Dry. Tues. 5 warm & Dry. Wed. 6 Ditto. a ball at Mr. Stones, sent our horses to Mr. Cains. Thur. 7 warm & Dry. Fry. 8 Bt. of Corzier 6 pr. stocks. Silk & buttons. (?) (?) (?) 2// cotton plain. Mem. pd. at Greenville as we came down to a Mr. Right, 9 Dollars for a muslin Habbit bought by my Daughter Catery some time ago. Sat. 9 very Hott.

Sun. 10 some rain at night. Mon. 11 cloudy & sultry. Tues. 12 very fine rain, cool at night. Wed. 13th cool & pleasant. Thur. 14 something more sultry. Fry. 15 Mrs. Sevier Mr. Sherrill & Mr. Geo. King set out for Washington. Mrs. Sevier took with her 10 Dollars for Expenses &c. Sat. 16 very warm, & Dry.

Sun. 17 My son Washington & Saml. arrived in evening. Mon. 18 cloudy & Some rain in the morning. went to a dance at Mrs. Blounts. Tues. 19 very hott. Wed. 20 Sent a dispatch to the Secy. at War by the post. Thur. 21 fine rain in the mornng. A Genl. muster of the light horse in Hamilton District.—S. Greer, G. Mr. Claiborne & Mr. Miller arrived. Fry. 22 recd. a letter from Saml. May (?) Sat. 23 cool.

Sun. 24 Self, Rutha, Betsy, Washington & Sammy wt. to meeting. Last night Mr. Miller had stolen from him 5 gall peas & Maj. Claiborne 1 Dollar. Mon. 25. cool for the season. Maj. Nelson & Brak. with us at Mr. Stones Knox County court began today. Tues 26 Blount Election began for a representative in room of J. Hueston (?) resigned.

Wed. 27 nothing Extraordinary. Thur. 28 a Gust of rain in afternoon. Fry. 29 Mrs. Sevier & family arrived. Sat. 30th Mr. Hanly came in with Waggon we moved to Carters house Lent Mr. Claywell 3 dollars. the Assembly met this day.

Sun. 31 very warm. pd. unto Joshua Phipps 10 Dollars in full of an old debt due William Crone. Mon. 1 Settled with John Handly in full up to this date. & the Amt. of acct. Driving the waggon home included is 11 Dollars. Out of which he recd. 4 dollars & set our for home. Tues. 2 Election for Senators was held by the Assembly. Blount, & Cocke, elected. Wed. 3 Recd.

from Maj. Claiborne 4 dollars—paid to Mr. Ho. t 2 Dols.    Thurs. 4 Dry & Cool    Fry. 5 ditto.    Sat. 6 warm & clear.

Sun. 7 ditto.    Mon. 8 ditto.    Tues. 9 Assembly broke up.    Wed. 10 rain.    Thur. 11th rained—pd Mr. Hope in full for work done &c. &c.    Fry. 12 rained.    Col. Henly, Capt. Rouse & Capt. Cunzby dined here.    pd. for 2 pails & a w Tubb 9/6.    Let Suza Haiston have 1 dollar recd. from her melons &c to the amt. of 4/.    Sat. 13 rained.

Sun. 14 clear.    Mon. 15 Went to the Plant. & returned.    Tuesday 16 Mr. Hancock recd 2 Dols. for which he is to furnish 6 Bushls. of seed Oats on the plantation to sow in the spring.    Wed. 17 a refreshing shower—Washington Swaped off his mair for a bay horse    Settled with the butcher due to him 3.12.8.    Sent the money to him the next mornng by Tobee.    Thur. 18 very hott.    Fry. 19 ditto.    Chickasaw Indians came here.    Sat. 20 Ditto.

Sun. 21 self Mrs. Sevier & betsy wt. to Mr. John Sherrills.    rained in eveng.    Mon. 23 Staid at Mr. Sherrills.    Wm. Sherrill came to Knoxville.    Tues. 23 came home, in compy with Mr. Sherrill & wife.    Wed. 24 Mr. Sherrill & wife wt. home.    Thur. 25 Wm. Sherrill & P. Simms Dined here.    Fry. 26 Mornng Foggy.    Memo. Chickasaw Indians came to Knoxville.    Self, Washington & Sally Clarke sit out for Washington.    Lodged all night at Mr. Hains.    paid for Expenses 7/6.

#### August 1796.

Sun. 28 Lodged at Colo. Conways ?    Mon. 29 lodged at Mr. Purdems (?).    Tues. 30 rained very heavily.    Wed. 31 came home, rained    Thur. 1 Sepr. came to Jonesbo. (?)    Fry. 2 staid in Jonesbo rained.    Sat. 3 rained, staid in Jonesbo.

Sun. 4 rained came to the plana.    Mon. 5 returned to Jonesbo.    Sent Washington to Greeve.    Tues. 6 Was taken ill in the mornng. before Mrs. Mays store,—Washington returned with 175 Dollars from G. Conway, on a warrant on the Treasury for part of my annual service lodged all night in Col. Robertsons house.    Wed. 7 some better came to Mr. Waddells.    Let. Huhl. Harrison have 100 dollars to pay the waggoners for bringing goods from Richmond.    Thurs. 8 Mr. Stuart went off to Knoxville    Sent by him to Mrs. Sevier 10 dollars.    Fry. 9 lent Wm. Cox 6 dollars (Dry & cool)    Sat. 10 paid John Doake 6 dollars for his father schooling the boys—Washington & Saml.

Sun. 11 cloudy & light frost.    Mon. 12 ditto—light frost    Tues. 13 Some warmer.    Wed. 14 blistered by Doctor Chester.    Thur. 15 took of the blisters, kept my bed.    Fry. 16 Kept my bed & very sick.    Sat. 17 ditto—ditto.

Sun. 18 Mrs. Sevier came to Jonesboro this day I walked a little about.    Mon. 19 got some better.    Tues. 20 Fair & cool, Supr. Court began.    Wed. 21 ditto.    Thur. 22 cool.    Fry. 23 ditto.    Sat. 24 paid John Waddle 10 Dollars which he lent me some time ago & lent him 2 dollars beside.

Sun. 25 Pleasant & warm. Mon. 26 ditto. Tues. 27 ditto. pd Saml. Handly 7 dollars in full of all his demands. Wed. 28 ditto. Mrs. Sevier came to P. Grove. Thur. 29 I came to ditto, Major Claiborne appointed a Judge P. Tem. & Qualified. Francis Baker whipped at Jonesbo. Fry. 30 Bealer (?) whipped, Cropped, Branded & pillored for H. Stealing.

#### October 1796.

Sat. Octo. 1st Self, Mrs. Sevier & Mrs. Campble set out for Knoxville lodged that night at Col. Conways.

Sun. 2 Set out from C. conways & lodged that night at Brachhaws, head of Dumplin, Mon. 3 arrived in Knoxville in evening all well. Tues. 4 dispatches Commissioners to Cumberland Mero. District for Field Officers & for the Calvary by Maj. Miles. Wed. 5 rained in the mornng. paid to Mr. Hancock 1 dollar The Butcher brot in his acct. 3. 16. 6. pd. him out of it £2.11.0. Thur. cool Frost at night. Fry 7 red. of James Greenaway 5 dollars in part pay of powder some time ago—Frost at night. Sat. 8 Frost at night. Mrs. Blount & family sit out for Philadelphia.

Sun. 9th clear & pleasant Memo. purchased from Alex. Cunningham 100 bushels of corn to be delivered on my plantation—pd him in Croziers store 10.0 Mon. 10 cool. Tues. 11 Superior Court for Hamilton District begins Wed. 12 cool. Thur. 13 cool. Fry. 14 rained. Sat. 15 clear & cool.

Sun. Cool & pleasant. Mon. 17 ditto. Tues. 18 ditto pd. Alex Cunningham 100 dollars. Wed. 19 cool Jesse Geffrys whipped for Horse stealing. Branding & Pilloring pardoned). Memo. lent the butcher in Knoxville 30 dollars. Thur. 20 dry & cool, paid unto Mrs. Hairston 3 dollars in full of all accompts. Fry. 21 dry & cool. Sat. 22 Self Mrs. Sevier & Betsy wt. to Mr. Simms tarried there all night. (Dry weather)

Sun. 23 Staid all night at Mr. Simms (D. W.) Mon. 24 came home (Dry weather) Tues. 25 let Mr. A. Crozier, have some time ago, a Draft on P. Garts in Baltimore Drewby Jos. Ennwer (?0 for £250 V. money. Wed. 26 (Dry) Bought of Geo Gordon a black mare 8 years old 16. price. Thurs. 27 Bought of Jas. Anderson a bay horse 70 dollars Price. 5 years 'old gray star branded n. shoulder J.L

Fry. 28 dry & warm. Sat. 29 ditto.

Sun. 30 ditto. Mon. 31 ditto. Tues. 1 November 1796 hard frost Wed. 2 dry & cool. Thur. 3 ditto. Fry. 4 ditto. Sat. 5 d tto.

Sun. 6 Settled with Delancy the butcher & there is due to me 3 dollars & one 8th, & so settled in his books & my acct. crossed out. Memo. paid for Alexr. Cuninghams unto N. P. Perkins 10 dollars. & 25 Cts. to Thos. Hamilton 20 dollars. Mon. 7 Dry the waggon & Carriage set off for Home from Knoxville, Rutha Joanna & polly came on to Mr. McCains myself Mrs. Sevier Mrs



Campble & betsy tarried at Capt. Stones (Hoggs put up). Tues. 8 we set from Knoxville lodged that night at Breiziltons, paid Expenses 15/-. Wed. 9 Fed. our horses at the painter Springs pd 9d. Tarried all night at Col. Boddys pd Exps. 2 dollars. Thurs. 10 Tarried at Greenville pd. 4 Dolls. Fry. 11 came home all well. Sat. 12 warm & pleasant.

Sun. 13 ditto. Mon. 14 ditto went to Jonesbo. Tues. 15 rained in the mornng. came home from Jonesbo. Wed. 16 pleasant Thur. 17 ditto. Fryday 18 Settled with Jno. Richmond & there is due unto him 3.14.0. Sat. 19 Sowed Timothy seed rained all night.

Sun. 20 Finished sowing Timothy seed rained. Mon. 21 very warm. Tues. 22 went to Jonesbo. rained in evening. & in the night snowed. Wed. 23 cold. Thur. 24 Genl. muster & very cold, all the little brooks Frozen, & part of escloctucky (?). Fry. 25 Rutha takes very sick. Mrs. Sevier came home, continued very cold. Sat. 26 very cold. Court adjourned.

Sunday 27 very cold, snowed at night. Mond. 28 came home from Jonesbro. cold. Tues. 29 sent the waggon & horses to Jonesbro to sit out for Richmond (Some warmer, but still very cold) Wed. 20 some warmer, rained in the night. Peter Turny came to P. Grove with Petitions Letters &c for a pardon for Jacob Turney staid all night.—a pardon granted. Thur. 1st of December cold and snowy day. John Fickee 1 dollar to pay the shoemaker. Fry. 2 Mrs. Sevier came home rained. Sat. 3 very cold.

Sun. 4 Some more moderate. Mon. 5 pleasant Rutha came home from Jonesbo. Tues. 6 cold, & some snow. Wed. 7 very cold & flying snow. Thurs. 8 Snowed in the night. Fry. 9 very cold. Mr. Gillom came here. Sat. 10 some milder weather. pd. Isaac Embree 2 Dollars for plank.

Sun. 11 Very cold. Mr. Gillom left here. Sun. 11 cold & clear Maj. Sevier, Mr. Sherrill, Wm. Sherrill & wife dined here. Mon. 12 Settle with John Wier esquire for sundries unto this date & there is yet due unto him 3.13.8 Virga. Money., which he has from under my hand today on demand (Clear & cold) day but some more moderate than yesterday. Memo. to get Clarks Jud. vs. Denton from Maj. Sevier. Gave Clarke an order on Colo. Taylor (Columbia) for 143 dollars & 9 Cents being the ball. of Redins Debt. Memo. 15, 20, or 30 drops of the acid Elixor of Vitrol, 2 or 3 times a day. Good to expel wind & promote digestion Memo. to Commissioners Joseph Demoson (?), & Fedance Lane Capts out of Lanes sla. compy. which is divided into 2, near unto Colo. Roddys, Jefferson county, this division was set on Foot first by, Outlane & Major McFarland. (Memo. Take a single handful of white shoemake root bark, boil it in water till it is strong & little more than a spoonfull then take out the root & add a spoon of tarr & a spoonfull of honey & mix it well together, then put to it a pint of new milk & Drench the horse—a sure cure

for worms—a sixth part, for a child—or half as much for a grown person, or nearly as much as for a horse—proved a Certain cure) (?) (?) (?) (?) (?) remark of Smith 3 Vol. 15 page. Nations like France, & England consist in great measure, of proprietors & cultivators can be enriched by industry & enjoyment—on the contrary like Holland & Hamburgh, are composed of merchants, artificers & manufacturers, can grow rich only through parsimony & privation as the interests of nations are so differently circumstanced, so is the common character of the people the former liberality frankness & good fellowship, mark their character, in the latter, narrowness, meanness, & selfish disposition, averse to all social pleasure & enjoyment. Mon. 12 Genl. Smith Joseph Greer & Hugh Nelson came to P. Grove to get certificates of their being elected Electors of President, & Vice-president of the United States. Tarried all night. Tuesday 13 rained went in Co. with Genl. Smith to Jonesbo. Richard Campble Hawkins Windle & Mr. McCory came to town in the evening. Staid all night & came to my house next day Wed. 14 I came home. rained. Thur. 15 very pleasant day. Paid off John Richmond for his 2 years work £3.14.1 Fry. 16 rained killed 5 fatted Hogs. Sat. 17 Fine & cold. (?)

Sun. 18 rained in the mornng. Dined today at Mr. Sherrills in Company with H. Windle Mr. Campble & his wife. Mon. 19 wt. to Jonesboro (cold) Tues. 20 Walter King came here. Wed. 21 snowed & rained Thur. 22 Extremely cold froze very hard the river across & all the small streams. Fry. 23. W. King set out, (very cold). Gave him and order on Jno. Waddle for the ball. of a 200 dollar warrant on the treasurer having recd. of Waddle 100 out of it, also an order on Mr. Montgomery for goods. Sat. 24. Very cold—paid Allen Gallaspie 5 dollars for John Fickey as pr. receipt.

Sun. 25 very cold Dined at Mr. Sherrills Mon 26 V. cold Dined at Mr. McKees. Tues. 27 Reuben Paine set in to be Overseer at 40 pr. anum. pd. Ruble the B. smith 1/9. in full of all dues for S. work.....pd. Richd. Campble 14/. for a pr. shoes. Wed. 28 very cold Thur. 29 ditto. Fry. 30 ditto. Sat. 31 ditto.

## CHAPTER 27.

John Sevier's Diary Continued—Goes to the Cum-  
berland Country—Visited by the Orleans  
Princes—Attends Ball at Judge McNairy's  
—His Daughter Ruth Marries Captain  
Sparks—Moves to Knoxville and Rents  
Colonel McClung's House—Attended  
with Major Claiborne Treaty  
with the Cherokees at  
Tellico—Re-elected  
Governor.

January 1797.

Sun. 1 day January 1797 some m. moderate. Mon. 2 very cold. Tues. 3 ditto. Flying snow. Wed. 4 a little rain & Freeze at night. Thur. 5 myself in co. with son Rector sit out for Knoxville Lodged in Greenville that night pd Expenses 9/. from Wm. Conway a Dappled Gray horse which he recd from J. Richardson at the price of 130 dollars in part pay of a debt Richardson was indebted to our store Keaped at Greenville. Memo. left with R. Campble an order I obtained from Charles Robertson of 70 Dollars on Acquilla Sherrill; which R. C. is to collect & send me the money. Fry. 6 lodged at H. Conways very cold Sat. 7 snowed lodged at Wm. Conways.

Sun. 8 Lodged at John Bradshaws very cold Mon. 9 clear & some more moderate Lodged at J. McCains pd Expenses 4/6. Tues. 10 came to Knoxville rained very much in the night turned warm. Dined with Secy. Muclin. Wed. 11 Cloudy & windy the weather mod. Came to Capt. Stones last evening. Thur. 12 very warm & pleasant. Mr. Campble & his wife arrived & Mr. Arthur Crozier & his wife. Fry. 13 warm & pleasant a comp. of regulars arrived. pd to Seth Johnson 5 dollars Rained in the night. Richd. Campble recd. the 70 dollars on my account from Acquilla Sherrill cash for myself 2 dollars. Sat. 14 cloudy & warm.

Sun. 15 very warm. Mon. 16 ditto. Tues. 17 cloudy & rained in the night. Wed. 18 cloudy & some rain in eveng. Sent to Richard Campble 15 dollars. Recd. from Secretary Pickering by way of Cumberland 7 acts of Congress. Thur. 19 Rained. Fry. 20 cloudy & rained in eveng. Sat. 21 cloudy.

Sun. 22 clear & warm. Mon. 23 clear & cool. Tues. 24 clear & pleasant. Wed. 25 clear & pleasant. Thur. 26 ditto. pd. A. Charmichael 5 & a half dollars in full of his account. Fry. 27 ditto & pleasant. Sat. 28 warm & a violent storm loud thunder large hail & rained. High winds, & constant flash of Lightning the greater part of the night.

Sun. 29 some cooler & fair.

Mon. 30 rained, court began paid Hickey the B. smith 3 dollars for a grubbing hoe.

Tues. 31 cloudy and some rain.

### February 1797.

Wed. 1 February 1797 wet day. dined with the officers & a number of other gents at Mr. Campbles.

Thurs. 2nd cloudy & some cooler

Fry. 3 rained

Sat. 4 clear & warm

Sun. 5 ditto

Mon. 6 ditto

Tues. 7 ditto

Wed. cloudy & some rain

Thurs. 9 clear & warm

Fry. 10 ditto

Sat. 11 ditto

Sun. 12 ditto

Mon. 13 warm & rained heavily all night went to a ball at Capt. Stones being president Washingtons Birthday

Tues. 14 warm & pleasant, Danced in the evening again at Capt. Stones pd. Mr. Hancocke 5 dollars for 2 acres of ground Grubed by Hitchcock

Wed. 15 clear & cold night

Thurs. 16 clear & pleasant

Fry. 17 cloudy & rained

Sat. 18 Cloudy & like for rain

Sun. 19 dined at Mr. cains in Co. with W. Rector on his way to Virginia who took with 163 Virga Money. rained all night. Rutha Sevier arrived.

Mon. 20 rained in mornng.

Tues. 21 Fair & very warm began to rain Rained all night with loud thunder

Th. 23 Rained heavily in the mornng. & a great part of the day & all night Wm. Sherrill sit out for home in co with Jno. McAllister.

Fry. 24 became some cooler & clearer the river rose to very Great height

Sat. 25 the river at Stand & thought to have rose 35 Feet clear & cool

Sun. 26 clear & the river began to fall Let James Lee esqr. have a warrant on the Treasurer for 43 dollars to help pay off a debt due from the Estate of Isaac Taylor, also wrote to A. Meek



allowing him to let Col. Outlaw pay Lee 60 & a half dollars, which Lee informs me is the amt. of his Debt. amounting in the whole to 103 1/2 dolls. pd a waggoner 15/. for hauling 5 loads of rails from Johnsons

Mon. 27 a beautiful day myself Capt. Sparks, Wm. Campbell & Rutha rode out to Mr. Roads & dined

Tues. 28 there fell a snow 8 inches deep 12 o'clock at night. Stepson Duncan house bruned down

### March 1797

Weday. clear & warm, but hailed in the night.

Th. 2 day hailed snowed & rained in the mornig gave 5 dollars to a dutchman who had his effects burned in Duncans house his name Waggoner.

Fry. 3

Sat. 4 clear & cool, Tho. Shields on Pigeon was killed by Indians.

Sun. 5 dined at Col. Henlys clear & cool day

Mon. 6th paid Mr. Price twelve dollars for Grubing my four lots of Ground (Clear)

Tues. 7 clear & pleasant (some wind)

We. 8 clear & pleasant

Thurs. 9 ditto

Fry. 10 ditto

Sat. 11 ditto, pd. Handwicks 11 Dols for to hire a hand 1 month to work.

Sun. 12 cloudy & rained in the morning. pd Doctor Frenier (?) for Alex Cuninghams 13-3/4 dollars - - - £4.2.6. Mrs. Cain came here and tarried here all night. recd. yesterday from Crozier & McCrory 100 Dols pd 80 of them to Thos. N. Clark in pay for the waggon & team purchased from him & 120 dols. out of the store being the first payment—(in Co.) Memo. gave John Rector an order on Col. Harrison for 10 or fifteen dols., who set out today for Virginia.

Mon. 13 rained in afternoon & evening. Took tea with Mr. Seetman together with Capt. Wade, Richard Right, Hillis & Nesdnan.

Tues. 14 cloudy in the mornig (cleared off) rode out to Duncans place Looneys (?) & C Sowed a fed (few?) garden seeds.

Wed. 15 pleasant & warm day sit out for Maryville arrived in eveng. Staid all night at Capt. Taylors (rained) paid expenses 3 dollars.

Thur. 16 set out late & ledged at Mr. Simms rained in the night, W. M. Sims.

Fry. 17 cloudy in mornig. Came to Knoxville 1 o'clock, dined with the Continental officers & others at Capt. Chisms being a club dinner in memry to the day of St. Patrick

Sat. 18 (cool) Mr. Sims & Lady came to town & tarried at Mr. Campbles.

Sun. 19 cool—Mr. Sims & Lady wt. home.

Mon. 20 Fair & pleasant

Tues. 21 very warm

Wed. 22 ditto

Thurs. 23 rained & thundered

Fry. 24 rained

Sat. 25 Fair pd Seth Johnson 2 D.

Sun. 26 rained

Mon. 27 cool & Frost at night

Tues 28 cool, sent Toby home to assist Wm. Sevier Down, also sent with him 6 Crowns & four dollars to Mrs. Sevier, a muslin pattern to Joanna & a dimity one to Polly

Wed. 29 cool

Thurs. 30 cloudy, a Genl. Muster

Fry. 31 rained

#### April 1797

Sat. 1 April, cool & Frost at night

Mon. 3 cloudy in the morn'g

Tues. 4 rained a little

Wd. 5 rained a little

Thur 6 cloudy only, rained in the night

Fry. 7 recd from Crozier & McCrory 50 Dollars went & lodged at McCains

Sat. 8 set out from McCains? Caught in heavy rain, lodged all night at Mr. Haine's

Sun. 9 about 12 o'clock Mrs. Sevier arrived set out & ledged all night at Magbees Ferry, paid Expenses 16/. Frost at night.

Mon. 10 Arrived in Knoxville, all safe Frost at night.

Tues. 11 Genl. court began

Wed. 12 lent to Joseph Brown brother to Doctor M. Brown 4 dollars.

Thu. 13 dry & cold

Friday 14 cloudy—pd Hancock 2 Dol. to pay for grubing

Sat. 15 rained

Sun. 16 cool, Frost at night

Mon. 17 rained.

Tues 18 very windy & cool pd John McCain 25 Dolls. pd. Alex. Matthews 13.3/4 dollars for 250 ls. Flour. Stevens burnt in hand for larceny. pd. for Balch 8 dollars.

Wed. 19 rained.

Thur. cool.

Fri. ditto.

Sat. 22 Superior Court adjd.

Sun. 23 cool & windy

Mon. 24 very cool county court of Knox began

Tues. 25 cool

Wed. 26 some frost at night. pd. Seth Johnson 7 dollars.

Thurs. 27 rained a little, the goods came to Whites with Stuart.

Fry. 28 Robert Parker was Executed for Burglary, lent Joel Hancock 1 dol.

Sat. 29 very warm    Several Frenchmen arrived, sons to the late Duke of orleans.

Sun. 30 Set out for Cumberland, first being visited by the sons of Orleans—accompanied by Capt. Crozar Richard, Wright, Stone & no. of others as far as Mr. Clarkes. Lodged all night at Mr. Campbles.

#### May 1797.

Monday 1 of may rained in mornng. let our horses graze near Clayvils (?) Recd yesterday from R. Campbell 60 dollars. Dined at So. W. Point & lodged all night at Richardsons.—pd. Expenses 10/6.

Tues. 2 set out Brak. under the Cumberland Gap. Dined at Craboith (?) Lodged all night 2 miles beyond Obas river.

Wed. 3 Set out passed a camp of Indians near Drowning creek. rode 12 miles & Brak—rode 13 miles to a spring 2 miles from the mountain in the barrens. There dined lodged 10 miles from Fort Blount rained in night.

Thur. 4 Rained in the mornng. Brak. at Andersons. pd. Expenses 4/6. Crossed Fort Blount to the Cumberland river pd. 1/6. Lodged at Peter Turnys. rained much in the night.

Fry. 5 Swam our horses over Goose Creek, Crossed ourselves in a Canoe got corn at Stubblefields pd. 4/6. Dined at Lyons, Bledsoe Link. pd. Lodged at Genl. Winchesters.

Sat. 6 cloudy in the mornng. lodged at Colonel Edwd. Dugless'es.

Sun. 7 arrived in Nashville, Lodged all night at Maj. Lewis. Met with my brother G. Sevier.

Mon. 8 went to Judge McNairys (Court began).

Tues. 9 tarried at the Judges.

Wed. 10 dined with Mrs. Robersons.

Thurs. 11 dined at Mr. Tates.

Fry. 12 nothing extraordinary.

Sat. 13 nothing extraordinary.

Sun. 14 dined at Col. Joel Lewis.

Mon. 15 dined at Mr. McLins. went home with Gnr. Roberson Tarried all night.

Tues. 16 returned to Nashville & dined at Mr. Fosters.

Wed. 17 a handsome & Elegant Ball, at Judge McNairys in the evening.

Thur. 18 rained, I accompanied Mrs. Tate home & dined with her then returned to Judge McNairys in the evening was visited by Colo. Hawkins & Genl. Pickens.

Fry. 19 rained in the mornng.

Sat. 20 dined at Maj. Lewis with a large party of Ladies and Gentlemen. a violent storm in the night blowed down several houses—lodged all night with Mr. Lewis.

Sun. 21 Went out to the Commiss. camp, dined there & returned to Judge McNairys.

Mon. 22 dined at Colonel Joel Lewis, returned to Ju. McNairys.

Tues. 23 dined at Maj. Lewis & Left Nashville 3 o'clock Lodged at Col. Hays.

Wed. 24 Set out after Brakfast, rained arrived at Gen'l. Smith in evening staid all night.

Thur. 25 set out in the mornng. arrived at Genl. Winchesters in evening tarried all night.

Fry. 26 Set out 10 o'clock, fed at Stubblefields. & arrived at Capt. Turneys in the eveng. staid all night.

Sat. 27 Set out in the mornng Dined at Andersons & lodged 12 miles from thence.

Sun. 28 Set out very early rode 10 miles to the Foot of the mountain & Brakfirsted—Lodged at night within 8 miles of the Crab orchard.

Mon. 29 Set out very early rode 20 miles across to the foot of the mountain & Brak. with Sweelman (?) on his way to Cumberland with his waggon, then set out and arrived at So. Wt. Point 3 o'clock rained heavily in the night.

Tues. 30 rained in the mornng. our horses missing, tho found toward evening.

Wed. 31 Set out & arrived early at Judge Campbells, tarried all night.

### June 1797.

Thursday 1 day of June 1797. Set out in the morning and arrived at Knoxville in the evening? Dined at Mr. Parks on the way Found all well at Mr. Campbells.

Fry. 2 rained in the morning. Nothing Extraordinary.

Sat. 3 Mr. & Mrs. Campbell set Out for Tellicos B. House in Company with Mr. & Mrs. Crozier, Cap. Sparks, Davidson some others. Cloudy in mornng.

Su. 4 very warm.

Mon. 5 ditto.

Tues 6 Mr. Campbell & wife returned shower

Wed. 7 Some cooler

Thur. 8 warm pd. unto Mr. Dunlop Farmwalls acct. per order at 11.14 8 V. M.

Fryday 9 very warm.

Sat. 10 very warm, pd. Rob. Wyly 30 dollars in part of his acct. vs. me.

Sun. 11 very warm & Dry.

Mon. 12 ditto, ditto.

Tues. 13 ditto—

Wed. 14 ditto

Thurs. 15 Sent a Dragoon up to Plumb Grove with letters to Mrs. Sevier & Miss Rutha, Continues very warm.

Fry. 16 very warm.



Sat. 17 very warm & cloudy

Sun. 18 cool in the morning & some rain.

Mon. 19 cool.

Tues. 20 ditto

Wed. 21 ditto.—pd. Mr. Bowen five dollars for Alex Cunningham.

Thurs. 22 Lent Capt. Blue 10 Dolls. Cloudy. Sit out for P. Grove in Comp with Mrs. & Mr. Campbell, Capt. Sparks, & some Dragoons, red from D. Henly. Agent 40 dolls. in pay for a house built at So. W. P. Lodged at Mr. Brazittons at night.

Fry. 23 Lodged at Col. Outlaws, rained in the afternoon.

Sat. 24, dined at Greenville rained in afternoon, arrived at home in the evening—pd. a merchant in Greenville 49 $\frac{1}{4}$ 3. for wine a hat &c had by Mrs. Sevier. dp Rob Wyly 28 $\frac{1}{4}$ 10 for L. sugar.

Sun. 25 rained Majr. McIntosh & Cap. Blue dined here—

Mon. 26 rained. Mr. Sherrill reaped

Tues. 27 cloudy in mornng. Self & Cap. Sparks went to Jonesbro ret. in eveng.

Wed. 28 began to reap

Thurs. 29 Capt. Richard Sparks & Rutha Sevier married by Mr. Doake.

Fry. 30 rained.—pd. Isaac Enbree 2 dollars for plank—2/6. yet due him, in full of all accounts.

#### July 1797

Sat. 1 Went self, Mrs. Sevier Capt. Sparks & Mrs. Sparks to Jonesbro. rained.

Sun. 2 staid at Jonesbro rained—lodged with Mrs. Sevier &c at Waddles.

Mon. 3 came home rained

Tues. 4 went & Dined with Jas. Sevier—rained

Wed. 5 clear & warm finished reaping wheat—

Thurs. 6 rained

Fry. ditto.

Sat. 8 ditto.

Sun. Fair & very hot, Capt. Sparks sit out for Knoxville

Mon. 10 light rain in mornng.

Tues. 11 self Mrs. Sevier wt to Jonesbro

Wed. 12 staid at Jonesbro (dry)

Thurs 13 ditto—(dry day)

Fry 14 ditto—ditto.

Sat. 15 came home (dry)

Sun. 16 cloudy in mornng.

Mon. 17 very Hot

Tues. 18, ditto, some little rain. Genl. McDowell came here

Wed. 19 Cloudy but no rain.

Thur. 20 Genl. McDowell left here

Fry. 21 clear & hott.

Sat. 22 ditto.

Sunday 23 Mr. May & wife came here from Maj. Seviere—staid all night.

Monday 24 cloudy Memo. let Walter King have a warrant on the Treasurer for 100 Dollars some time ago.—Also paid Geo. Gillaspie sheriff for Walter King 49 dollars. Mr. King recd. pay for the 100 dols warrant from Joam (?) Shelby sheriff of Sullivan.

Tuesday 25 myself & son Washington went to Walter Kings & I left him Mr. King have 100 Dollars cash. (?) staid all night at Mr. Kings.

Wed. 26 tarried at Mr. Kings

Thur. 27 ditto

Fry. 28 ditto—See, S. B.

Sat. 29 came home in Co. with Col. S. Wier, Whorton rector & a son of Col. Arthurs. rained a little in the night.

Sun. 30 light shower in the morning. Memo. purchase yesterday from Wharto Rector this goods in Knoxville—for which I am to give him 25 pct. in advance. Samuel Wier, James Paine & young Arthur Wittens?

Mon. 31 Fair & hot

# August 1797.

Tues. 1 day of August 1797—self Mrs. Sevier & children went to Jas. Sevier to hear Revd. Bukton preach

Wed. 2 light shower

Thurs. 3 went to the election—a very fine rain.

Fry. 4 rained

Sat. 5 Colonel Heard & Mr. Hardin came here, (my house).

Sun. 6 clear day

Mon. 7 Herd & Dardin went away

Tues. 8 Settled with Jacon Embree my own acct. & John Richmonds 12/3.

John Fickees acct. 12 9. for myself 4 chairs 12/-—37. Gave an order for 37 to Colo. Harrisons store—Lent to Wm. Greene 2 Dollars.

Wed. 9 dry & warm.

Thurs. 10 set out for Knoxville in Co. with Judge Claiborne Lodged that night at Greenville, at which place the Synod had that day convened.

Fry. 11, lodged that night in Greenville

Sat. 12 left Greenville lodged that night at Col. Roddy's where I left my beast lance.

Sun. 13 I borrowed a mair from a Mr. Majers—shower of rain Lodged at Mr. Hains—pd. him 1 dollar to defray the expenses in the tavern.

Mon. 14 Brakfird. at Mr. Meeks Dined at Mr. McCains, & arrived in the evening in Knoxville & lodged at Cap. Stones.

Tues. 15 dined in camp with Cpts. Butler & Sparks.

Wed. 16 very warm

Thur. 17 rained a fine shower

Fry. 18 ditto.

Sat. 19 ditto

Sun. visited the camp a Fair day.

Mon. 21 some light showers. The waggon set out to pactolus (?) Iron Works loaded with goods I set out in the evening for plumb Grove lodged at Mr. Cains & Gave him 30 dolls.

Tues. 22 I purchased 2 negro Fellars from Isham Brown, one named Ned a cook, the other Jack, a laborer price 215. Set out about 10 o'clock fed horses at Haines Iron Works, & got one shod, pd. expenses 4/. Lodged that night at Colo. Roddys.

Wed. 23 pd. Mr. Majors 2 dollars for the lent of his mair—pd 2 dollars to a negro fellar for taking care of my mair left lame at Colo. Roddys. Set out early & Brak. at Purdoms the blue spring, pd expenses 2/s fed at Carricks in Greenville, pd 1/. then set out & arrived at home at Dark. Memo I pd John Stone 9 dollars on Monday last for one weeks board of myself & expenses of feeding horses wine &c &c.

Thur. 24 Very hot & Dry day M. E. John McCallister came here & Tarryed all night.—Mrs. Wm. Clarke & Mrs. Massingail dined at my house.

Fry. 25 very Dry & hot, rain in the evening.

Sat. 26th Mr. Rector & Mr. Kenedy came here & tarried all night set out in the morning.

Sun. very warm.

Mon. 28 ditto, began to take fodder

Tues. 29 very hot

Wed. 30 ditto Col. Craig came here on his way to philadelphia tarried all night & set out in morning

Thurs. 31 myself & Mrs. Sevier went to Jonesbro. From thence I went to Walter Kings Iron works—Mr. Campbell & Mrs. Campbell came to my house from Virginia. I tarried at Walter Kings all night.

#### September 1797.

Fry. 1st day of September 1797 Tarried at Walter Kings (Dry)

Sat. 2 Staid at Kings.

Sun. 3 came to P. Grove, fine rain.

Mon. 4 nothing extraordinary.

Tues. 5 Set out with family in the evening for Knoxville Lodged. that night at Col. Gillaspys—

Wed. 6 Set out early Dined at Greene. pd. Expenses 17/6. Lodged that night at Blue Springs. (Expenses 16/6).

Thur. 7 Set out Early, dined at Colo. Roddies, pd. Expenses 6/. Give to Col. Roddie to give Mr. Major for attending my Mair Lodged that night at Wm. Murphys pd Expenses 12/. Memo. pd King & Deckson 45/. in full of my store acct. as pr. receipt taken 6th instant.

Fry. 8 Lodged that night at Adam Meeks esqr.

Sat. 9 Set out early—dined at Jno. Cains—Arrived in Knoxville in the evening—the waggon & Cattle also.

Sun. 10 very warm, staid at Cap. Sparks.

Mon. 11 ditto—some rain.

Tues. 12 came to Major McClungs house, for which am to pay 10 dollars pr. month to Arthur Crozier.

Wed. 13 pd. Richard Cavit 50 dollars, in part pay of a note of 100 due Walter King—some little rain. Give Rutha Sparks 5 dollars.

Thurs. 14 cloudy—Mr. Richd Campbles waggon with goods arrived—Judge McNairy & his lady took tea.

Fry. 15 paid Jesse Willson pr order of Joel Hancocke 4 & a half dollars for grubing 1 acre & half of Ground at the plantation. pd. Joel Hancocke 2 dollars for Grubing done by Jesse Willsons brother some time ago. pd. Thomas Hope 5 Dolls. towards work done by himself in making sash lights, doors, &c.

Sat. 16 Very warm.

Sun. 17 a very fine rain in the eveng

Mon. 18th the assembly convened, a cool night.

Tues. 19 cool nothing extraordinary.

Wed. rained

Tues. 21 informed by a Committee that I was unanimously elected by Gov. and that they would wait on me next day to conduct me to the house to be Qualified into office.

Fry. 22, The Committee accordingly attended—I was qualified &c. pd. Tho. N. Clarke 50 dollars.

Sat. 23 heavy rain

Sun. 24 cool & clear

Mon. 25 Cloudy & cool, lent Richard Campble 10 dollars.

Tues. 26 Dry & cool.

Wed. 27 ditto—pd. Vol. Sevier for S. May 250 Dols. which I owed May.

Thur. 28 ditto Abraham Joab set in for a month at 12 dollars (3 only to be paid in money.)

Fry. 29 dry & cool.

Sat. 30 ditto pd. Hawkins 30 dollars for work at the kitchen

#### October 1797.

Sun. 1 day of October 1797 (dry & cool). all the prisoners in Jail except a negro, made their escape in the night.

Monday 2 very dry & clear weather—Memo. that my negro Jack has staid at Manwells since I moved down to this place two whole weeks & 4 days. of the first two weeks, for which I charge half a dollar a day, being 16 working days that time he staid there before was on an agreement maké with Windle.

Tues. 3 cool & dry, rained in the night.

Wed. 4 Frost at night

Thur. 5 cool day—the children went to the dancing school.



Fry. 6 cloudy in mornng. Memo. let Ginerale Carter have two drafts on the Treasurer of 375 dollars each, in part payment of my bond in his hands. Memo. pd. for James Sevier to the Treasurer 61 dollars & 80 Cents over & above what I owed him which balance he is to pay me in cash Memo. pd. for Wharton Rector 120 dollars. Whorton Rector Dr. To 120 dollars I paid James Sevier.

Sat. 7 very dry.  
 Sun. ditto  
 Mon. ditto  
 Tues. 10 ditto Sepreior Court began,  
 Wed. 11 very dry & warm  
 Thur. 12 ditto. Election for representative  
 Fry. 13 ditto. election continued & closed pd. John Lynch  
 40 dollars, for T. N. Clark  
 Sat. 14 dry & warm  
 Sun. 15 ditto. pd. for Alex Cuningham 3 dolls.  
 Mon. 16 cool.  
 Tues. 17 cool nothing extraordinary  
 Wed. 18 pd Roberts who lives at Cains 2 dollars towards his  
 last load of corn.  
 Thur. 19 cool & some rain in the evening.  
 Fry. 20 ditto cool & light frost.  
 Sat. 21 cool & light Frost  
 Sun. 22 Myself, Mrs. Sevier Mrs. Sparks and Betsy went to  
 Majr. Peters camp.  
 Mon. 23 staid at camp (rained in night)  
 Tues. 24 returned to Knoxville all well  
 Wed. 25 cool & dry  
 Thurs. 26 self & Mrs. Seviere went to Mr. Sim's to visit Mrs.  
 Sims who was sick.  
 Fry. 27 Returned home rained at night  
 Sat. 28 cool & clear Assembly adjourned.  
 Sun. 29 cold & hard fust at night which killed vines in the  
 garden.  
 Mon. 30 Lent to Mr. Franier (?) Linds essays. division of  
 Pulses 3small French volumns Knox Court began  
 Tues. 31 Frost at night

#### November 1797.

Wed. 1 day of November 1797.  
 Thur. 2 cool & clear.  
 Fry. 3 ditto.  
 Sat. 4th ditto pd. Tho. N. Clarke 15 Dolls rained at night.  
 Sun. 5 cloudy Mrs. Simms came to town  
 Mon. 6 dry weather  
 Tues. 7 ditto. Tiptons & Gibsons studs run Gibsons beat 18  
 Inches.  
 Wed. 8 dry & clear, Sims & wife wt. home.

Thurs 9 clear & cool  
 Fry. 10 ditto  
 Sat. 11 rained in the day & after night.  
 Sun. 12 cloudy in mornng. Col. Harrison Toby & my two horses wt home.  
 Memo. on Wed. 8th Paddy Gynnan set in as waggoner for 1 month for 10 dolls.  
 Mon. 13 clear &c.  
 Tues. 14 ditto.  
 Wed. 15 pd Matthew 70 dollars. for Isaac Taylor (?).  
 Thur. 16 rained  
 Fry. Cloudy  
 Sat. 18 cloudy & cool.  
 Sun. 19 rained a little in the night.  
 Mon. 20 pd. Joseph Hardin Junr. for Isaac Taylor (?) 25/8.  
 Tues. 21 cold.  
 Wed. 22 rained in the day & night.  
 Thurs. 23 Rained river raised 6 Feet.  
 Fry. 24 cloudy  
 Sat. 25 cloudy pd. P. Grinnon a E Diffit times 6 dolls.  
 Sun. 26 cloudy. & like for snow  
 Mon. 27 cloudy & some Flying snow.  
 Tues. 28 hard frost  
 Wed. 29 Fine pleasant day  
 Thurs. 30 very fine day

December 1797.

Fry. 1 december Majr. Phelen (?) arvd.  
 Sat. 2 Fair patrick Grinan 1 dollar  
 Sun. 3 rained in day & snowed at night David Stuart began to board.  
 Mon. 4 very cold, & cloudy waggon set off to P. Grove  
 Tues. 5 ditto very cold Cloudy. pd. Farmwault & Co. 144 dollars & due yet 143.5/6 dollars.  
 Wed. 6 very cold.  
 Thur. 7 some more moderate a general muster Memo. pd. William out of a settlement with A. Cunningham 6 dols. Mr. D. Stuart & negro Jack set out for Jonesbro  
 Fry. 8 More moderate, rained in the day & snowed in the night.  
 Sat. 9 snowed in the morning (Very cold)  
 Sun. 10th more moderate  
 Mon. 11 very cloudy a little rain in the night.  
 Tues 12 granted a pardon for Wm. Sutherland who was condemned for stealing 2 negroes the property of Cap. Dannhaoo. Cloudy & some rain.  
 Wed. 13 was at a dance at Mr. Gordons.  
 Thur. 14 very warm day heavy rain at night.

Fry. 15 rained in the morning. (warm) Mr. & Mrs. Campble set out for Tellico & Daughter Polly went with them.

Sat. 16 cold.

Sun. 17 ditto

Mon. 18 ditto

Tues. 19 ditto

Wed. 20 ditto

Thur. 21 cloudy

Fry. 22 rained

Sat. 23 cold & clear

Sun. 24 cold—myself Mrs. Sevier Joana & Betsy & Maj. Elholm set out for Tellico—lodged all night at Bartletts mill.

Mon. 25 (cold) set out early Brak. at Mariesville—& arrived at Tellico in the eveng & rained in the night.

Tues. 26 rained & cold.

Wed. 27 clear & Cold.

Thur. 28 we set out for home tarried all night at Mariesville

Fry. 29 cold—We came home in the evening

Sat. 30 Some more moderate killed fated hoggs.

Sun. 31 rained & warm.

#### January 1798.

Mon. 1 day of January 1798. a fine warm day—Genl. White & Major Elholm set out for Georgia.

Tues. 2 warm & pleasant. pd. Wm. Ritcher towards Oats 12/.

Wed. 3 pleasant pd. P. Grinen 3/.

Thurs. 4 a rainy fore part of the day. wt to Mr. McCains & staid all night.

Fry. 5 cloudy & cold—came home hard frost at night.

Sat. 6 Fair & pleasant day

Sun. 7 ditto

Mon. 8 ditto.

Tues. 9 ditto. P. Grinen 2/9.

Wed. 10 ditto.

Thur. 11 snowed in the night

Fry. 12 clear & cold

Sat. 13 warm pd. Wm. Ritchey 2 dols. 14. & Tho. N. Clarke  
20 pr Washington.

Sun. 14 pleasnat Chatty Sevier set out for his fathers

Mond. 15 rained

Tues. 16 fair & pleasant

Wed. 17 ditto Pat Grinen 1 dollar

Thur. 18 ditto

Fry. 19 ditto

Sat. 20 rained Jo. Sevier set out for the nation

Sun. 21 very cold rained & snowed.

Mon. 22 very cold & river very high

Tues. 23 very cold

Wed. 24 very cold

Thur. 25 ditto.  
 Fry. 26 some more moderate  
 Sat. 27 warm  
 Sun. 28 warm  
 Mon. 29 ditto. Sent the negroes to work plantation.  
 Tues. 30 ditto  
 Wed. 31 ditto.

February 1798.

Thurs. 1 day of February 1798. Warm & pleasant  
 Fry. 2nd. ditto. pd. Wm. Seawell 7 doll. Lent Colo. Seawell one dollar some time ago (paid since).  
 Sat. 3d. very pleasant pd. Wm. Ritchee 3 dollars 1/. for oats recd. some time ago.  
 Sun. 4 ditto  
 Mon. 5 ditto  
 Tues. 6 rained  
 Wed. 7 rained a little  
 Thurs. 8 cloudy & cold  
 Fry. 9 cloudy—Pat Grinen 2 dollars  
 Sat. 10 clear  
 Sun. 11 ditto  
 Mon. 12 ditto Pat Grinen 1/6.  
 Tues. 13 rained at night took tea at Mr. Duncans.  
 Wed. 14 cloudy & cool at night pd. Wm. Ritchee 2 dollars 12/.  
 Thur. 15 rained & snowed in the night paid Delany the butcher 5 dol Give Joel Hancocke an order to Millers store for half bushel salt.  
 Fry. 16 snowed in mornng.  
 Sat. 17 Cloudy & cold.  
 Sun. 18 rained & snowed in the night  
 Mon. 19 rained in the mornng. Set out in Co. with Mr. Davenport for Jonesbro.—Lodged at Mr. Hains that night—pd. expenses 4/6.  
 Tues. 20 Set out early lodged that night in Greenville—paid Alex. Purdom 6 dollars towards an old acct.  
 Wed. 21 rained in mornng. Staid in Greenville till 22n. pd. 22/.  
 Thur. 22 Went to Capt. Gests & from there Salt lick—staid all night at Capt. gests.  
 Fry. 23 Went to plum Grove & staid all night.  
 Sat. 24 Went to Jonesbro. Staid all night. Rained in night.  
 Sun. 25 Went to Walter Kings.  
 Mon. 26 Staid at ditto.  
 Tues. 27 ditto—pleasant  
 Wed. 28 ditto—ditto—

March 1798.

March 1 Thursday. Rained.—Staid at ditto.  
 Fry. 2 rained. Staid at ditto.



- Sat. 3 cold & clear staid.  
 Sun. 4 clear went to Jonesbro & staid at Mr. Mays.  
 Mon. 5 Staid at Mr. Mays. Supr. Court began—Memo. furnished Walter King on Fryday last with 130 dollars for the use of the Iron Works (in silver dollars)  
 Tues. 6 Staid at Jonesbro—clear.  
 Wed. 7 ditto. Pleasant.  
 Thurs. 8 ditto—ditto. See Fords C.  
 Fry. 9 ditto—ditto. See ditto.  
 Sat. 10 ditto See ditto rained.  
 Sun. 11 ditto—clear  
 Mon. 12 clear Staid at Jonesbro  
 Tues. 13 ditto—ditto.  
 Wed. 14 ditto—ditto  
 Thur. 15 ditto—ditto—Went to plum Grove in Co. with Gen. Conway. Staid all night—fine weather.  
 Fry. 16 Travelled to Greenville, staid all night —pd. 9/6. Fair weather.  
 Sat. 17 Travelled that day to Clarks staid all night. pd. 10/6.  
 Sun. 18 arrived at Knoxville in Co. with James pain—fine weather.  
 Mon. rained & stormy  
 Tues. 20 clear & cool  
 Wed. 21 recd from H. Windle 665 dollars—clear  
 Thur 22 Went to Colo. Butlers camp Staid all night  
 Fry. 23 rained Staid all night at Camp, with Colo. Butler.  
 Sat. 24, rained & snowed & very stormy. Came back to Knoxville in Co. with D. Claiborne & James pain.  
 Sun. 25 rained & snowed  
 Mon. 26 clear & cool for the season. Memo. pd. for 41 Gallons of whiskie 30 doll. 75 Cts. at 75 cents pr. Gallon. Received from L. P. Sims 15 dollars. Recd. from Wm. Ritchee some time ago 100 dozen oats at 1/10. equal 9.1.8. 1 load of Hay. 1. 10 To cash 15 dollars £4.10  
 Tues. 27 fine day  
 Wed. 28 ditto  
 Thur. 29 cool  
 Fry. 30 very warm polly Sherrill (?) a ball at Gordons.  
 Sat. 31 very warm Mrs. Sevier went to her brother Johns.

#### April 1798.

- Sun. 1 day of April warm rained great part of the night My negro boy bobb returned to A. Crozier  
 Mon. 2 rained in mornng. cleared up Mrs. Sevier returned.  
 Tues. 3 cool & light frost at night.  
 Wed. 4 cool & cloudy  
 Thurs. 5 cool cloudy.  
 Fry. 6 very warm.  
 Sat. 7 cloudy & warm.

Sun. 8 very warm  
 Mon. 9 I went to plantation very warm.—Knox County court began & Supr adjd.  
 Tues. 10 rained & very cool & windy  
 Wed. 11 cleared up—cool. pd. David Stuart 60 dollars for 66 Gals whiskey had some time ago & sent to camp. pd. Charles McCoy for R. Campble 100 dollars.  
 Thur. 12 rained & very cool  
 Fry. 13 very cold & snowed in the morning  
 Sat. 14 cloudy & cold  
 Sun. 15 cold & frost at night brother Joseph came to Knoxville.  
 Mon. 16 cold & light frost in night. James Sevier came to Knoxville.  
 Tues. 17 cool day  
 Wed. 18 moved to Mr. Greenes lot  
 Thurs. 19 more warm & pleasant.  
 Fry. 20 rained & hail  
 Sat. fair  
 Sun. 22 clear & cool  
 Mon. 23 warm.  
 Tues. 24 warm  
 Wed. 25 fine rain  
 Thur. 26 rained  
 Fry. 27 light shower  
 Sat. 28 some rain in mornng.  
 Sun. 29 fine day  
 Mon. 30 ditto—Jo Sevier J. Campble Windle & McCoy set out for the Cherokee nation

May 1798.

Tuesday the 1st day of May 1798 rained in mornng. pd. Tho. N. Clarke ten dollars  
 Wed. 2 warm & windy Memo. Let Joseph Sevier have 10 dols. Recd. from H. Windle 30 dols. Sent to L. P. Sims 35 Gals. whiske in one cask & 24 in another, by Joseph Sevier—but Jo. was to have some out of the 24 gallon cask.  
 Thur. 3 very hot & dry  
 Fry. 4 ditto  
 Sat. rained in the morning pd. Mrs. Ritchee 2 dollars. pd. Alex Cuninghame for Ben Willson 2 dolls.  
 Sun. 6 dry & warm.  
 Mon. 7 rained.  
 Tues. 8 John Steele Colo. arrived escorted into the town by the light horse.  
 Wed. 9 very warm.  
 Thur. 10 Doctor Claborne, Judge Campble & Major McIntosh Dined with us rained in the evening & great part of the night  
 Fry. 11 rained in the morning  
 Sat. 12 very cool day for time of the year.

Sun. 13 very cool also & cloudy  
 Mon. 14 ditto  
 Tues. 15 More warmer  
 Wed. 16 warm a ball at Gordons. rained at night.  
 Thur. 17 very warm rained in evening.  
 Fry. 18 some light rain in the mornng.  
 Colo. Walton arrived escorted into town by the light horse  
 Saturday 19 very warm  
 Sun. 20 ditto (escorted the commissrs out of town on their  
 way to Belleanton (?).  
 Mon. 21 very warm ditto  
 Tues. 22 ditto  
 Wed. 23 ditto  
 Thurs. 24 cloudy & some light tain  
 Fry. 25 cloudy & cool  
 Saturday 26 cool  
 Sun. 27 cool & some rain  
 Mon. 28 very cool for the Season  
 Tues. 29 some warmer  
 Wed. 30 warm  
 Thurs. 31 very warm

#### June 1798

Fryday the first day of June V. warm  
 Sat. 2 a fine rain in the afternoon. Memo. pd. Delaney the  
 Butcher 4 dollars today 5 F. Crowns my amount he says is some  
 more than £3 a fine day.  
 Sun. 3 Memo pd. Beverly 2 Crowns towards payment for  
 hauling a load of bacon from the point with Emmersons waggon  
 Mon. 4 rained  
 Tues. 5 ditto  
 Wed. 6 rained in the night  
 Thur. 7 rained received from Mr. Windle 36 dols.  
 Fry. 8 rained  
 Sat. 9 rained Mr. R. Campble came to town  
 Sun. 10 rained heAVILY in morning & evening.  
 Mon. 11 rained in the morning.  
 Tues. 12 very warm.  
 Wed. 13 Sent to the post 100 dollar warrant for my services  
 to John Gass of Greene dated March 14, 1797, the same was  
 enclosed in a letter of this day, to be left in the post office in Green-  
 ville. This day it rained.  
 Thurs. 14 rained  
 Fry. 15 rained  
 Sat. 16 rained.  
 Sun. 17 rained  
 Mon. 18 rained  
 Tues. 19 fair & very warm  
 Wed. 20 went down the river to view Coxes boat, Mrs. Sevier,  
 Mrs. Campble & Joanna went along—also Mr. G. Gordon his

wife & sisters patsy & polly—returned & took tea at Mr. Gordons, and had a little hop—some rain in the evening.

Thur. 21 cloudy & foggy in the mornng.

Fry. 22 clear, went to the plantatn. reaped early wheat yesterday.

Sat. 23 rained in afternoon

Sun. 24 rained, went to meeting.

Mon. 25 rained in mornng. Joseph Kitty & Washington set for Tellico, Mr. Danl. Windle in Co.

Tues. 26 rained—reaped wheate

Wed. 27 heavy rain

Thur. 28 do. do. Washington & Windle ret'd. from Tellico

Fry. 29 Danl. Windle set out for home—rained Settled with Butcher Delaney due him 4.10 pd. him 7 Crowns, 2.6.1. he owes 18 ls. Bacon

Sat. 30 Mr. & Mrs. Campble arrived fair day & very warm.

### July 1798.

Sun. 1 day. very warm

Mon. 2 ditto

Tues. 3 ditto

Wed. 4 a ball at Gordons, a Frenchman robbed at night of large sum

Thurs. 5 some rain

Fry. 6 very warm, Foggy mornng.

Sat. 7 Foggy mornng.

Sun. 8 rained very heavy

Mon. 9 clear & warm Knox county court began

Tues. 10 very warm—myself Mrs. Sevier, & Miss Joanna took tea at Mr. Blounts.

Wed. 11 Myself Washington & toby set out for Tellico block house to the treaty—staid that night at Maryville pd. expenses 12/.

Thu. 12 Arrived at Tellico 11 o'clock that day the treaty was adjourned until 3rd of September.

Fry. 13 Staid at Tellico—see, N.-cy

Sat. 14 set out for Knoxville, dined at Maryville pd. 6/. Came home after (?) (?)

Sun. 15th rained part of the day.

Mon. 16 rained pd. Alex Purden 5 dols.

Tues. 17 some light showers

Wed. 18 very warm

Thurs. 19 cool & windy—Joseph Sevier set out from this place for Sullivan—carried a letter to W. King Colo. Harrison, Capt. Gest, & Majr. Sevier.

Fry. 20 warm & dry.

Sat. 21 ditto

Sun. 22 ditto

Mon. 23 ditto Gen. Sevier Colo. Sevier set for Springs 1 recd. a snuff box as compliment from (?)



Tues. 24 very warm Governor Blount his lady, Miss Mary & Wm. took tea.

Wed. 25 Sent into the post office a letter from James White esq. to Gabriel DeBrutz—Musht. (?) in Fayetteville No. Carolina Myself, Mrs. Sevier Mrs. Sparks & Miss Joanna took tea at Capt. Simerals—very warm day?

Thur. 26 Foggy morning in this book a letter from Robertson Fry. 27 very warm & dry

Sat. 28 very hot & dry in the day a light Shower in the night.

Sun. 29 warm in the day a heavy rain in the night.

Mon. 30 rained in the morning & cleared up

Tues. 31 clear & some cooler

#### August 1798.

Wed. 1 day of August clear & warm

Thurs. 2 clear & some warmer Mrs. Sparks & Washington wt. to Mr. Kings.

Fry. 3 cloudy in the morning & a light shower about 12 o'clock Mrs. Sparks & Washington ret'd. from Kings.

Sat. 4 very hot.

Sun. 5 Mrs. Sparks set out for So. W. Point Myself & Mrs. Sevier accompanied her & Mrs. Blount part of the way as far as the sign of the Cross keys.

Mon. 6 very warm

Tues. 7 ditto. a small shower in evening.

Wed. 8 very warm

Fry. 9 Foggy in the morning & some clouds Went to Mrs. Gordons quilting.

Fry. 10 a fine shower in the evening

Sat. 11 cloudy & rainy day—Messrs. John Waddle & Doctor May arrived from Cumberland

Sun. 12 some rain

Mon. 13 Fair & very warm

Tues. 14 rain

Wed. 15 ditto

Thur. 16 ditto. Very heavy gusts Recd. from Wm. Claiborne 20 dolls.

Fry. 17 light shower Major Elholm arrived

Sat. 18 warm & dry

Sun. 19 ditto

Mon. 20 ditto

Tues 21st began to make brick

Wed. 22 very hot & dry

Thur. 23 ditto

Fry 24 pd. Delaney butcher 4 Crowns.

Sat. 25 very hot & dry

Sun. 26 ditto

Mon. 27 some light clouds & little rain in morn'g & very heavy in night.

Tues. 28 cloudy in mornng. & rained little in Even.

Wed. 29 clear & windy

Thur. 30 ditto

Fry. 31 ditto

September 1798.

Sat. 1 day of Sept. 1798 warm Myself, Mrs. Sevier, Joanna, Mrs. Campble & Betsy set out for So. W. Pt. Dined at Mr. Millers & lodged that night at Mr. Sims.

Sun. 2 arrived early at the point Heavy rain about 12 o'clock

Mon. 3 very cool for the season rained in the night.

Tues. 4 very cool for the season

Wed. 5 cool & frost on the Cumberland Mts.

Thr. 6 ditto—ditto

Fry. 7 ditto—ditto This day we all set out except Miss Joanna for Knoxville in Colo. Wm. Donaldson & Mrs. J. Donaldson—We tarried all night at Millers the others wt. on to Colo. McClellans.—We lost our horses that night also Izzna. (?) Chism lost three of his.

Sat. 8 tarried all day & night at Mr. Millers in the night our horses were sent back to us from Maj. D. Campbles cost a Crown.

Sun. 9 We set out for Knoxville Arrived three o'clock some rain that night & evening.

Mon. 10 very warm & some rain rained heavy in the night. Mrs. S. Donaldson arrived & tarried all night. (Reed. from my plana. 18 Is. Bacon.

Tues. 11 rained in the mornng. very warm.

Wed. 12 Sultry & dry.

Thur. 13 ditto

Fry. 14 ditto

Sat. 15 ditto

Sun. 16 ditto Foggy morning.

Mon. 17 took tea at Claibornes

Tues. 18 cloudy in mornng & very warm

Wed. 19 ditto

Thurs. 20 ditto—Self & Majr. Claiborne set out for the treaty—some thunder & rain Lodged at Maryville pd. exp. 4/6.

Fry. 21 arrived at Tellico & dined with Colo. Butler

Sat. 22 attended the treaty

Sun. 23 ditto

Mon. ditto

Tues. 25 ditto

Wed. 26 very cold & frost at night.

Thurs. 27 ditto—ditto

Fry. 28 ditto—ditto

Sat. 29 ditto—ditto

Sun. 30 ditto—Ditto set out in Co with Genl. White & Lodged at Bartlets on our way for Knoxville

October 1798.

Mon. October 1 day we arrived in the morning at Knoxville

Tues. 2 more warmer & some clouds

Wed. 3 dry & cool nights

Thu. 4 ditto

Fry. 5 ditto

Sat. 6 ditto

Sun. 7 ditto

Mon. 8 ditto

lent Wal. King 1 dollar County court of Knox began

Tues. 9 cool & very dry

Wed. cool & some cloudy. Lent Mr. Sherrill 2 dollars He set out for home

Thurs. 11 ditto. Yesterday mt bro. Volintine came to Knoxville.

Fry. 12th cool & cloudy in morning. Memo. Wm. Nelson went to on my plantation & Joel Hancocke time ceased in my employ.

Sat. 13 Went to a ball at Mr. Gordons

Sun. 14 clear & warm

Mon. 15 cloudy day

Tues. 16 Fair & warm

Wed. 17 warm, set out to Tennessee river lodged at Millers

Thur. 18 Went to see a piece of my land on Tennessee river & returned that night & staid at Millers.

Fry. 19 rained in morning wt. down to S. W. point, tarried all night.

Sat. 20 clear day & staid at point.

Sun. 21 staid at point clear day

Mon. 22 Staid at the point, rained heavy gust in the evening frost at night.

Tues. 23 clear & cool, set out with Son Washington, & lodged that night at Millers—light frost.

Wed. 24 Sit out early eat Brak. at Col McClellans & arrived in Knoxville in evening (clear)

Thurs. 25 clear & cool.

Fry. 26 some rain frost at night.

Sat. 27 cool & cloudy frost at night.

Sun. 28 cloudy & very cool. Memo. recd from James Paine at So. W. point 4 dollars towards pay of thirty-three gallons of whiskey.

Mon. 29 cool & dry hard frost

Tues. 30 cloudy & cold snowed a little in the night—dined at Colo. Henlys with Capt. Henly & others.

Wed. 31 clear & cold, put a number of letters on the office for sundry persons at Boston & New York.

## November 1798.

Thurs. 1 rained greater part of the day

Fry. 2 rained chiefly all day. Sent Jim & Ned to the farm

Sat. 3 cleared up & hard frost at night

Sun. 4 hard frost at night

Mon. 5 ditto (Washington took ill)

Tues. 6 ditto

Wed. 7 ditto pd. Ben Willson 6/.

Thurs. 8 clear & frost night.

Fry. 9 ditto

Sat. 10 clear day & frost night.

Sun. 11 warm day & cloudy evening. Memo. Pd. Ben. Willson  
15 dollars for 6 head of hoggs—(5 barrows & 1 sow)

Mon. 12 very warm

Tues. 13 ditto

Wed. 14 ditto—Memo. Sold to Mrs. Hanging Maid a negro  
wench Sall at 333 1/3 dollars Cr. by cas. 198 dollars 1 bay horse  
70 dollars B. due—65 1/3 dollars. Memo. paid butcher Delaney  
15 dollars—15 dols. to Buckker Miller 4 dollars Lent to Thos.  
Brown 8 dollars

Thur. 15 warm & dry

Fry. 16 ditto

Sat. 17 ditto—ditto

Sun. 18 rained in the night.

Mon. 19 clear & cloudy frost

Tues. 20 clear & cool day (Let Bacon have nice bay horse to  
work & Thos. N. Clark 9 dollars) Lent Mrs. Linn 1 dollar.  
Memo. Recd. from Wm. Ritchee a steer, Butchered by Miller  
(the Wright). one Quater 62 one ditto 65 one ditto 65 one ditto  
62. 524 ls. at 20/ pr Hd. Wm. Harilson of Granger Hunted  
many years ago on obias River, in Co. with Jack & Will Bleavens.  
Hunted on Spring Creek & give it the name—It is a fork of Wolf  
river & empties into the same about 20 miles above a mouth &  
at it or near, there is a lick surveyed by Ro. King & sold by him to  
D. Roos.

Wed. 21 cool & clear

Thur. 22 cloudy & cool.

Fry. 23 very cloudy & cold Memo. Sold unto Frans. Cun-  
ningham 150 acres of land on obias river, to be of the 1s 2d & 3d  
rate lands, (if better) he is to pay more in proportion—for which  
land I have recd. 2 horses, to wit a dun Stud 6 years old & a dark  
gray gelding the same age. Mrs. Linn Dr. to 3-1/2 yds. at  
18/ £3.3 1 doz buttons 4/6 . . . 4/6. 2 skeins thread 4 (Total  
£3.7.6. 1 yd linen 4/4 Carried over £3.11.10 Credit by Wash-  
ing 5 dozen pieces of linen at 4/ . . . . £1.0.0.

Nov. Saturday 24th 1798 Cloudy in the morning

Sun. 25 clear & pleasant

Mon. 26 ditto



Tues. 27 ditto

Wed. 28 ditto—pd. Butcher Millers son 9/.

Thur. 29 Dry & pleasant

Fry. 30 ditto

#### December 1798

Sat. 1 day of december (pleasant)

Sun. 2 rained & high winds

Mon. 3 the Assembly met very cold

Tues. 4 cold & hard frost

Wed. 5 cold & likely to show pd. Roddy the ferryman 15/4

Snowed in the night 6 Inches deep

Thur. 6 cloudy & cold

Fry. 7 began to thaw & rain Rained all night Fryday.

Sat. 8th rained all day moderately—Memo. Brown took my bay horse to work in his waggon on Tues. the 20th of last month.

Sun. 9 cloudy & cool

Mon. 10 turned cold & like for snow

Tues. 11 clear & cold day

Wed. 12 cloudy & more pleasant Cocke & Anderson elected Senators by the Assembly

Thurs. 13 cold

Fry. 14 ditto

Sat. 15 ditto

Sun. 16 more moderate

Mon. 17 pleasant for the season

Tues. 18 rained

Wed. 19 cloudy

Thur. 20 cleared up

Fry. 21 cool

Sat. 22 ditto

Sun. 23 snowed at night 6 In. Deep

Mon. 24 some rain & hard freeze

Tues. 25 more moderate a Great Ball at the House of Mr. Willson.

Wed. 26 some rain cleared in the evening. Recd. from Tho. Brown an order from Butcher Miller for 8 dols.

Turs. 27 Pleasant weather

Fry. 28 ditto

Sat. 29 rained

Sun. 30 cloudy

Mon. 31 cloudy & rained in the eveng.

#### January 1799

Tues. January 1 day 1799 a Fine morning. & Pleasant day rained in the night a ball in the eveng. at Mr. Gordons paid S. D. Carrick 4 dols. pr. White & Wilkinson

Wed. 2 Cloudy & some light rain

Thurs. 3 Cloudy & Cool, went myself & family to Capt. Croziers wedg. held at Mr. Arthur Croziers  
 Fry. 4 rained & snowed in the night.  
 Sat. 5 very cold  
 Sun. 6 very cold the Assembly adjourned. Capt. Sparks arrived in eveng.  
 Mon. 7 very cold—the federal Court began W. King arrived  
 Tues. 8 Cloudy & more moderate. Lent to Colo. Hubbert two dollars.  
 Wed. 9th cloudy & light rain. Myself & Capt. Sparks brak. at D. Claberns.  
 Thur. 10 clear  
 Fry. 11 ditto  
 Sat. 12 cloudy some rain & warm  
 Sun. 13 some cooler & clear. Walter King set out for home.\*  
 Mon. 14 cloudy & warm Knox court began  
 Tues. 15 rained a little  
 Wed. 16 cloudy & like for rain  
 Thur. cloudy & warm for the season  
 Fry. 18 some rain in the evening Capt. Sparks went to the point.  
 Sat. 19 clear & cool p. Antony the tailor 6 dollars  
 Sun. 20 clear & little cooler  
 Mon. 21 clear & cool Took tea at Campbles.  
 Tues. 22 Cloudy & some rain  
 Wed. 23 rainy day. Mr. Campble set out for Kentucky.  
 Thur. 24 rained & thundered  
 F. 25 rained & thundered  
 Sat. 26 very heavy rain & some thunder. Wm. Nelson & Tobee arrived with 19 fat Hogs & 1 beef from my plantation in Washington  
 Sun. 27 rained  
 Mon. 28 cleared up  
 Tues. 29 cold & hard frost Took supper at Mrs. Campbells  
 Wed. 30 Fair & pleasant.  
 Thur. 31 ditto.

#### February 1799.

Fry. 1 day February rained & I went to Carters mill in Co. with Doctor Claiborne. Recd. on 31 January a Gray & bay horses from Seth Mansfield for which I am to give him 1 Hundred of Land. Memo. I am to convey unto Peter Ernay 100 acres of Land when he pays me 197 dollars for which I have his two notes one for 97 & one for 100, dated 31 January 1799. the 97 payable the first day of May next, the other in 18 mo. from that day. Memo. Tho. Brown bought from (me) a bay horse on the 19th January at 90 dollars, 20 to be pd. in one month, and 20 to be pd. in one month, and 20 in one after & the rest in work.  
 Sat. 2 Rained, heavily all day. Cowans negro got drowned.  
 Sun. 3 clear & cool Dined at Doct. Claibornes.

Mon. 4 clear & pleasant

Tues. 5 Hard frost at night & clear day.

Wed. 6 pleasant, I went to the plantation. Staid all night & returned next day had a violent tooth & ear ache.

Thur. 7 Went to a Ball given Genl. Smith at Somervilles. It rained in the night.

Fryday 8 rained in the morning? Memo. Recd. from Doctor Powell the West Indian mango. It is to be planted in the ground, & covered in the winter it may be eaten like the cucumber & makes an excellent pickle—it will last after being planted some years.—recd. from Anderson Ashburn as a present, a peper tree, it requires 12 or 14 years age before it bear memo. Bought from Barkley 50 Bushls. of corn paid him the 14th 1/2 in Mr. Nichols store, the rest in cash.

\* Sat. 9 cloudy

Sun. 10 Fair & cool

Mon. 11 ditto

Tues. 12 ditto

Wed. 13 ditto

Thur. 14 ditto

Fry. 15 ditto

Sat. 16 rained & snowed in eveng. Capt. Sparks set out in Canoe for the point.

Sun. 17 cloudy & cold in the mornng.

Mon. 18 more pleasant

Tues. 19 hard frost at night.

Wed. 20 some warmer

Thurs. 21 cloudy & cool

Fry. 22 cloudy & snowed at night 2 Inches deep.

Sat. 23 Judge Jackson, Denison, Grant, & several others spent the eveng. at my house. D. Barry among others—very cold.

Sun. 24 very cold

Mon. 25 some warmer snowed in night. Doctor Hampstead came to town.

Tues. 26 cold rainy day, (yesterday I paid John Crozier 10 dollars & Bradley the Bricklayer 5). Memo. I am to let John Erwin have one acres of land near So. W. point, to be laid off by Capt. Sparks & Alexander Erwin, and to fix the price I have received 60 dollars in part payment & he is to pay me two Hundred the ensuing fall.

Wed. 27 Cloudy in morning & windy, some warmer. Memo. Give Mrs. Judah Miller an order to Capt. Croziers store for 8 dollars.

Thurs. 28 rained heavily all day & thundered & Lightened

March 1799.

Fryday 1 of March 1799 cloudy & windy & also cool Hung up our meat to smoke.

Sat. 2 very cold  
 Sun. 3 ditto  
 Mon. 4 ditto  
 Tues. 5 ditto hard frost  
 Wed. 6 cloudy in the evening & Some light rain in the night.  
 Thur. 7 fine mornng.  
 Fry. 8th ditto  
 Sat. 9 Wm. Sherrill & James Paine arrived (rained)  
 Sun. 10 clear & cold.  
 Mon. 11 clear & cold  
 Tues. 12 very cold & windy.  
 Wed. 13 rained a little in the day  
 Thur. 14 rained heavily in night & part of the day  
 Fry. 15 rained some in mornng. Cleared up in the night (& frost)  
 Sat. 16 clear & cold.  
 Sun. 17 ditto  
 Mon. 18 more moderate wt. to a ball at Loves tavern.  
 Tues. 19 pleasant day  
 Wed. 20 cloudy & rained heavily in the evening & night, Capt. Butler arrived from Philadelphia & also the Indians.  
 Thurs. 21 Cloudy & warm—paid Delaney the Butcher 2 dollars 12./. (The son of Colo. Ramsey died).  
 Fry. 22 a snowy mornng. & turned colder then yesterday  
 Sat. 23 hard frost & cold that night.  
 Sun. 24 cool & dry  
 Mon. 25 Supr. Court began, (Fair)  
 Tues. 26 more pleasant  
 Wed. 27 warmer & clear pd. Mr. Purdom 5 dollars.  
 Thurs. 28 pleasant day  
 Fry. 29 ditto  
 Sat. 30 pleasant day  
 Sun. 31 ditto

April 1799.

Mon. 1 day of April some rain.  
 Tues. 2 cool & frost at night  
 Wed. 3 ditto—ditto—ditto  
 Thurs. 4 cloudy & cool in mornng. & like for snow.  
 Fry. 5 clear & cool  
 Sat. 6 ditto  
 Sun. 7 ditto  
 Mon. 8 rained I took sick in afternoon  
 Tues. 8 Snowed in the mornng. & frost at night.  
 Wed. 10 & frost at night. Cont. to be sick.  
 Thurs. 11 cloudy morning. Let Adam Meek esquire have a sorrel Horse at 100 dollars £30 in part pay of the mills seat on flat Creek,—also let him have a warrant on the treasurer payable 1st Sept. next for 67 dollars.



Fry. 12 warm & pleasant  
 Sat. 13 ditto  
 Sun. 14 ditto some light rain Mrs. Sparks came to town  
 Mon. 15 warm & some rain at night  
 Wed. 17 a rainy day. I went to Tho. Browns  
 Thurs. 18 clear & cooler  
 Fry. 19 warm began to make brick mortar  
 Sat. 20 warm & fair  
 Sun. 21 rained  
 Mon. 22 cloudy  
 Tues. 23 began to make Bricks pd. butcher Delanet 3 dollrs  
 Wed. 24 clear & warm  
 Thurs. 25 Give Mrs. Field an order to Capt. Croziers for 19/  
 on acct. of John Miller. Let John Miller have 30 ls of bacon at  
 Sundry times. Let him have Cr. with James Pain at Simerals  
 store for 30/. Messrs. Miller have had bacon at Sundry times  
 also Cr. in Capt. John Croziers store—had a middling of bacon  
 at one time. Memo. Robert Reynolds red. of Walter King pr.  
 my order some time ago 1136 ls. Castings.  
 Fry. 26 rained about 1 o'clock moderately  
 Sat. 27 rained  
 Sun. 28 rained  
 Mon. 29 clear in the day & rained at night  
 Tues. 30 rained.

## May 1799.

Wed. 1 day of May rained.  
 Thurs. 2 cleared up & light frost  
 Fry. 3 very cool & light frost  
 Sat. 4 cool & light frost Anderson the B. layer set off home.  
 Sun. 5 some warmer—B. Brown set out for Cumberland  
 Mon. 6th warm day James Anderson Dr. To cash some time  
 ago to purchase powder & brimstone 4/6. To cash when going  
 home 7/3. pd. Mrs. Thompson in Arthur Croziers store for you  
 18/. To an order on Wm. Joab for 25 or 30 dollars if paid, Memo  
 paid Mr. Pery the mason 2 dollars—12/. Paid Mr. Roddy ferry-  
 man let Wm. Nelson have 1 dollar to purchase seed corn Memo.  
 Let Mr. Joseph Greer have a Wart. on the Treasurer of 150 dol-  
 lars at 10 pr. Ct. discount, the same is for payment of last years  
 rent.  
 Tues. 7 warm & like for rain & did in the night.  
 Wed. 8 rained in the morning.  
 Thur. 9 very warm & cloudy in the morning. Memo. paid  
 for James Anderson B. Layer 3 dollars to Young the tavern  
 keeper (some time ago) Negro Jack wt. today to help plant corn  
 at the plantation.  
 Fry. 10 rained  
 Sat. 11 ditto  
 Sun. 12 clear & hott.

Mon. 13 ditto  
 Tues. 14 ditto  
 Wed. 15 rained  
 Thur. 16 very cool  
 Fry. 17 rained  
 Sat. 18 very cool & light frost at night.  
 Sun. 19 cool  
 Mon. 20 clear & cool  
 Tues. 21 ditto. Went to the farm in Co. with Doctor Claiborne.  
 Wed. 22 very warm  
 Thur. 23 ditto  
 Fry. 24 rained & some hail with loud thunder & lightning.  
 Sat. 25 clear, let Mr. Pery the mason have an order on John Crozier for 10 dollars £3.  
 Sun. 26 very warm.  
 Mon. 27 ditto  
 Tues. 28 ditto  
 Wed. 29 ditto  
 Thur. 30 a hard hail, gust, the stones as large as hen eggs.  
 Fry. 31 very cool mornng.

June 1799.

Sat. 1 day of June—fair weather.  
 Sun. 2 warm & little rain in evening.  
 Mon. 3 clear & warm  
 Tues. 4 ditto  
 Wed. 5 rained early in the morning. Cleared up warm.  
 Thur. 6 clear & cool.  
 Fry. 7 ditto  
 Sat. 8 ditto (Gen. Gordon ret'd. from obias river Mrs. Donaldson).  
 Sun. 9 very cool mornng. for the season.  
 Mon. 10 very warm.  
 Tues. 11 ditto  
 Wed. 12 warm & dry  
 Thurs. 13 ditto  
 Fry. 14 ditto  
 Sat. 15 ditto  
 Sun. 16 ditto  
 Mon. 17 I recd. a sprain in my back, & caused me to be E. M. (?) very dry, began to burn bricks. Memo. Gave an order to Mr. Sperry (the mason) to John Crozier for 4 dollars, also let him have 17 1/2 ls. bacon at 9d.  
 Tues. 18 very dry & hot myself very ill but some better.  
 Wed. 19 ditto—ditto.  
 Thurs. 20 myself some better still warm & dry.  
 Fry. 21 ditto—ditto. B. Brown ret'd. from Mero.  
 Sat. 22 ditto—ditto B. Brown set off for home.

Sun. 23 Some thunder & some clouds—very hot & dry.    Memo.  
 Let John Miller have 37 ls flour a few days ago.

Mon. 24 very warm & a little shower in the eveng.

Tues. 25 very hot & dry

Wed. 26 ditto

Thurs. 27 Fine shower

Fry. 28 very warm.

Sat. 29 ditto

Sun 30 ditto

#### July 1799.

Mon. 1 day July very warm    Federal Court began

Tues. 2 ditto

Wed. 3 ditto

Thur. 4 ditto, went to public diner at Somervilles

Fry. 5 very hot.

Sat. 6 ditto—let Mr. Sperry have 1 dollar (The mason)

Sun. 7 Small shower in the day & good rain in the night.

Mon. 8 rained, began to cradle Oats at the farm.    County  
 Court of Knox began

Tues. 9 warm & dry.    Myself unwell & kept my bed part of  
 the day.    let James Anderson have 22 ls. beef, & at sundry times-  
 46 ls. flour.

Wed. 10 very hot & dry.

Thur. 11 ditto

Fry. 12 ditto

Sat. 13 ditto

Sun. 14 very warm & dry

Mon. 15 fine shower in the morning.

Tues. 16 cloudy & sultry day

Wed. 17 a light shower in eveng.

Thurs. 18 ditto fine rain.

Fry. 19 dry & hot.

Sat. 20 rained in the night.

Sun. 21 cloudy & sultry.

Mon. 22 clear & sultry.

Tues. 23 ditto, went to a hop at Mrs. Millers.

Wed. 24 went to the Browns a light rain.

Thur. 25 Very warm & dry.

Fry. 26 ditto. A light shower in the eveng.—Mrs. Judge  
 Campble & Mrs. Vandyek &c. took tea.

Sat. 27 Cloudy morning—Give Jas. Anderson an order Jno.  
 Crozier for 15/.

Sun. 28 very hot & dry

Mon. 29 ditto

Tues. 30 ditto.

Wed. 31 ditto.

#### August 1799.

Thurs. 1 day of August, the day of the General elections. A  
 fine Shower & gust of rain.

Fry. 2 day a fine rain.  
 Sat. 3 a light rain.  
 Sun. 4 much cooler (Red. of Dr. Fronier (?) 14 dollars)  
 Mon. 5 a little rain. Pd. Wm. Nelson pr wife 27/ in Captain  
 Croziers store, (a little rain).  
 John Miller 1 dollar paid Vol. Sevier.  
 Tues. 6 very warm Went with the family to a ball at Mr.  
 Loves tavern.  
 Wed. 7 ditto  
 Thur. 8th ditto  
 Fry. 9 rained  
 Sat. 10 Light shower  
 Sun. 11 Fair.  
 Mon. 12 ditto  
 Tues. 13 cloudy & rained in the night.  
 Wed. 14 cloudy morning. Memo. Thomas Robbins set in  
 for a month 3rd August with himself & three horses at 28 dolls.  
 has since lost two days to the above date.  
 Thurs. 15 rained, Mrs. Sevier wt. to the plantation.  
 Fry. 16 went to the plantation. Rained.  
 Sat. 17 rained.  
 Sun. 18 rained.  
 Mon. 19 came home from the plantation.  
 Tues. 20 rained.  
 Wed. 21 cloudy a light rain.  
 Th. 22 light rain.  
 Fry. 23 very hot  
 Sat. 24 ditto & dry.  
 Sun. 25 wt to the plantation. Very hot. Mrs. Sevier & the  
 girls ret'd.  
 Mon. 26 very warm. Attended at Loves tavern to give in  
 depot between Love & Hodgson Donilstone.  
 Tues. 27 very hot set out for obias river. Recd. from Theopiles  
 Campble 10 dols. Lodged that night at Lows. Mill 12 miles.  
 Wed. 28, sit out & lodged at little Emmery 24 miles.  
 Thur. 29 Lodged 10 miles beyond Bigg emmery—25 miles.  
 Fry. 30 Lodged in Donilson Cove 25 miles.  
 Sat. 31. Sit out & lodged at Mr. McDonalds on Wolf River  
 16 miles.

September 1799.

Sun. 1 day of Sept. wt. 6 miles to Stocktons in the valley of  
 same name, lodged there all night.  
 Mon. 2 returned to Mr. McDonalds. Rained heavily in the  
 night. Staid there the next day being tuesday.  
 Wed. 4 Set out & travelled to obias River. Lodged on the  
 bank.  
 Thur. 5 went down to the river to the salt licks—12 miles,  
 lodged near the same.



Fry. 6 went to Casey, Sprowles, & Irons Lodged at the latter (rained)

Sat. 7 went through my lands & returned near obias river through the barrens.

Sun. 8 returned to McDonalds

Mon. 9 set out for home    Lodge near Wolf river.

Tues. 10 travell 35 miles & lodged 12 miles from Emmery

Wed. 11 travelled 35 miles & lodged near bigg poplar creek.

Thur. 12 arrived at Knoxville in the evng.    Found all well

Fry. 13 went to farm with Mrs. Sevier.

Sat. 14 Staid at the farm    Rained.

Sun. 15 returned to Knoxville

Mon. 16 the Assembly met (rained).

Tues. 17 rained.

Wed. 18 A committee from both Houses, notified that they had convened & of my re-election very cloudy day—)

Thurs. 19 Dry & hot

Fry. 20 ditto

Sat. 21 ditto

Sun. 22 ditto

Mon. 23 ditto

Tues. 24 very hot day.

Wed. 25 ditto

Thur. 26 ditto

Fry. 27 ditto (a ball at Loves)

Sat. 28 very warm & dry.

Sun. 29 ditto

Mon. 30 ditto

October 1799.

Tues. 1 day of October.    very dry

Wed. 2 ditto

Thur. 3 ditto

Fry. 4 clear & warm

Sat. 5 ditto

Sun. 6 ditto

Mon. 7 rained

Tues. 8 rained, pd. Butcher Miller 7 dol.

Wed. 9 rained, sold unto Jos. Anderson & made conveyance 1/2 of 500 tract at the Backberry bottom for 1000 dollars—He has paid in cash 51 dollars, accepted a draft in favor of Thos. Humes for 300, to pay David Deadarch (?) 36, which I owed Carson of Washington for plows. He has given me two notes, one of 80 dollars & one of 33 payable one Jany. next, and one of 500 payable first of November (in all 1000D.)

Thurs. 10 day rained & cool.

Fry. 11 rained

Sat. 12 clear & warm

Sun. 13 myself Mrs. Sevier Mrs. Donaldson & Campble & Colols Lewis, Weekly, Scott, Rutledge, Mr. Kenedy, Dickson &

some others went to the Farm, (it rained in the evening Myself & Mrs. Sevier tarried all night.)

Mon. 14 rained all day & night.

Tues. 15 rained in mornng. Myself very sick all day & night.

Wed. 16 cleared up & we came home to Knoxville, Jon Sher-  
rill & wife came on visit.

Thur. 17 frost at night (white)

Fry. 18 light frost

Sat. 19 warm for the season

Sun. 20 ditto

Mon. 21 ditto

Tues. 22 ditto

Wed. 23 dry & warm.

Thur. 24 ditto, pd. Tho. Cummins 5 Dols.

Fry. 25 ditto pd. Tho. Cummins 2½ dollars in Humes store, 15.

Sat. 26 doctor Fronier died, & the assembly adjourned, 12  
o'clock at night.

Sun. 27 Burried Doctor Fronier

Mon. 28 dry & warm for season. Give John Miller order on  
Humes store for 10 dollars, his mother Eleven dollars.

Tues. 29 let John Livingstone have 1 dollar.

Wed. 30 dry & pleasant Let John Andersons Jim have 1  
dollar to purchase salt. Pd. Childers one dollar for shoe mending.  
Recd. of Asael (?) Rawlings 5 dollars. I lent him some time ago.  
lent to old Mrs. Stout 7.6. Give Mrs. Nelson order on Humes  
store for Linen for shirt & overhauls. Give Hindman 4 dollar  
towards repairing schoolhouse. Put into the hands of W. C. C.  
Claiborne for collection a note on Joseph Anderson for 33 dollars  
dated October 9 payable in three months.

Thurs. 31 clear & warm

# November 1799.

Fry. 1 day of November dry day.

Sat. 2 Cloudy, Phillip Delaney butcher 6 Cart loads of brick  
bats 6 dollars. 3 loads more since,

Sun. 3 Large white frost at night.

Mon. 4 very cool, some frost at night.

Tues. 5 cloudy.

Wed. 6 rained in the evening.

Thurs. 7 rained in the night.

Fry. 8 rainy day, spent the evening at Mr. Campbles.

Sat. 9 cool

Sun. ditto

Mon. 11 ditto

Tues. 12 more moderate

Wed. 13 warm & pleasant.

Thur. 14 ditto

Fry. 15 ditto

Sat. 16 ditto

Sun. 17 rained & turned cooler

Monday 18 Lodged at Widow Whites, a cold night & hard frost.

Tues. 19 cold day took Brakt. at Maburys. & returned to Knoxville.

Wed. 20 cold day & frost at night.

Thur. 21 more moderate

Fry. 22 went to the farm (warm)

Sat. 23 very pleasant day.

Sun. 24 ditto & rained at night.

Mon. 25 cool & clear day—let John Livingstone 3 quarts of salt. Bought of Charles Whitson 2 pr. of fore Gears 1 Collar a stretcher 2 Bridles & 2 fore swingle trees at 2 dollars. Recd. them on 21 inst.

Tues. 26 clear & pleasant.

Wed. cold & snowed at night.

Thur. 27 snowed in morning Genl. muster.

Fry. 28 cold & hard frost

Sat. 29 clear & cold, turned cloudy in the night took tea at Mrs. Campbles, Richd. Campble 2 Fine B. Door Locks 48/. 1 pr. polished candle snuffers 6/.

#### December 1799.

Sunday 1 day rained & freezed all day & excessively cold for the time.

Mon. 2 very cold day, till toward eveng. then turned warm.

Tues. 3 a fine day

Wed. 4 ditto—ditto, but rained in the night.

Thurs. 5 fine drizzling rainy day Let Tho. Robbins have two orders on Mr. Hunes. 1 for 15/ & the other for 5/. Let Bennett Banges pr. order have one brick trowel at 6/.

Fry. 6 self & Mrs. Sevier & Betsy went to Plantation. Cloudy.

Sat. 7 Fair day & cold night.

Sun. 8 very clear returned home.

Mon. 9 very beautiful day. let Mr. Medlock have at sundry times  $6\frac{1}{2}$  bushels of corn & leather for two prs. shoes. Memo. let Doctor Claiborne have a warrant on the treasurer for 50 dollars. James Anderson three & half bushels of corn at sundry-times.

Tues. 10 very Beautiful day rained at night. Memo let John Miller have an order on Wm. Nelson for 20 Bls. Corn. Red. of John Irons some time ago impart pay for land 1 sorrel horse at 100 dollars 2 oxen at 60 3 steers at 30.

Wed. 11 rained all day & very cold.

Thur. 12 ditto ditto. Mrs. R. Campble Pater. Campble Liut. Waddington & Major Grant spent the eveng. also Mrs. Campble.

Fry. 13 fine day.

Sat. 14 ditto the river very full.

Sun. 15 pleasant day.

Mon. 16 cloudy & some little rain pd. Mr. Douglass in Humes store per James Anderson order 15/. Sent to Mrs. Jessee Bounds pr. negro 1 stock lock (?)

Tues. 17 rained—give Jno. Robins brother an order to Mr. Humes for 3 dolls.

Wed. 18 rained. Went to farm

Thurs. 19 rained.

Fry. 20 cloudy day

Sat. 21 rained at intervals.

Sun. 22 Fair day returned home from the plantation.

Mon. 23 clear & fine day.

Tues. 24 ditto

Wed. 25 (Christmas) Fine day went to a ball at R. Campbles.

Th. 26 a fine day. Memo. Paid John Dearmond in cash 10 dollars & an order on Humes store for 5 dollars more.

Fry. 27 fine day & (?) (?) spent the evening at Mr. Loves. Fun. with several T. M. brothers.

Sat. 28 rainy morning & cloudy day.

Sun. 29 dined at Mr. Campbles rained & snowed all day.

Mon. 30 snow was 6 inches deep & snowed in the morning, very cold, cleared up in the evening.

Tues. 31 clear & windy, snowed. Sent Mr. Thomas Humes Judge Andersons note for 80 dollars, dated 9th October 1799 payable in 3 months The printer Mr. Willson married to the Widow Johnson.



## CHAPTER 28.

John Sevier's Diary Continued—Finished Burning  
 Brick for Residence in Knoxville, the old Park  
 House—Attends Funeral of Governor William  
 Blount—Goes to Virginia to Meet Commis-  
 sioners to Run Line Between Virginia and  
 Tennessee—Confers at South West Point  
 with Cherokees about a Road through  
 their Country—Received Gold Medal  
 from Secretary of the Navy—Takes  
 his Seat in Congress November  
 8th, 1811—Life in Washing-  
 ton—Starts for Alabama  
 to run Creek Boun-  
 dary Line.

January 1800

January Wed. 1 day 1800 cold

Thur. 2 clear & cold.

Fry. 3 ditto

Sat. 4 ditto

Sun. 5 ditto

Mon. 6 ditto Federal court began.

Tues. 7 ditto

Wed. 8 ditto

Thur. 9 ditto

Fry. 10 ditto paid Roddy 3 dollars.

Sat. 11 ditto a little moderate.

Sun. warm & pleasant.

Mon. 13 ditto County court began in Knox.

Tues. 14 ditto pleasant for the season.

Wed. 15 warm & cloudy.

Memo. Recd. from Geo. Gordon some time ago 1 small stud,  
 at 150 dolls. 1 sorrell mair 120 dollars 1 roan 2 yearling colts 60,  
 the same being for land sold by Gordon on obias river.

Thur. 10 warm & cloudy—rained in night. Let James Craton  
 have a Warrant on the treasurer for 37 & 1/3 dollars for which  
 owed him for corn & bacon & had given orders on Colo. Weir &  
 the sheriff of Sevier, which order Craton is to return, Wm. Madin  
 a witness.—(Returned since). Memo. let James Sevier have an

order on the Treasury for 64 dollars, which went to the Cr. of sheriff Blairs of Washington acct. paid Thos. Cummins 4 1/2 dollars. Due him yet 5 1/2 dollars.

Fry. 17 rainy & stormy day & snowed 4 Inches deep by evening. Settled up with Colo. Hanly in full of all amounts to this day. Mr. Kinner (Bricklayer) DR. to 1 brick trowel 6/.

Sat. 18 cleared & pretty cold.

Sun. 19 moderate

Mon. 20 clear & windy.

Tue. 21 clear, cold and windy.

Wed. 22 ditto

Thur. 23 ditto

Fry. 24 ditto.

Sat. 25 ditto some little rain in evening.

Sun. 26 very cold.

Mon. 27 cloudy & cold. Nelson set out with him for P. Grove, give him 5 dollars to bare expenses in bringing down hogs & beef.

Tues. 28 cloudy morning & cold.

Wed. 29 cloudy. pd. Tho. Robbins 6/. Snowed in the night.

Thur. 30 snowed in the morning. Memo. swoped horses with Colo. Hanly who is to give 30 dollars boot, has pd. me ten by Washington & is to pay John Kain the other 20. James Anderson had 2 bags of corn from plantation had here 1 bushel some time ago.

Fry. 31 warm & pleasant

Sat. 1 day of February Snowed.

Sun. 2 snowed & very cold.

April 12 1800 let Thomas Robbins father have an order on tras. Mabury for six dollars, which is to be settle out of Thos. acct.

Sat. 29 March 1800 clear & warm.

Sun. 30 ditto

Mon. 31 cooler

Tues. 1 day of April fine day

Wed. 2 ditto

Thur. 3 ditto

Fry. 4 ditto

Sat. 5 some rain & frost at night.

Sun. 6 turned warmer (clear)

Mon. 7 pleasant day

Tues. 8 ditto

Wed. 9 ditto went to Nelsons.

Thurs. 10 returned fine day.

Fry. 12 rained in the morning & thundred about 12 o'clock.

Sun. 13 cloudy & cool day

#### February 1800

Mon. 3 cloudy & cold. Hawkins Windle Dr. to 1 gray horse 95 dollars.

To an order on Walter King for half a ton castings.

Tues. 4 cold day.

Wed. 5 snowed part of the day.

Thur. 6 pleasant day

Fry. 7 Pleasant day.

Sat. 8 snowed & very cold

Sun. 9 very cold, snowed, & some rain. Went to Mr. Bonners in Co. with R. King Tarried all night & returned on Monday—Nelson arrived this night with hogs &c.

Mon. 10 Some snow & very cold

Tues. 11 very cold & some snow.

Wed. 12 a fine day. Salted our beef & pork Snowed in the night.

Thurs. 13 snowed in the morning & most of the day (not very cold) Memo. I give a warrant on the Treasury for 60 dollars unto Mr. Gordon for the purpose of paying Joseph Robers at Hawkins at C. house, a note of mine of 51 dollars some Cents. Also an account of 5 dollars & some 8 cents for Liquor furnished my friends at the last election. Gordon give me in 2 dollars which the warrant over balanced the 2 debts.

Fry. 14 cold rain & some snow & hail. Went to the farm over the river. Tarried all night.

Sat. 15 cloudy & very cold snowed cleared up in the night.

Sun. 16 clear day & pleasant Killed a fine Turkey. (Came hom) Capt. Sparks came to town yesterday & returned to day.

Mon. 17 very fine day.

Tues. 18 very fine day.

Wed. 19 ditto

Thur. 20 ditto Set out for So. W. Point. Lodged at Major McClungs.

Fry. 21 set out for the point. Brakt. at Maj. Campbles, arrived at the point in the evening Fine day. The cannon was fired at out arrival

Sat. 22 early in the morning 16 rounds of cannon fired—at 12 the army & Citizens in great numbers moved in procession in condolence of the death of Genl. Washington. Gov. Sevier & Wm. Blount. 2 Monuments (?) Genl. White Maj. McClung, Capt. Sparks, Maj. Roan Pall bearers guns fired all day &c. The day very fine.

Sun. 23 fine day. Set out for Knoxville Lodged at Major Campbles.

Mon. 24 Set out took brakt. at Maj. McClungs, arrived in the evening.

Mon. 24 very fine day.

Tues. 25 Sold unto Mr. Tho. Haines, Washingtons gray horse, price 110 dollars.

Wed. 26 put fire into the brickkill.

Thur. 27 A ball at Campbles. Memo. Lodged 2-25 do. . ar warrant in the hands of Genl. (?)

March 1800.

Sun. 2 Finished at night burning brickkiln.

Tues. 4 Paid Thomas Robbins 2 dollars Bought 1 doz. Chairs 30/. pd. cash 14/ & Give order to Humes for 16/ in favor of a Mr. Aueston (?) Let Vol. Sevier have money for plow mould 9/.

Thur. 6 Hauled plank and posts with the waggon for Mr. R. Campbell.

Sun. 9 Mrs. Granger died about midnight. Memo. Trainer the waggoner Hauled 10 loads of wood 4/ pr. load. Recd. Cash 15/ & (?) while burning brick. Sent 1 dollar in cash.

Tues. 11 Mrs. Granger buried.

Wed. 12 Set off for a load Flour, had from me 31/2 bushels of corn & 3 dollars in cash, order on John Kein for 3 bushels of corn. Bro't a load of hay from Rhodes for H. Campbell.

Thur. 13 went to the plantation

Fry. 14 stayed there.

Sat. 15 stayed there

Sun. 16 returned home. Mr. Blount taken ill on yesterday.

Mon. 17 went to see Mr. Blount.

Fry. 21 Went to Medlocks. William Blount died about 5 o'clock a.m. Went with the family to the burial of Mr. Blount.

Mon. 24 Supr. Court begun? Memo. Recd. of Fran (?) Maybury 50 dols. One note for 50. 1 for 70 and 1 for 100. and an order of Parks for 30, being in part pay of 350 acres of Land I sold Huddleston. Sold unto Mr. Willis (miller) a pan 9/. Mr. Reece near my farm a pan 9/. Mr. Morde— (?) near ditto one Dutch oven 12/. one 6 gallon pot 14/. Mrs. Tho. Stockdon of Stockdon Valley two Iron skillets. let Edward Teele have a pot in full for what I was in his debt.

Tues. 25 William Nelson to goods from Mr. Humes 2/7/2d.

Thur. 27 a ball at Campbells. M.

Memo. On the 19th October '98 a Mr. Lacky (a tailor) told me that a Mr. Walker caught John Carson and a man named Bell of Maryville stealing grass and corn to feed Carsons horse out of a Mr. Berrys field near Maryville. Carson tarried all night at Bells.

Memo. Same day Mr. Richd. King informed me that about 8 miles So. West Point towards Knoxville, he was in Co. with Dougherty Lawyer of Maro district, that L. Doherty attempted to ride (?) two year old colt that they met with in the road as they travelled up towards Knoxville, the colt was difficult and hard to ride and Doherty made great efforts to ride it.—at length the colt and Doherty got out of sight under a bank when Doherty came back and appeared very bloody and said that he had mastered the colt at last—Mr. King wt then and looked at the colt and see that it was standing and bleeding very fast and observed that it was stabbed in the side and some other places with a knife.



Memo. that George Gillespie in presence of Mr. Casson and Henry Massingale, Jur. demanded of Gibsons negroes, sold by Talbott, 8th of March, 1798 at Washington Superior court.

Memo. William applied to Colo. Avery to bring suit vs. me for the above negroes and told Avery he had purchased the right of them from Gibson—this is Colo. Averys own statement and will be proper witness in case Gillespie brings suit.

Terms proposed by Walter King to the founder for blowing the Furnace.

All Hollow ware 20/ pr. ton.

Open sand layed castings 40/ pr. ton.

Open sand from running 20/ pr. ton.

piggs and scraps 5/ pr. ton.

The above payable one half in cash the other in castings, at 4d per 1d. French.

Est il tems de diner (?) It is dinner time?

Il est pres de midi. it is near upon 12 o'clock.

il est tems de aller diner. it is time to go to dinner.

Parlex Haut.—speak aloud. etc., etc.,

April 1800.

Sun. 13 I set out for the Iron works late in the eveng. lodged that night at Maburys mill.

Mon. 14 set out early fed and dined at Capt. Bunches. Lodged that night at Gordons on J. (?) creek.

Tues. 15th set out early fed and dined at Rogersville, and lodged all night at Mrs. Amos. paid Expenses 3/.

Wed. 16 Brakfirsted at Clines 4/6. dined at Venisons No. Fork on Till (?) and arrived at Mr. Kings the Iron Works in the evening.

Thur. 17 stayed at the works.

Fri. 18 ditto—ditto. Bob horse run away.

Sat. 19 sent Tobe after the horse. The forge began to work.

Sun. 20 myself and Mrs. King went to meeting at Combs Ferry.

Mon. 21 the forge began to work. Memo. to enquire after Aaron Ryley his mother lives near this place.

Boil one quart of N. milch half away. with a half pound old bacon therein (good to cure the bots on a horse)

Turn eggs with small end down in good wood ashes. Change them onst a week and they will keep several months.

Tues. 22 Tobe returned with the horse.

Sun. Mrs. Cuninghame and Mrs. Combs dined with Mrs. King.

Mon. 28 Reuben and James Payne came to the works. Cash on hand 34 & Eat fish for Brakfast.

May 1800.

Sat. 3 went with Mr. McCrain to Colo. Adersib Retd. in eveng to Iron works.

Sun. 4 set out from the works to Jonesbro, lodged that night at Ben Browns.

Mon. 5 Stayed at Mr. Browns.

Tues. 6 Went to Jonesbro Court—tarried at Doctor Chesters.

Wed. 7 Stayed at Jonesbro.

Sun. 11 Left Jonesbro and went to my fathers. pd. expenses to Chester 32/. Arrived in the eveng at my father and tarried with him all night.

Mon. 12 went to Chester Court Tarried all night with Genl. Carter.

Tues. 13 was at a ball at Carters.

Wed. 14 went from Carters to my fathers and lodged with him that night.

Thurs. 15 Set out for John Keewoods and lodged there that night.

Fry. 16 styd at Mr. Keywoods.

Sat. 17 set out and arrived at Mays in the eveng and stayed all night.

Sun. 18 Stayed at Mr. Mays but lodged myself that night at Mr. Fagens.

Mon. 19 Went to Sullivan court, put up at Snaps. Lodged myself that night Delany.

Tues. Lodged that night with Capt. John Tipton.

Wed. 21 Slept at Snaps.

Thurs. 22 Set out from Sullivan and lodged at John Yances, Esq.

Fry. 23 Set out and came to the iron works at Pactolus (?) Lodged there all night.

Sat. 24 still stayed at the works.

Wed. 28 sent to Knoxville by Mr. Charles 1 crow bar and hammer weight 54 ls. 94 ls. Iron including two shovel moulds. Memo. Senaca snake root powdered very good for worms in children. Salt and peper good for the Thumps in horses Dissolve it in water. The inside Barke of B. Gum good.

### June 1800.

Mon 2 set out for Jonesbro in Co. with A. Sherrill and wife from Pactolus.

Stayed all night at Jonesbro.

Tues. 3 went to Mr. Sherrills and stayed all night.

Wed. 4 went to J. Seviars and stayed all night.

Thur. 5 Retd. to Mr. Sherrills Dined at Maj. Seviars.

Fry. 6 went to Jonesbro stayed that night.

Sun 8 Returned in Co. with Dr. Chester to Mr. Sherrills, Memo. Bt. of Colo. Harrison 3 pr. Moroco shoes 3 stuff ditto 1 hand 6/. One whip 26/3. 4 yds. Calico at 6/6. Stayed all night at Mr. Sherrills.

Mon. 9 went to Plum Grove.

Tues. 10 set out in Co. with Colo. Harrison for Knoxville—Mr. Sherrill continued very ill.

Reuben Pains let a person living on old Kennedys place have 6 bushels of wheat to sow last fall. Memo. I left enclosed in a letter with Wm. Sherrill a bond on Charles Robertson Ducased (?) directed to Maj. Sevier to bring suit for the recovery of the debt date 6 Sept. 1782. The sum 50 pounds payable 6 July, 1783 John Garry security and William Murphy deceased a witness. The bond taken in the name of John Sevier administrator of Robert Sevier. Colo. Harrison and myself dined at Waddle. lodged all night at Mr. Henry Ernests.

Wed. 11 Set out dined at Mr. Penys. Lodged all night at Col. Crows.

Thurs. 12 set out early from Crows Brakd. at Maj. Tines pad. 6/6. lodged that night at Mr. Allens.

Fry. 13 set out early. Dined at Capt. Sehoms (?) and lodged that night in Dandridge pd. 21/6.

Sat. 14 set out early Fed our horses at Maj. Hugh Beards. Crossed Hollison at Gillums ferry pd. 2/. Arrived at Knoxville in the evening.

Wed. 18 went Self and Mrs. Sevier with Daughter Betsy to the farm Stayed all night at farm.

Sun. 22 Sam Sherrill sr. departed this life in the night. Mrs. Sevier and Washington set out for plum Grove.

Tues. 24 the anniversary day of St. Johns Lodge F. M. Met and dined at R. Campbells.

Butcher Reed recd. a black steer which wey'd 380 ls. at 20/ per (?) Memo. Settle with Tho. Humes on Mon. 23 inst., and let him have a note on Joseph Anderson for the sum of 500 dollars which has over paid Mr. Humes all his demands including Edward Irons for 12 6 $\frac{1}{4}$ 3 and one of John Bird for 4 pounds which I was security to Mr. Humes for and they are indebted to me for same.

Mr. Humes now stands indebted to me as per receipt 112.63 Cents which the bond over pays him.

#### July 1800.

Fry. 4 Public dinner at Mr. Mansfields and a ball in the evening at Mr. Campbells old house.

Sat. 12 Indian George was executed for murdg. Johnson.

Wed. 30 a little hop at R. Campbells. This day Hiram Miller hired my waggon.

Thur. 31 began to make bricks.

#### August 1800.

Sat. 2 Bought of a Mr. Richards 16 bushels of corn and give him an order on John Hill for 24 shillings.

Fry. 8 Give a warrant on the treasurer in favor of Ralston and Wilson for printing the laws and journals of last assembly and land law of No. Carolina for 735 dollars 43½ cents.

\*Wed. 20 give an order on John Newman sherill of Green, in favor of Mr. Thornton collector for 8¼ dollars being the amt. of mt taxes due in the district of Washington.

Thur. 28 Sent an order to John Newman Sheriff to pay John Gass esqr. about 70 dollars.

September, 1800.

Fry. 26 Indorsed a note of hand on John McDonald for 65 dollars and one of 15 on John Fulton to John Sherrill in payment of a debt dues from Wm. Sherrill of 100 dolls dues for a negro boy. Elisha Walling vs James Berry a verdict by a Jury in the Superior court in Hamilton district in favor of the plaintiff for lands in Powells vally. both parties had entered in Carters office in the year 1779 late.—Berry had his land run off by Walter Evans the surveyor and the patent issued signed by Gov. Davis all in the year 1799. This observation is to show, that all the different governors and secretaries have paid the same respect to the Carter warrant as they have to other wheresoever they were made.

October.

Sat. 11 Memo. Put into the hands of Felix Walker sundry certificates of members of the assembly as pr receipt, to the amount of 190 pds. to be paid out in entering and securing in the County of Buncomb in No. Carolina on a branch of Tennessee. If not the money to be returned if obtained from No. Carolina assembly, otherwise the certificate to be returned.

November, 1800.

Tues. 4 Self, Croughton and others set out to survey land for Croughton on Mill creek, lodged that night near a Cabin built by N. Evans as a mill seat Good land on the west side of the creek.

Wed. 5 sit early in the morning travelled most of the day in search of my line and found it in the evening. Folowed the same about three miles and lodged that night at a fine spring, where some trees were girdled and marked with E. and A. Said to be done by one Anderson—This place is about one mile south of the place where we crossed the wt. fork of Mill creek, where there is the letters I. S. on a beech and a hand pointing easterdly with other letters on same tree Tolerable good land here and at spring rich.

Thur. 6 We followed the line to the southwest corner where we began & run on the east line—1 mile, thence No. 1 mile & half & cornered on a red oak. The supposed by running wt. it wd. include the spring laid at last night, making a survey of nine hundred and sixty acres. We discovered an Excellent spring



lying east of this survey, near the No. Corner and a large body of good land. With fine springs and branches on the headwaters of mile creek. We then retd. towards Iron proceeded to the path leading from Mayfields to J (?) by way of Lancaster Cabbib, before we came to which by four miles the land is tolerably good timbered with black oak and hicory & is level—at the bottom of a glade at our left as we traveled a good spring—from the cabin to Irons creek good high land & water on our right hand. arrived at Irons at dark, & stayed all night. Still find dry weather.

Fry. 7 G. Gordon Craighton, Strother & Medlock, went surveying the Holly bottom on the east side of obias river.

Sat. 8 Gordon returned at night? Craighton & Medlock returned to finish the survey—all retd to Irons at night.

Mon. 10 Executed deeds to Charles Croughton and Patrick Home for 6 tracts of land, two on obias one for 840 and one for 461 acres; one on the west End of my large survey, on the head of Mill creek for 2488 acres to Croughton, and the other two to Home—one for 200 acres and one for 171 acres on Obias river and one on the wt in the original survey for 878 acres making 1250 in the whole, (these tracts are included in one deed—and Croughtons in one. Made deeds to Cornelius Doherty and Robert Hill deeds for 100 acres each.

Memo. Charles Croughton agreed in behald of himself & Co. in prenence of Wm. Medlock, Stephen T. Conn near Abingdon, Virginia, Geo. Strother, Geo. Gordon, and Phillip Love, that he would pay the ballance of the money remaining due from him & the Company in six months from the date of his deeds this day by me to him and Patrick Home & that the articles entered into this day should not be any barr in the way of the ballance due which is £347 W. Va. money.

Tues. 11 Croughton and Conn left this place Irons, Sprewles, and Phil Love sit out to survey and view the land on So. wt corner of the original survey, and have determined that I shall give a farther quantity of sixty acres of land including the mill seat at Evans cabbin on Mill creek, in order to make up all deficiencies agreeably to my original contract with Croughton Enover & Co.

Wed. 12 Myself & Cap. Strother to Separate Cases—stayed all night.

Sat. 15 Irons, Sproules & Love made their report on the land they had went to view & survey on which I made the deed for the 60 acres which completes my engagement to Enover, Croughton, Home, Drummond & Co. repsecting the five thousand acres I sold them.

Memo. Some fine springs on head of Iron creek . . . . .

Sunday 16 . . . . . A fine spring or two near the path leading from Irons to John Sprawles on Irons creek near to where Strother is clearing ground . . . . .

1801

(Note.—There is a break in the diary at this point)

July Friday 3 . . Gave to Robert Murray (Bricklayer) a draft on Joseph Nichol Mercht for \$100 as part pay for building my brick house which he is engaged to do at three dollars per thousand bricks & 3 Quarters for each Arch, to be finished by first day of October next. . . . .

Sat. 4. A Public diner at Mr. Campbells in celebration of the day. Great harmony and order prevailed . . . . .

Memo. Won on Saturday night last from Dr. May 4 dollars —from Maj. Arthur Crozier 6 dollars . . . . .

August Sunday 2 Very warm and dry.

Mon. 3 Ditto a called court on negro Jack the property of Stephen Pate for the muder of Sarah Crawford was held & the negro found guilty & sentenced to be burnt on the morrow between the hours of 12 & 4 o'clock.

Tues. 4 Negro Jack was agreeably to the sentence of yesterday executed in the presence of a great number of spectators. . . . .

April, 1802.

Mon. 3 sit out for Cap. Thompsons in Virginia to meet commissioners of that State to run and extend a line lodged that night at Jno Keewoods. . . . .

Tues. 4 Went to Capt. Thompsons met the commissioners from Tennessee, those from Virginia did not attend Retd to Greenaways & lodged there all night. . . . .

Thurs. 6 Retd home. . . . .

September.

Thur. 30 . . . Self & Mr. Fish started for Abingdon, Va., to meet the commissioners to extend the division lines between the States Virginia and Tennessee. . . . .

Fry. 1 day of October We arrived at Abingdon—Gen. Martin one of the Virginia Commissioners arrived. . . . .

Sat. 2 Mr. Taylor & Mr. Johnson arrived in eveng F. day.

Sun. 3 Still stayed at Mr. M. Carmacks.

Mon. 4 We all met at Cap Craigs & agreed to meet Tuesday morning on the line, near Cap. Duncans on Holsen. . . . .

Tues. 5 We met, made a tryal to find the latitude on Hendersons line. It was though the observation was imperfect. It being some miles so of 36 d 30 m the true latitude—We then agreed to meet next day on Walker (?) (?)

We met on Walkers line made observations—Mr. Fish on the part of Tennessee & Mr. Laws on the part of Virginia. By Mr. Fish we appeared to be in latitude 36 d 16 m. By Mr. Laws 36 d 12 m. . . . .

Thurs. 7 We proceeded to Hendersons line Made observations by Mr. Fish we found it to be in latitude 36 14 by Mr. Law lat 36 1. . . . .

Fry. 8 We made observations on our side at same place. Mr. Fish the lat to be 36 21 . . . . . Mr. Law who took it about one mile from us made it to be in lat. 36 47 . . . . .

Sat. 9 we sent Mr. Markland off as express to Gov. Roane . . . . .

Memo. Paid expenses since I sit out from Home 13 $\frac{1}{4}$  dollars to this day. . . . .

Mon. 18 Set out for Mr. Keewoods to meet the Commissioners—left with Mr. Keewood 10 dollars for him to give unto my brother Jos. Sevier & for him to give the same unto Mr. David Deadrick. . . . .

Tues. 19 set out from Mr. Kings and met the Virginia commissioners at Cap. Craigs Tarried all night. . . . .

Thurs. 21 We repaired to William Kings Tarried all night after taking some observation. . . . .

Sat. 23 After some notes passing between the Virginia & Tennessee Commissioners we mutually agreed to run an intermediate line between Walkers and Henderson—& sent the surveyors to measure the distance between the two lines—Rutledge & Martin attend the running. . . . .

Sun. 24. . . . . Gen. Martin retd & the surveyors who reported that the true distance between the two lines was found to be two miles 1/2 & 25 poles; which was begun on Walkers line and run 2 1/2 degrees. wt. of. due. north. . . . .

Tues. 26 Set out from Cap. Craigs after brak. Arrived at Cap. Kees at one o'clock, Rainy day— . . . . .

Wed. 27. . . Took up camp near McQueens 10 miles from Cap. Shees Pd. expenses at Cap. Craigs 36/. Stayed all night at Cap. Kees. Rained and thundered in the night cleared up and Frosted in the mornng. . . . .

October 1802.

Wed. 27. . . . . Took up Camp near McQueens 10 miles from Cap. Shees.

Thur. 28 Set out the surveyors to run the line to white topp . . . . .

Sun. 31 The surveyors retd. in evng. . . . .

November, 1802

Tues. 2 Left Camp near McQueens . . . . . Arrived at Mr. William Kings on Holeson The Surveyors set out to run . . . . .

the line from (?) fork to the main Holeson near Cap. Duncans  
Tarried all night with Mr. King.

Thur. 4 Left Mr. Kings—dined at Mr. Crockets Tarried all  
night at Mr. John Keewoods.

Fry. 5. . . . Went to Majr. Shelbys and stayed all  
night.

Sat. 6 Retd. to Mr. Keewoods and tarried all night.

Sun. 7. . . . Retd. to Mr. Kings.

Mon. 8 Surveyors began and run the line to Holeson a little  
below Cap. Duncans. Dined with the Virgn. Commissrs.

Tues. 9 Still at Mr. Kings.

Wed. 10 The surveyors ret'd from rectifying the line which  
was run from the level fork too much north and set out again to  
extend west in the due coirse—Genl. Rutledge went with them

Thurs. 11 We all left William Kings esq. and went on after  
the surveyors. Arrived at Gen. Kelbys old place in the evening.  
Found the line to pass through the plantation to the No. of the  
building. . . . Camp't. at this place.

Fryday 12 . . . . Myself and Majr. Taylor dined at  
Colo. James Kings continued camp at Shelby old place.

Sat. 13 We left the Camp and proceeded on with the line.  
I lodged this night with Genl. Rutledge

Sun. 14 . . . . Retd. to the surveyors. Lodged all  
night at William Willsons on Reedy creek where there is an emit-  
ting spring of every two hours.

Mon. 15 I went to Walter Kings Met Mrs. Sevier and  
Sammy there. Lodged all night.

Thurs. 18 I ret'd to the surveyors and found them at Crone-  
bargers near 4 miles below no. fork. Camped all night.

Fry. 19 the surveyors went on myself Rutledge and Fish contd.  
in Camp.

Sat. 20 stayed at same place.

Sun. 21 Our commissrs. set out, lay that night Mahl Loonys  
14 miles.

Mon. 22 . . . . Mr. Fish went on to Hawkins C. H. Self  
and Genl. Rutledge crossed Clinch (?) mountain at Loonys  
Camp (?) traveled down lower creek to Abs. Loonys came up  
with the surveyors at Daws Rogers plantation. The line cross-  
ing at Waddels ford on Clinch river near mouth of Shelbys creek  
one mile above—lay all night at this place.

Tues. 23 we set out overtook the surveyors at Lafaveurs place,  
past on to Wm. Roberts on main Clinch—lay here all night. Mr.  
Fish ret'd. brought with him \$50 Ret'd from Nelson sheriff of  
Hawkins out of which I received 18 dollars.

Wed. 24 Lay here this day & night Genl. Martin & Majr.  
Taylor arrived.



Thurs. 25 Rained Lay at Roberts

Fry. 26 Clear day. We all sit out from Robert's crossed Newmans Ridge & lodged all night on black water creek at Gibsons Messrs. Fish and Taylor left us.

Sat. 27 We set & Crossed Powells mountain and lodged at Sanders mill 7 miles . . . . . Left the surveyors coming on from Black water. On our route today passed Daniel Flanarys on No. side of Mulberry Gaup. Mulberry creek runs down into Powels river between Powels mountain and Waldens Ridge.

Sun. 28 We measured the Cross line and found our course one quarter too far to the So—Lodged at same place.

Mon. 29 We rectified our course & still remained at Sanders. . . . .

#### December 1802.

Thurs. 2 Cleared up—We all sit out Crossed Waldens Ridge and powells river near 3 miles above Martins Creek—Lodged myself and Genl. Rutledge at James Overton near James's salt lick.

Fry. 3 We measured the cross line at James salt lick. Found ourselves with the line five poles too far So.

Sat. 4 rectified the line, and sit out run through the lick leaving the pitt a few poles in Virginia . . . . . Myself and Genl. Rutledge ret'd. to Overton Tarried all night, as we had on Fryday night.

Sun. 5 . . . . . We set out from Mr. Overtons after beak-first. Lodged all night at Shadwilly (?) . . . . .

Mon. 6 We set out for Cumberland Gap. Arrived about 8 o'clock at Colo. Charles Cocks. Stayed all night. . . . .

Tues. 7 Set out again found the commissioners and surveyors at William Robertsons near the gaup. We took up Camp here and lodged all night. . . . .

Wed. 8 Finished the line, which struck the Kaintucky line about one Quarter So of the Gap—This day we made out our reports & exchanged on each side—Snowy day and very cold Lodged at same place.

Thurs. 9 Myself & our Commissrs. and surveyors set out for home. Ver. cold. Lodged all night at Claibornes Court House.

Fry. 10 We traveled on to Gordon Beens old station. . . . .

Sat. 11 We again sit out early in the morning—lodged all night at Crosses (Bull Gap). . . . .

Sun. 12 Set out early 18 miles to Babbs mill—9 to Tho. Gillespy—2 to Mr. Mcallisters & 4 home which we arrived at in the evening. . . . .

#### January 1803.

Wed. 5 . . . . . Memo. I Settled my account for running the state line &c to the amount of 375 dollars—have received from

Markland 50 from Fish 18 & received from Mr. Maddin 30 & have directed Tho. McCarry to apply to Mr. Martin for 28& a half dollars making the whole 126 & 1/2 dollars.

To cure the plurycy & fluency when the pain and fever Begins you must take three spoonfuls of honey and as much alloycospane (?) as will lie on the point of dedse kife (?) twice, and half that quantity of Indian turnips and as much allum as the size of a large pea & half as much frech Butter as honey, Stew them on hot embers then every night take one tablespoonful, very warm taking that until the absces breaks Make a small cake of Ry meal then split the Cake and put tar on it and lay it on the pain & follow the pain with a new Cake every four hours. take Garlic & pound it & put it on hogs lard and keep that to the soals of the feet & Blead moderately every three days & reagularly & sweat every three Days with Sinicar sneak root & keep the body open with Castor oil.

Cure for gravel half pint of common plantain seeds, boiled in one Quart of new milk down to one pint—take a spoonful morning & evening of the decoction.

Cuckeeld bur leaves boiled in new milk good for a snake bite.

The gaul of the rarth bruised and infused in new milk good.

Blue Vitriol with half its quantity of alum burnt into a powder put to a Cancer wart is good to eat it out, must be changed every six hours.

#### April, 1803

Sat. 9. Fine day. Sold unto John Southgate per his agent Tho. Emmerson 5000 acres of land on Crane creek at 50 Cents per acre, 2115 on Duck River at 1 dollar, 1000 on Bullaloe River at 1 dollar, and 4000 on obias River for 3334 dollars the whole went to discharge a debt due unto the said Southgate from Michael Harrison for goods & merchandise he recd. at Norfolk, Virginia. I made deeds for the whole in the presence of Judge White the same day. Recd. from Mr. Wm. Martin 10 dollars.

#### October 1803.

Sat. 15 Set out for So. west Point in Company with And. Greer esqr. & my son Washington. Lodged at John Woods.

Sun. 16 Sit out early and arrived at Kingston & arrived to Breakfast after having a violent dispute with J. Jackson—lodged at Jessee Birds. Had this day a salute of sixteen rounds by the garrison. Dined with Col. Meigs in the garrison.

Mon. 17 Went with the agent of the Indian affairs, Majr. MacRea & others to the Council House on the south side of Tennessee River to hold a conference with the Cherokee chiefs concerning a road and other matters. Our talks were delivered and the Indians required time to give their answer. Adj. till next day (Dined with Majr. MacRea).

Tues. 18<sup>th</sup> last night lodged with Tho. N. Clark Met according to the adjournment—The Indians after some conversation observed they were not prepared to give their answer and we then adjourned till the next morning—dined with Colo. Meigs.

Wed. 19 we met again and the Indians then give in their answer & consented to let the United States cut a Road through their Country into the State of Georgia, etc. . . . .

December, 1803.

. . . . .  
Tues. 10

Curious dream. I dreamed my Father came descending in the air in what appeared at first like a cloud. As it came nearer it assumed the appearance of one of the finest Rigged vessels I ever had seen that the sail roaps and everything of the apparatus appeared Richer & of superior quality to anything I had ever seen. He came out of the vessel when it had halted or alighted and told me that on the Friday before New Years day he had sit out to the Great high Court, I asked him if there was any news where he had been he answered that nothing existed there but the utmost peace and friendship, that he had heard much conversation respecting the Quarel between Judge Jackson & myself, I then asked him if it was possible that affair had reached so far? He then replied that long before he had arrived the news was there and also every other transaction that has taken place in Tennessee—I then asked him what was said? He told me that Jackson was by all viewed as a very wicked base man, and a very improper person for a judge, and said I have it in charge to intimate to you either by dream or some other mode, that you have nothing to fear provided you act a prudent part for they are all your friends—on his saying by a dream I began to think I was dreaming & immediately awaked.

Mr. William Macklin Secy came to my house tarried all night & told him and the family my dream on Wednesday morning. . . .

Sat. 14 was informed by Majr. James Doherty of Jefferson, that my father was dead. . . . .

July 1804

Mon. 23 The assembly formed a house and notified the executive by a Committee that they were ready to receive any communication he might think proper to make. The address was sent in this day.

Tues. 24 Very cold for the Season, with very considerable smoke in the air. The executive was waited on by Fred Preston, Wm. King, and Henry St. John Diken Commissioners from the State of Virginia.  
. . . . .

August 1804

Mon. 20 Went to Knoxville, where Lietenant Braham began to pay off the mounted infantry that marched to the Natchez under Colo. Doherty.

December, 1804.

Memo. A method of preserving wheat from the weevill. When the wheat is stacked, every three or four layers sprinkle some flour of sulphur over the wheat or after it is thrashed throw a few pieces of brimstone into the cask or granary &c.

February 1805.

Fry. Myself & Sammie wt. to Maryville, where there was an election holding for field officers for Blount County.

Memo. of letters taken out of the post office on which the postage remained unpaid which is to be paid quarterly

1803 cents

December 6th two letters 35

December 29th sundry letters 141

April, 1806

Wed. 2 Frost last night Clear day.

Memo. Take chery tree and dog wood barks, & poplar root bark make a tea of the same, is good for a pain in the back—red precipitate as much as will lie on the point of a pin knife rolled up in butter is the best thing for botts in horses. When rolled up must be put down the horses throat as far as possible.

August, 1806.

Sat. 2. . . . Memo. Take a handful of the inside bar of prickly ash about 6 Inches long the same Quantity of red earth worms and about the same quantity of both those articles of the oil of hogs feet, & stew all slowly together until the worms are desolved; strain out the sediment and anoint with the oil for the Rheumatism.

Sun. 31 Went early into Knoxville Granted a pardon for a negro girl named Harriet the property of John Record of Wiliamson County at Harpeth. The girl (?) for drowning her masters daughter named Po (?).

October, 1806.

Sun. 10 Memo. Stew red pepper in hogs lard and anoint for the Rheumatism, is thought to be efficacious, and afterwards



bathe in water wherein oats in the straw have been boiled, & wrap the straw around the parts affected when as warm as can be borne . . . . .

November, 1806.

Sun. 7. Recipe for the cure of the dropsy. put into a stone, or earthen Jug, a gallon of stale Senna (?) cyder, together with a double handful of parsley roots & hops cut fine; a handful of scraped horse radish; two table spoonfuls of bruised mustard seeds; half an ounce of oxymell of squills and an ounce of Juniper berries. The liquor to be kept warm by the fire, twenty-four hours; to be often agitated and then strained for use. dose for an adult, half a wine glass full three times a day, on a empty stomach. The dose may be encreased if necessary. After the waters shall be discharged the paitent should use moderate exercises. Subsist on dry nourishing diet & abstain from all liquors as much as possible. (A proved cure).

May 1807

Sunday 24. Cloudy morning but no rain.

Memo. Take horse radish and Agrlic of each a handful; stew it down in three pints to one of water—bottle it up close—take two spoonfuls of the Liquid either night or morning. If this quantity does not effect a cure,—make use of the 2 & 3d bottle a sure cure for the Gravel.

Mon. 25 Some frost this morning—Maclin came here and resigned his office of secretary of State. . . . .

September, 1807.

Thur. 10. . . . Memo. I give Mr. Fleshart 3 dollars to make me a tumbler—I took a suit of blk out of the store of Shall & Pritchett.

December, 1807.

Sat. 12. . . . Memo. Boil Cammomile in new milk, to a strong decoction, bathe with it as warm as can be borne, three or four times a day good for inflamed sore eyes. . . . .

Wed. 16 Memo. (Cure for Rheumatism) Take as much flour of sulphur as will lay on the point of a case knife mix with honey, for nine morning running—on the 7th bleed in both feet on the inside after taking the sulphur & honey, infuse the begness of your thumb of seneca snake root, in one quart of brandy or

Whisky, drink a glass every night or morning as you may choose  
—take care not to catch cold. . . . .

Mon. 28 . . . . Memo. Take 1 oz. of mercurial ointment, boil the same in one gallon of Water, skim off the Grease and mix the horses food twice a day for three or four days.—then make a decoction of dogwood and poplar root bark, or rattle weed, mix the food with the decoction—when the horses tongue & mouth begins to become moist you may forbear giving the mercury.

December 1807.

The above is a cure for the yellow water which only a fever in the horse. . . . .

January, 1808.

Tues. 19 . . . . Memo. My land Tax for the year 1807 in Overton county is 23 dollars and 57 cents.

February, 1808.

Mon. 1 I went to Knoxville . . . . Recd. a gold medal from R. Smith secretary of the Navy, which an impression of the one presented to Commodore Edward Preble by the committee of Congress—It came by the mail. . . . .

May 1808.

Fry. 13. . . . . Memo. A handful of white shoemaker roots. Two spoonfuls of tarr, three spoonfuls of honey, add one quart of new milk, boil it down to one pint with Which drench your horse, a good cure for botts.

Fry. 27 Self, Mrs. Sevier & Betsy went to hear Mr. Edge preach at Mr. Reaguns . . . . Mr. Edge is to preach again in six weeks the 8th of July. I give the minister one dollar.

June, 1808.

Mon. 20 Went to town, paid Mr. Humes 12/ for 10 half pint tumblers.

July, 1808.

Sat. 9 . . . . . Memo. The white flowered ammert is very fine for a Polleville in Creatures or any rising or pains in a person—make it into a poultice.

Sun. 24. Went all to meeting—the sacrament adm. I give 1 dollar contributed for the wine &c. . . . .

Mon. 25 We all went to meeting again. I paid the Revrd. Mr. Anderson five dollars, being my contribution for his last years service.  
 . . . . .

December, 1808.

Fry. 16 Self, Betsy & Mrs. Sevier & Bobby went to A. Rheas husking corn, staid all night. . . . .

Thur. 22 Sent with two fatted hogs to Washington Sevi-  
 ers. . . . . This day. Jos. & John Ballard came here—  
 Jos. Produced receipt from Geo. Matlock D. Sheriff of Smith  
 county that Jos. & Chris. Buttard and Wm. King, had delivered  
 John Keys (?) to proclamation for the murder of Wm. Reagan  
 for which I directed the Secretary of State to issue them a war-  
 rant on the Treasury for 100 dollars. . . . .  
 . . . . .

January 1811.

Sat. 12. . . . Memo. Take three small balls of spiders  
 webb for three mornings running in Lyquor or Tea is a sure cure  
 for fever & ague or dumb ague . . . . .  
 . . . . .

November, 1811.

Fry. 8 I took my seat in House of Rep. (rained) took lodgng  
 at Rhodes Hotel. Hack hire 3/.  
 . . . . .

Sun. 10. . . . . Viewed the Bridge leading across the  
 Potomac to Alexandria.

Mon. 11. The House met at 11 o'clock. . . . . Wrote  
 letters to Gov. Blount, A Rhea, McCrary, Geo. Willson, inclosing  
 the Presidents message to him to be published—to James Sevier—  
 all dated 7th inst. and sent on by this days mail. Recd. from his  
 Excellency Gov. Blount introductory letter to the Honorable  
 Henry Clay, Wm. Blackledge, Tho. Blount and the Honble Mr.  
 Roan from Virginia. These letters I received from Gov. Blount  
 before I started from Knoxville. . . . .

Tues. 19. The house met at 11 oclock. I drew this day from  
 the bank 150 dollars out of my mileage or wages as member. . .

Wed. 20. . . . . House met at 11 oclock and adjourned  
 early. I went with a number of other members to the (?) Tavern  
 in Georgetown to see a show of animals and home made cloth &c.  
 . . . . .

December, 1811.

Thurs. 5. . . . . Memo. (Gravel) Take three drachms of powdered niter and dissolve in a quart of cold water and take half this quantity in the course of a day and the painful complaint will be dislodged. It may be taken at any hour, but it is best after a meal. The greatest martyrs to this disorder have been cured by this simple medicine—(It is the Gravel).

Sat. 21. Dined with President Madison, the guests were, the French minister, (?), the French Consul General, Vice President Mr. Clay, the Speaker, Gov. Holmes, Judge Taylor, (?) Cox, Mr. Tait from Georgia, and others with General Granger &c. . . . .

Mon. 23. Cloudy mornng. went to House dispatched letters to Messrs John White, Jno. Russell, Alex G. Sevier, Vol. Sevier, John Sevier, Archa Rutherford, H. Dunlap, and Mrs. Sevier, and McClellan (dated yesterday), and James Sevier. . . . .

Tues. 24 Very cold and windy day—House adjourned till Thursday.

Wed. 25 (Christmas) Self, my friends Gregg, McCoy, and Genl. Germaine visited the French minister.

Wednesday (Christmas) wrote letter to Mrs. Sevier enclosing a ten dollar bank of Washington (bill) no. 118. dated 1 Jany. 1820—signed Danl. Carol of (?) president—L. Elliot, Junr. cashier. Mrs. Seviens letter was enclosed with one to John Armstrong D. post master at Knoxville. . . . .

Mon. 30 Spent the evening with the French minister—Settled with the washer woman, paid her up to this day 9/.

January, 1812.

Wed. 1. This day I went to the Presidents Levee—purchased a pair of pumps for two dollars and a half. . . . .

Fry. 3 Went to the House—dined in Geo.town & stayed all night with Maj. Russell.

Sat. 4 Settled with Mr. Calder the tailor & paid him 16 dollars the balance of my account with him—He is to lend me a pair of small cloths which I shall be indebted for—paid to Mr. Rhodes 100 dollars as per receipt—this sum is for board & accomodation &c.

Sun. 5 Fine day—Visited by Mr. Nichols, Adjutant General of the Army is near this place.

Memo. Oil of turpentine taken in small doses have recently been discovered to destroy the tape worm.

Visited by Lieut. Jessup, late of General Wilkinsons aide—is at Madame Bodines (?) Wrote letters to Jas. Sevier, Rob. Williams, Waightstill Avery, Judge Cocke, Jenkin Whiteside & D. Briggs, & sent a package of the Presidents message to J. Whiteside. . . . .



Wed. 8 Dined with the minister of France.

Memo. A Mr. Sage has stated to the National Institute of France, the efficacy of the flower volatile alkali in cases of severe apoplexy witness for forty years—on the first appearance of the disease. 25 or 30 drops of flower alkali in a spoonfull of water poured down the throat and two slips of paper the edges wetted with volatile alkali introduced into the nostrils—after a short period give another dose. Speech & recollection generally return in one hour. If the alkali should occasion a vomiting—give 20 drops of the volatile alkali more in half a glass of wine—a certain Cure.

Mr. McCea (?) of Richmond informed me that he see Aron Burr in Paris (France). Burr went first from the U. States to England who under a sham ordered him to leave that place—he went to Denmark and perhaps Sweden and after some time returned to France & became acquainted with Fouchée, the French minister, who gives him a salary of 2000 dollars per annum; Mr. McCea see Burr, in a prison where James Swan, the American was confined; they both happened to visit Swan at the same time—a proposition from an unofficial character was made to the British government, for France & England to make peace & divide the United States of America—both nations were afraid to stand first committed, being jealous of each other, & neither would officially commit the project to writing for fear the other would take the advantage & expose the other to the resentment of the United States. Burr arrested in the downs (?) last fall immediately went to a Mr. Reeves the inspector of aliens & obtained permission to go immediately to London although every other American had to stay weeks. It is understood that Burr acted in France as a British spy, & was the projector of the project to divide American, & no doubt when in England served as a spy to the French. Bonaparte countenanced Burr, & it is supposed ordered him off merely to gratify the Americans.

Sun. 12 Very fine day, very fine day, very fine day. \*Mrs. Sevier, Archa Rhea, B. P. Gains, & Washington and James Sevier—wrote yesterday to General Blackburn & sent him a Document some days since. Wrote today farther to William McClellun & P. M. Miller, John McClellan, David Campbell, Judge Roane.

Wed. 15. . . . . In the evening attended Mrs. Madisons levee. . . . . Invited to dine on Saturday with the Secretary of the Navy (P. Hamilton).

Saturday 18. . . . . Dined with P. Hamilton, Sec. of the Navy. . . . .

Wed. 22. . . . . Wrote letters to R. Peacock, & John Stewart. Wrote letters to General Overton & Joshu Williams.

Thurs. 23. . . . . Wrote letter to Arch Rutherford, William Panderson & Judge White—a slight shock of an earthquake this morning & one in the night half after nine—very cold.

Sat. 25. Dined with Mr. Grundy at Mr. Clastons. paid to Joseph Willson father of G. Willson by direction of George \$25 & took Joseph Willsons receipt &c. . . . .

Wed. 29. . . . . Clerks in the office of the Department of State

	John Graham chief clerk	2000
	Stephen Pleasontson Clk	1500
	Daniel Brent	1350
per an.	Richard Forrest	1150
	Jon B. Calvin	1150
	Tho. L. Brent	1150
	William Thormen (?) of the	
	Patent office	1400

Thurs. 30 wrote to Robert Williams enclosing him a 5 dollar note on the Columbian bank (Georgetown) No. 77 dated 25 March 1809, signed V. Hinton, Presdt., William Whann Cashr. The same being for fee occasioned for getting 2 copies of grants from the secretary of State of North Carolina, one for 25060 & the other 32000 acres of land—the fees as per letter amounted to 3 dollars. But I have sent 5. . . . .

Fry. 31 Attended the House—dined at Genl. Bailys & stayed all night. . . . .

## February, 1812.

Sat. 1. . . . . Dined at Mr. Clays (Speaker).

Isha the washer woman produced her account being 2 dollars 31 cents pd her 2 dollars—31 cents yet due. . . . .

Fry. 7. . . . . Genl. Tho. Blount departed this life at night.

Sat. 8. . . . . Wrote to Judge White informing him of the death of Gen. Blount. . . . .

Sun. 9 Gen. Thomas Blount entered. Myself, Gov. Wright of Maryland Genl. Brown of Pennsylvania, and Genl. Gormain of New York rode in same carriage & were four out of six of the Pall bearers. Were draped with white muslin sashes and black crape around the arm & hatt. The day clear & thin air—about 200 carriages besides great bodies of horse & foot together with the marine coar attended the funeral with music & fireing &c &c.

Tues. 11. . . . . Went to the House Recd from the sergeant at arms 340 dollars as per check of this day paid W to William Rhodes as per receipt, 50 dollars towards accomodations.

Wed. 12 Cold day wt to the Presidents Levee

Thurs. 13. . . . Memo. George Milligan bookseller high street G.town Book store & lottery has marking ink, & Washington monument tickets & tickets in second class of vaccine (?) Lottery for sale. (Bridge Street) Also, at his book store.

Fry. 14 . . . . Memo. I went to the Washington bank, & took up a draft on me for two hundred dollars drawn by Robert Farguerson of Knoxville in favor of Robert Miller of Baltimore & by him assigned to — Wharnn a receipt on the back by R. Smith agt.

Thu. 20 . . . . Unwell with Rhuematic pain in Back.

Fry. 21 . . . . Paid Peter Willson for James Calder 13 dollars and 32 cents as per receipt for a pair of silk britche's.

Memo. I paid per advice of William Williams of Strawberry Plains 5 dollars as per receipt to Gails the Editor for his paper for Beasley (?) and Wilkerson, near Magby's Ferry—the paper is to be sent them for one year commencing from the 20th inst.

Sat. 22 . . . . Took tea at Secretary Monroes in Co. with Colo. Smith of the army. . . . .

Sun. 23. . . . Yesterday I paid Mr. John Rhea 5 dollars which he had advanced to Smith the editor of the National Intelligencer. Wrote Mrs. Sevier, Gov. Blount, John Armstrong, Thomas Blacstone, John N. Carrick, John Hayes, James Armstrong (Free (?), and John Kain.

Tues. 25 Went to ball at Davis' Hotel . . . . .

#### Bohea Tea

Recipe for cure of the Dropsy—about two large cupfuls of the tea is to be infused in a quart of water, & during the day the decoction is to be drank, & the leaves eaten at short intervals—a speedy & quick cure.

March, 1812.

Mon. 2 . . . . This day I took the National Intelligencer for James Dardis of Knoxville for one year from this date, & paid five dollars & took receipt from Gails the editor &c.—Went in the evening to Tomlinsons to Duffys concert. . . .

Fry. 6 . . . . Dined with the President.

Sat. 7 . . . . Stayed all night at General Bailys. . . .

Tues. 10. . . . Went to General Gailys in evening & stayed all night.

Wed. 11. . . . Wt. to the Presdts Levee. . . . .

Sun. 22. . . . Wrote to Mrs. Sevier China water & powder to blacken hair at John Scotts (Pha) (hair dresser & perfumer).

Fry. 27 Visited in the evening in Co. with Colo. Smythe the Secretary of the Navy (Mr. Hamilton) . . . . .

Sun. 29. . . . Wrote to Mrs. Sevier Wt. to Catholic meeting.

Cure for cancer. Boil went Turkey figs in new milk which will thicken in boiling,—apply them broken or whole to the effected part which must be washed every time dressed with some milk. Use a fresh poultice nixt & morning & onct in the middle of the day, & drink one gill of the milk the figs are boiled in twice in 24 hours.

April, 1812.

Sat. 4 Dined at Mr. Monroes. . . . .

Mon. 6. . . . Memo. I paid for Muster (?) Chambers to Jo Gales 5 dollars for his paper the National Intelligencer to commence from the second April, 1812 and end second April, 1813. I have taken Gails receipt.

Sat. 11. . . . Visited the Secretary of War in the evening in Co. with Colo. Smythe of the army . . . Bought in the store of a German, one pair white silk stockings at 4 dollars & 25 cents—a pair of razors & strops at 3 dollars, a shaving box & two brushes 75 cents.

Mon. 13. . . . Went to ball in evening at Tomlinsons pd 2 dollars & half.

Tues. 14. . . . Went to Navy yard. . . . .

Sat. 18 Went to Geo.town stayed all night at Major Baillys won about 24 dollars.

Sun. 19. . . . Recd. Eliza C. McClellans with a lock of her mothers hair Wrote her an answer.

Memo. I left Mrs. Sparks likeness in Georgetown to have it set in gold with a Mr. Burnette who was recommended to me by a Mr. Crawford of the same place.

Mon. 20. . . . George Clinton Vice President died this morning.

Tues. 21. Went to the House. Adjourned immediately to attend the funeral. The Hearse—pall bearers—Messrs. Tallmage, Sammons, Butler, M. Clay, Macon, Brown, self & governor Wright—left the capitol at four o'clock.



Thurs. 23. . . . Went to Georgetown & returned.

Sat. 25. . . . Went in the evening to Geo.town . . .  
Rode with Cap. Matthews to the Geo.town ferry & returned.

May 1812.

Fry. 1 day . . . I lodged last night in Geo.town with  
Genl. Saml. Ringold of Maryland. Paid Ross the merchant  
in Geo.town 2 dollars & a half for two gallons of Shery wine. . .

Sat. 2. . . . Went to Geo.Town & stayed all night Paid  
expenses 2 dollars.

Tues. 5 Went to the House recd. a check on the bank of Wash-  
ington for 200 dollars paid to Rhodes tavern keeper 143 dollars  
in full for my board & barr account to the 6th inst.

Sat. 9. . . . Dined at the Presidents.

Tues. 12 Went to Geo.town in evening, paid Burnette (silver  
smith) 13 dollars for setting in gold R. S. miniature & furnishing  
morocco case, the case was one dollar. . . .

Thurs. 14 Went to Geo.town in evening & stayed at Craw-  
fords. . . .

Fry. 15. . . . Paid Mrs. Clark 3 dollars for 2 weeks rent  
of room.

Sat. 16 Went to Geo.town stayed all night at Major Bailys—  
suped & braked with Genl. Saml. Ringold.

Tues. 19 the Speaker unwell occasioned by a fall from his  
horse. No House. . . .

Wed. 20 . . . . Went to the cattle show. . . .  
Stayed all night in Geo. town.

Sat. 23 Went to Geotown all night at Bailys. . . .

Wed. 27. . . . Wt. to the House & in evening to the  
Presidents levee.

May 28 Wt. to the House in the morning. Went to Gtown  
& stayed all night.

Fry. 29 Paid Mrs. Clark 2 weeks room rent which will not ex-  
pire until Thursday next. . . .

Sat. 30. . . . Forwarded the communication from Barlow  
minister to France to G. W. Sevier, Gov. Blount, Genl. J. Cocke,  
Genl. Doherty, Colo. Harrill, Colo. of Claiborne, Colo. of Camp-  
bell, Colo. Wm. Lillar, Colo. of Anderson, Col. John Brown, Col.  
Saml. Wier, James Scott, Colonels of Rhea, of Bledsoe, Geo.

Willson, printer, William Elliott of Blount County, Genl. Coulter & Judge White.

June 1812.

Yesterday at dinner Mrs. Suitors JR (T said we ought to encourage the Cherokees to do mischief & pay them for each scalp as did the British) This was said in the presence of Genl. Wathinston (?) of Ohio, Colo. Gregg of Pennsylvania, & Mr. Cutts of N. Hampshire & reprobated by the whole together with myself

Thurs. 4 Pleasant day wt to the House passed the declaration of war against G. Britain &c&c.

Sat. 6 Went to Geotown stayed all night at Crawfords.

Sun. 7. . . . Went to the Capitol & heard a Mr. Clark preach—in the evening heard another in the seceedors meeting house.

Mon. 8. . . . Went in evening into the Senate Chamber—agreed to nominate Mr. El. Gerry for vice president.

Fri. 12 Went to Geo.town stayed all night at Crawfords.

Sun. 14. Went to the Catho. church.

Wed. 17 went to house in evning to Theater act the Honey-moon,—B. Williams.

Thur. 18 Went to the circus in GTown. in evening stayed all night at Crawfords—wt. to the house in morning.

Tues. 23 went to house cool day in evening to Theatree.

Wed. 24 ditto ditto.

Thurs. 25 went to the House in evng Theater.

Fry. 26 went to Geotown in morning went to the house.

Tues. 30. . . . Spent the evening at the Theatree (act 40 Thieves).

July 1812.

Wed. 1 day of July. went to the house. Went to the levee in eveng.

Fry. 3 Went to the house, spent the evening with Minister of France.

Sat. 4 Celebrated this day, dined at Ringolds & Co. Repe-walks, in Co. with all the heads of departments the President excepted—pd. 3 dollars.

Tues. 7. . . . Left in the care of Mrs. Clark one white skinned trunk, containing one blue Breasted cloth coat, one pr. black corduroy overhauls, one red flannel Jacket with sleeves, one black pr. Casimere small cloths, 2 large stick sealing wax—seven quires of writing paper—one of which is large—a pr. of new boots. 1 pr. cotton slips—1 pair flanel ditto—two bound books—a number of pamphlets—a snuf box, a wafer box, ink stand, and ink bottle. Give the key of my desk in Capitol to Charles to give Mr. Claxton.

Wed. 8 left Washington in Co. with Judge Anderson & his nephew Thomas—rode 15 miles to Fairfax C. H. Fed & dined—pd. 4/6 each (rained).

August, 1812.

September, 1812.

Sat. 5 Paid Richard Beardon by Bennett his barr keeper 20 dollars, it being in part of my note of 30 odd dollars the Ballance due yet to Beardon.

Mon. 21 Self, Mrs. Sevier, Mrs. Sparks & Mrs. May went to hear Mr. Crawford preach at Mr. Reagans (A Methodist Minister)

October, 1812.

Fry. 9 Set out for Washington Rode 30 miles to Danbridge Stayed all night at Fants.

Sat. 10 Rode 22 miles to Warrensburg. . . . .

Sun. 11 Rode 17 miles to Greenville. . . . .

Mon. 12 Stayed in Greenville—some rain.

Tues. 13 Set out in Co. with Mr. Dixon and Williams. Rode 30 miles to Barnstabers.

Wed. 14 rode 35 miles to Abingdon.

Thurs. 15 rode 38 miles to Adkins, Senr.

Fry. 16 rode 39 miles to Feelsy.

Sat. 17 rode 38 miles to Dr. Randolphs. . . . .

Wed. 21 Stayed in Staunton & dined with the officers of the county pr. invitation. . . . .

Wed. 28 rode 33 miles to the City. . . . .

Thur. 29 went to see the Races back of the city. . . . .

Fry. 30 my expenses from home to this day here is 20 dollars

. . . . . went to see the President. Stayed at Geo.town.  
. . . . .

O hour of bliss  
to equal this  
Olympus strives in vain  
O happy pair  
O happy fair  
O happy happy swain.  
go number the stars in the heavens  
Count how many sands on the shore  
When so many kisses youve given  
I still shall be craving for more.

November, 1812.

Sunday 1st day . . . Received yesterday from Andrew Ross Mecht. 3 Jugs containing 2 gallons of sherry and 2 gallons of Maderra wine—& 2 gallons whiskee, also half an ounce of nut-meg & one loave sugar wt. to see the rope dancer perform last evening.

Mon. 2 the House of Congress met—about 90 members present. A very fine day. Purchased a hatt 7 dollars.

Tues. 3 waited on the secretaries of Navy and War. purchased of Weightman 1 Hand. & pd. 6/. Went to the House which soon adjourned. I went to GeoTown in evening and returned.. . . .

Thurs. 5 went in evening to see rope dancer. . . . .

Fry. 6 purchased from J. Weightman mercht. 1 pr. Black silk stockings at 4 dollars 1 ditto white 3 dollars & a half. Rained in the evening & cool.—House adj. to Mon. The white is numbered 32.  
. . . . .

Mon. 9. . . . Purchased from John Weightman mercht. 1 pr. worsted ribbed stockgs. 1.50 1 plain pr ditto \$1.37 1/2 cents.

Tues. 10 Went to GeoTown—Won from Joseph Gale Editor of the Intelligence 80 dollars Betting on Mr. Stewart of that place, playing with Mr. Gale at Cards—the money is yet due.

Wed. 11 went in evening to Mrs. Madisons drawing room. Bought a pair of shoes \$21/4. . . . .

Thurs. 12 Bought of John Weightman mercht. 3 yds B. Greene cloth a 10 dollars & half pr yd. 3 yds coarse linen. 14 yellow Buttons for coat. Buttons for sm. Cloths. 6 skins of silk. 2 sticks of twist & &.  
. . . . .

Sat. 14. . . . . Borrowed from the Washington Bank pr. Captain Birch \$200, which I am to replace with a check from the Speaker of the House of Representatives.  
. . . . .

Tues. 17 Drew a check from the Speaker for \$250 and sent the same to the bank of Washington pr. Mr. Byrd who repaid \$200



I had borrowed and brought me \$50 in bills which settled my Bank account.    dined with the President.

Wed. 18. . . . . Recd. from the Bank of Washington \$57.50 on a draft from the postmaster General given in favor of a draft on him from Geo. Oury, who owed it to Geo. Washington Sevier in part pay of a horse.

Sun. 22. . . . . Memo. A cure for the slobbers in horses, occasioned by clover—rub beneath the tongue the under Jaw well with common salt onst or twice the disorder is in the tongue in the under Jaw.

Wed. 25 went to George town and paid the editor of the Federal Republican, \$5 being the money forwarded me from the Revd. Frances Willson of Staunton, Va., requesting by letter I would pay it to Hanson & Wagoner &c. . . . . Purchased a pr. of set knee buckles \$2.50    Went to Mrs. Madisons Levee in the evening.

Thurs. 26 dined on board the frigate Constitution with the President & all the heads of the departments, the greater part of the members of the two houses of Congress and many of the officers of the army and navy &c.    Cap. Stewart is the officer commanding this vessel at whose invitation we went on board and dined. . . . .

December, 1812.

Mon. 14. . . . . Purchased 2 handkfs. (Bandonia) from Joseph Weightman 13/6.    1 yd cambrick 6/9.

Thurs. 17. . . . . Spent the evening at Colo. Dawsons Won of the Colonel \$5.

Mon. 21. . . . . Drew a draft from the Speaker for two hundred dollars and received the money out of the Washington Bank.    Paid to Mrs. Sutor towards my accomodation \$50.    Give the money to Miss Harriott Smith, her sister to hand to Mrs. Sutor is very much indisposed.

Wed. 23.    Paid the washerwoman in full \$5.    Paid the shoemaker for mending & new tops to my boots \$2.50.    Set out for Fredericksburg.

January, 1813.

Sun. 3 went to Catholic meeting.

Tues. 5. . . . . Mr. Buzards stable in Geotown burnt with 28 valuable horses.

Tues. 12    Visited Messieurs Dalton & Deblois, and returned to the House in the evening went to party at the Minister's of France.

Mon. 18. . . . . Won several days past of Dr. Blake \$2 & on Hon. John Dawson \$5 which is owing.

Sun. 24. . . . . Lorenzo dow preached in George town.

Sun. 31 dined at Mr. Villards at the Navy Yard in Co. with Colo. Tatham. . . . .

February, 1813.

Mon. 8 Visited the Secretary of War & the Russian Minister. Went to the House. Drew a check for & received \$300 pd. to Mrs. Sutor \$30 for accomodation to be settled.

Thurs. 18. . . . . Cure for the sick headache—take a tablespoonful of Magnesia, & half a teaspoonful of ginger mixed with a lump of sugar in a tumbler three parts full of water when the chill is off. Sit for a quarter of an hour in agreeable warm water with your feet, & apply a napkin wrung out of cold water to the temples of forehead, whichever is most effect.

Sat. 20 snowed 10 inches deep. . . . .

Mon. 22 Paid into the Columbian bank \$200 & took up Robert Furguersons draft on me in favor of Robert Miller at Baltimore

Sun. 28. . . . . Went to the Capitol to hear a Quaker preach. . . . .

March, 1813.

Fry. 5. . . . . Went to a ball at the Russian Ministers (Duchhoffs) the anniversary of the ascension to the throne of the emperor of all Russias.

Wed. 10 Settled with Mrs. Sutor for my accomodations up to Monday next the 15th instant, the amount being \$195. . . . .

Sat. 13. Visited the President. Cold and windy. left my accounts against United States for raising the levees in 1791 and also the captains bonds receipts &c. and also Alexander Out-law bonds & receipts, who was contractor &c. & other vouchers in the accountants office.

Sun. 14 fine day dined at the Navy yard at Mr. Villards in Co. with Col. W. Tatham.

Mon. 15 I left the City in co. with the Hon. John Rassa & the Russian secretary of Legation. lodged that night in Alexandria.

April, 1813.

May, 1813.

Sat. 15. . . . . Drove 30 miles to Georgetown and lodged at Crawfords. The Union Tavern, rained today—see Mr. M. Walker pd. stage hire to GeoTown 3 dollars & half.

Sun. 16 Mr. Rhea and self visited the city some rain.

Mon. 17 we went to Mrs. Suitors late in the evening & took up lodgings from Staunton to Georgetown, it cost me about \$25.

Wed. 19 went to the Capitol & choose a seat—purchased from John Weightman mercht. black cloth for a coat and white moseils (?) for a waistcoat & trimmings. borrowed cash \$25.

Thurs. 20 went to Georgetown pd my bill at Crawfords (Union Tavern) \$6.75—bought from a Ross wine merchant 6 bottles Maderia 6 ditto Port and 2 ditto of New Kaid (?) & 6 ls. Loave sugar. in the evening see Mr. M. A. Walker.

Fry. 21 Visited the President & Secretary Jones of the Navy. . . . . Hon. Messrs. Grundy, Bowen, and Humphreys arrived.

Sat. 22 Very warm. Went to the Capitol. Honbly. Mr. Harriss from Tennessee arrived—Bought from John Weightman merchant 25 yds Irish linen at \$1.62 1 yd. Linen cambrick \$5.00 & thread & buttons &c. to make up the shirts.

Sun. 23 Went to Catholic meeting—Mr. Matthews preached.

Mon. 27 Made a house,—chose Mr. H. Clay speaker.

Tues. 25 at 12 o'clock recd. the Presidents message. See Mr. Williams.

Wed. 26 Went to the house—little done passed resolves to appoint the different committees.

Thurs. 27. . . . . Drew from the bank of Washington pr. check from the Speaker \$200.

I repaid John Weightman mercht. \$25 I borrowed from him on the 19th inst. Paid unto Mrs. Sutor towards my accommodations \$30. See Mr. Foster. Escorted Mrs. Sutor and Miss. Harriott to the Navy yard & back again to Mrs. Sutors. . . .

Sat. 29 Attended the military committee. . . . .

Sun. 30 went to visit Mr. Villard & family at the Navy yard.

Mon. 31. . . . . dined with the President. Spent the evening with Mr. K. Davis.

June, 1813.

Tues. 1. . . . . William Kelly & Tho. H. Benton esqrs. dined with me at Mrs. Sutors.

Wed. 2. . . . . Went to the levee.

Thurs. 3. . . . . Spent the evening with Mr. K. Davis.

Fry. 4 went & lodged in Geotown at Crawfords the house first adjd.

Sat. 5 I went this morning into the Warm Bath, and returned to Mrs. Sutors after breakfast. pd. \$1.50.

Mon. 7. . . . . Went in eveng. to Navy yd. in Co. with Mrs. Sutor & Miss Harriott Smith & spent the evening at Mrs. Forests.

Tues. 8. . . . . Memo. Aspheltos, Rectified spirits of turpentine 1813 & niter &c. are or will form an indistinguishable flame &c. Went to the P. Levee. See Mr. H. Foster.

Thur. 10 Went to the House—in evening went to the Navy yard.—spent part of the evening with Mr. K. Davis. Rained.

Fry. 11. . . . . Spent the evening with Mr. K. Davis.

Sun. Went to the Catholic meeting—in the evening went up to the Little Falls or Potomas in Co. with Genl. J. G. Jackson & Maj. William McCoy.

Tues. 15. . . . . Paid a woman \$5.50 for making 4 shirts & hemming 4 hdkfs. \$5.50—paid Clark the Taylor \$6 for making a blk Coat & vest, since I arrived.

Wed. 16 Visited Messrs. Ringold & Monroe & Mr. Bartly in the eveng.

Thurs. 17. . . . . Spent the eveng at Mr. K. Davis.

Sat. 19. . . . . Went in the evening to the theater.

Mon. 21. . . . . Spent the eveng with the Minister of France.

Wed. 30. . . . . Went in afternoon to Greeleafs point in Co. with Ferdinand Fairfax esq. was at Mr. Fosters in evening &c.

# July 1813.

Thur. 1. Dined with the Russian minister.

Sat. 10. . . . . Memo. the plant astaragon, out of which the French prepare a fine aromatic vinegar is to be had at the french gardens—The way to make the vinegar—put the leaves of the plant into a deep earthen jar; then sit the Jar into a kittle of water and boil it gently till the vinegar is sufficiently imprynated. When cool pour it off and bottle it.

Sun. 18. . . . . I went to Catholic meeting—Cannon heard.

Mon. 19. . . . . pd Mr. Clark the tailor \$3.50 for a striped Jacket.



Mon. 26 took the Warm Bath at Davis's Pd. 6/ for three times bathing—I visited the President & Secretary of War. . . . .

Thur. 29. . . . . Went to Navy Yard in Co. with Mrs. Sutor & took Tea at Mr. Forests.

Mon. 2 Attended the House which adjourned. Drew \$312 for my services the ballance of my services. Spent the evening with Mr. Davis.

Wed. very warm packing up to start for Tennessee. Spent the evening at Mr. Davis's. . . . .

Thurs. 5. . . . . Mr. Rhea & myself then left the city and went to Geotown in eveng.

August, 1813.

Sun. 15. . . . . Cure for the rheumatism—Make 1/4 poke berry Juice, 3 parts whiske or some other spirits.

Tues. 17 Attended Mr. Rhodes printing press for my circulars 300 in number for which I give the printer \$12. I sealed & directed this day & night 287 of the letters &c.

Wed. 18 Sent my letters into the post office—left with Mrs. Chambers 2 Irish linen new shirts & old cravit—1 silk velvet Jacket, & Johnsons dictionary (small) one pair cotton slips.

Mon. 30. Rode 12 miles home.

September, 1813.

October, 1813.

November, 1813.

Thurs. 4. I went to Knoxville & see Colo. Sparks & lady set out for Natchez—accompanied them to James Millers.

Mon. 15 Set out for Washington in the evening.

December, 1813.

Sat. 4 Set out after breakfast about 12 o'clock & rode 20 miles to Georgetown & put up at Union Tavern (Crawfords) pd. 15/.

Sun. 5 Went to Washington & put up at Mrs. Sutors, and engaged my beast at the livery stable at the same place at \$3.

per week to be fed with 3 gallon of Corn or Oats pr day. & plenty hay. Spent part of the evening at Mr. Davis's.

Mon. 6. Very unwell with cold & fever did not get into house till about to adjourn.

Mon. 13. Furnished Mrs. Sutor with \$20 toward accommodations.

Tues. 14 dined with the President. Furnished Mrs. Davis with \$10 towards washing & let her have on Fryday last \$5 to purchase wood and at different times before for which moneys she is to wash my clothing, make shirts, mend & & — Went to Mr. Monroes & Mr. Jones offices. . . . .

Mon. 20. . . . let Kitty Davis have \$10 towards washing & to make up some shirts. . . . .

January, 1814.

Sat. I went to complement the President. . . . .

Wed. 12. . . . Wt. to House dined at the French minister's.

Wed. 26. . . . Went to the House. In the evening went to the P. Levee.

Sat. 29 went in Co. with Misses Harriott & casa Smitha & Maryan Bartley to the Navy Yard to see the ship Argus launched.

February, 1814.

Tues. 22. Went to House—in the evening to Ball at Tomlinsons—pd. \$5 for ticket. Won \$25. . . . .

Wed. 23. . . . Went to the Levee in the eveng.

March, 1814.

Tues. 1 day of March very cold. Stayed in lodging. Pd. up Thomas Cook for stabledge to this day being \$11.50 the ballance due for my mairs feed, & 1 dollar for Lieut. A. Sevier. \$12.50 in all. Alexander Sevier set out for Tennessee.

Thurs. 3 Paid printer \$5 for Commodore Perry's likeness &c

Fry. 4 Dined at the Presidents. . . . .

Sun. 13 Went to the Catholic meeting.

Thurs. 17 Attended the House—in the evening went to George town, where there was a ball being St. patricks day,—fine day.

Wed. 30 Went to the Presidents Levee.

Thurs. 31 Attended the House Rained. went to a party at Mr. Gales in the evening. Lost \$10.

April, 1814.

Sun. 3 Went to the Catho. meeting. Dined with the Secretary of the Treasury, Secretary of War & Vice President.

Tues. 5. . . . Bought of W. Cooper a ticket in the Washington monument lottery (second class) pd. \$12.—the number 24209.

Fry. 8 Attended the House—paid A. Cochran \$10 towards my Lyquor account, \$2.25 yet due Mr. Cochran.

Sat. 9. Went to Georgetown in Co. with Genl. John G. Jackson.—purchased a half curbed bridle, plated bits pd. \$7.

Mon. 18 Attended the House—Congress adjourned to meet again on Monday the last day of October.

May, 1814.

Sun. 8. . . . Set out with James S. Gaines for Tennessee.

June, 1814.

Wed. 1. . . . Memo. The sirute of antomny from 8 to 12 grains taken at night in a little honey or sugar observing not to drink two hours after you have taken the sirute is good for diarhea—about 1 spoonfull of sweet oil to the yolks of four eggs well beaten up together in form of plaster & renewed is an excellent cure for bad burns.—Tea made out of the May apple root 1 wine glass 3 times per day is excellent for Diarhea or to half appetite.

July 1814.

Tues 12. . . . Memo Boil milch directly from the Cow, add one oz. sheep suet, 2 ditto of loaves sugar a handfull of alspice, & one of lew (?) mallows of the quart—live up on it—previous to taking the boiled milch observe to take a good purge of Castor oil.

August, 1814.

September, 1814.

Sat. 17 Drove 18 m to the City & put up at 1. Queens at Davis Hotel—K. Davis. Expenses from hom to this place for stage hire \$40.52. Due. lodging &c &c \$25.52.

Mon. 19 House met being a quorum in both. . . . .

Thur. 22 Visited the Presid. Sect. of War & the Secretary of the Treasury. . . . .

October, 1814.

Sat. 15. . . . . This day the H. of R. Negotiated a bill for the removal of the seat of Government.

November, 1814.

Wed. 2 Went to Georgetown in the evening went to the President's levee.

Wed. 23 Elbridge Gerry vice president deceased.

Thur. 24 interred Mr. Gerry, myself one of the pall bearers.

December, 1814.

Tues. 20 Attended the House—spent the evening at Shooks in Co. with Alxr. Sevier & Capt. MacCarmick. Won of Capt. McCormack in the Faro bank \$160. . . . .

Dec. 31 I went to the office of Secretary of State & deposited two deeds of release one for 40000 acres of land in the bend of Tennessee—one track laying on limestone Creek, the other on Mulberry creek—also one other of 10000 acres on the Tennessee at the mouth of Blew water; one as attr. for James Severe of 1000 acres—& my power of attr. to the United States &c. My release for 10000 acres I have made in it a reserve to be allowed two years from its date, being on yesterday 30th) to make my election to either receive certificates of stock or make application to the U. States for the land (the same being my commissioners claim).



January, 1815.

Sun. 1 Went to the Catholic meeting. . . . .

Fry. 6. . . . . Memo. Scrape off an ivory comb a tea-spoonful & mix it in a table-spoonful of honey take it fasting 3 mornings running & the cure will be effected.

Thur. 12 Went to the Catholic church. . . . .

Wed. 18 Went to the Presidents Levee in evening.

Sat. 28 Dined with the President.

Memo. Beef tea a certain cure for vomiting &c.

Mercury taken till the mouth turns sore a sure cure for the yellow or other fevers.—lay fresh meat, sausage &c up in hogs laird as it becomes cold, will keep sweet & fresh as long as the lard will keep so—it must be always covered with the lard; It must be laid in as the lard become coagulated.

February, 1815.

Sat. 18 Attended the house. The City illuminated in consequence of peace—cold day and a little sleet. . . . .

Mon. 20. . . . . Received from Mr. W. Kim \$10 being a prize drawn in the second Mossolium lottery.

Wed. 22. . . . . Went in evening to McKewens the Ball in memo of George Washington. . . . .

March, 1815.

Fry. 3 Cloudy & foggy morning—attended the House which was adjourned this day—Congress adj.

Sat. 4 Went to the Theater at night. . . . .

Sat. 11 Attended the commissioners—Fine day.

Sun. 12. . . . . Memo. To purchase for Vol. Sever of Greenville a book called the olive branch—requested by Majr. Alexr. Sevier.

Mon. 13. Attended the War office & drew a draft on the Treasury for \$1500 as a commissioner to run Creek line.

Sat. 18. . . . . Settled with Mrs. Sutor & left her \$12 in my debt.

Sun. 19 Set out in the stage & arrived in Frederick town 9 o'clock at night. Stage fare \$5. . . . .

April, 1812.

Mon. 3 Bought of Mr. Mosby saddle & bridle \$24.50 plated stirups of Cowan \$7, silver plates before & behind \$4.50 clasps for S. leathers 75 cents. 1 saddle blanket \$4, the whole amounting to \$40.75. . . . .

Thurs. 11. . . . . Bought pr ladies' slippers from Cap. Matthews pd for for them \$9.

Thurs. 20 rode 15 miles to Brabson Ferry where there was a Battalion muster. Fed & treated the Battn. & pd. \$3. Then rode 4 miles with Hosea Roase to his house & dined, then rode 8 miles to my own house. Expended in Traveling home from Washington \$67. . . . .

May, 1815.

Tues. 30. . . . . Memo. Abraham Reed lost one day going to town to see after his discharge. Richard Brown bought at Kennedys mill 1 hundred weight of flour. . . . .

June, 1815.

Sat. 10 Set out for running the Creek boundary line, went to Knoxville & stayed all night at Colo. Seviers. . . . .

Fry. 23 Some stores laid in & bought down by Capt. Walker were put into public waggons & sent on to F. Strother, also one new tent cloth for my use. . . . .

Sat. 24 Cloudy mornng. Rally day—Memo. A brother of Genl. Carroll inquired of J. Master Tatham (?) if a certain person had not been in the waggon some who replied not that he remembered. Carroll replied that it did not make any difference, that he could give certificate & his brother could pay well for it (meaning Genl. Carroll). . . . .

Tues. 27 We wrote a letter to the path killer & chiefs of the Cherokees to meet us at this place on the 17th of July. . . . .

Wed. 28. . . . . The commission made a requisition on the commanding officer of this place, Lieut. Pain & received 24 blankets. 24 soldiers shirts & 3 quires of coarse w. paper.

Thurs. 29. Very warm, our messenger returned who was the bearer of our letter to the path killer for which j. Sevier commissioner paid him 12/. . . . .

July, 1815.

. . . . . Memo. that in March last after the peace was known, Monroe Secretary of War, furnished E. Earle with \$2000 worth of goods for the Cherokees some to give as presents some to engage them as soldiers. It is said that the goods is since ordered to be given over to Genl. Jackson for to be distributed as presents &c.—Colo. Barnett informed me and also states that Dr. Bibb of Georgia is acquainted with the transaction.

James Phife, a half breed Creek, said the boundary line between the Creeks and Cherokee Nations began at the High Shaols of                      and run to the forks of Coosa and Hightown rivers, from thence a direct line to where old McDonald then lived, somewhere near the Lookout mountain or what is called the Willis town valley. Old Chinabee (?) a Creek chief states the same.

Pope of Huntsville, being in the Contractors department was last winter at Washington with a letter from Genl. Jackson stating in very high terms, the great services Pope had rendered to his army. The auditor of accounts refused to pass his account, but it is said the Secretary at War did, and that he was allowed at least \$40000 more than he ought to have received—information from Colo. Burnett.

Wed. 5 Myself, Colo. Burnett, Maj. Strother & Mr. Gaither, at the distance of about nine or ten miles from this place visited Tallehatchie, the village destroyed by Genl. Coffee. There appeared to be the ruins of about forty huts of various dimensions & the bones & skeletons of about 8 or ten persons. The land with few exceptions is poor & broken. There is a small village about six miles from this place as we passed on to Tallahatchie—Tallahatchie village is very irregularly built; the huts are scattered at least 3 fourths of a mile in length & nearly as broad; less than 10,000 men could not have completely surrounded the place; about fifty acres of cleared land, some peach trees are in the village & a good small Creek of water runs bordering on the place.

. . . . .  
Mon. 10. . . . . The Shoeboots and two other Cherokee chiefs visited our camp and tarried all night.

Tue. 11 The commissrs. drew a requisition on the contractor for 75 rations for the use of Shoeboots & his party. rained heavily?

Wed. 12 Commissioners drew on the contractor for 20 Rations for the use of some Cherokee chiefs (Being Barny Hughs & others) Also 20 Rations for Alexr. Lastly Creek chief & others & 20 rations for Dick a Cherokee chief & four others of his party. Some rain this day moderately. Paid an Indian 1/6 for 1 pint honey. & 6c for 4 years corn (greene).

. . . . .

Fry. 14. . . . Give to an old Indian woman called Blouz 15/ at different times to purchase some provisions &c. for five or six orphan children she has taken in charge.

Sat. 15. . . . Issued requisition to the contractor for Dick a chief & 5 others of his party for 18 rations. For Harry Hughs Ch. chief & 7 others of his party 24 rations.

Sun. 16 The Commissioners issued request for 8 rations for John & one other Cherokees For Dick Tutt & 5 others of his party 24 rations—To Tuskatakee & 19 more of his party all Cherokees for 80 rations To Barny Hughs & his party for 24 rations.

Tues. 18 Commissioners issued request for 80 rations for the Boots & 30 of his party. To Chaloh & 5 of his party 12 rations. To Barny Hughs & 4 others 10 rations. Memo. About 8 years past the Creek Indians siezed upon & took away Parson Blackburns whiskee lying at the spring Frogs a little below the Turkey town, claiming it because it lay within the Creek territory & the big warrior of the Creeks said every drop of water in the Coosa below Hightower belonged to them. when the Cherokees was called on in behalf of Blackburn to make compensation for the Robbery, they excused themselves by saying the Creeks was the owners of the land & could do as they pleased in their own country—Blackburn had hired James Phife to freight the liquor from the spring Frog down, it being by the two Nations understood that place was the line. . . . .

Fry. 28 Colonel Barnett set out to ride a short way down the river, & perhaps to overtake and see how the surveyor was progressing.

August, 1815.

Fry. 18 last night Majr. John Strother departed this life intered to day. Wrote letters to Mrs. McClellan, Mrs. Lackhart, and Colo. Wm. Barnett, & dispatched W. Craton to Huntsville. Craton left in the garrison two Tent cloths & covers, 1 sheet & four blankets—2 boxes 2 tin pans, 2 tin bucketts, 2 Bridles & 2 pack saddles wantees (?) &c. 1 tomahawk, 1 frying pan, candles & soap salt & bacon & 1 bag flour, the ax left at Stephen Hawkins.

Tues. 22 Very warm, nothing extraordinary. The mail came into this place yesterday and went out on return today, it being the case weekly. . . . .

Fry. 25 Myself & Colo. Barnett rode out to the conjunction of Coosa & Tallapoosa. . . . .

Heard a Mr. Christy (Methodist minister) preach a sermon in Mr. Ross's house.



Sat. 26    Some unwell with pain in my back. . . . .  
 pain in my back.

September, 1815.

Fry. 1 day & very warm.    Entertained an old Indian fellow  
 & his wife of the Curstaw (?) tribe today & yesterday.

Sat. 2    Very warm day.

Sun. 3    Very warm day.

Mon. 4    Sent on a letter to M. D. Willson a lawyer    Sent on a  
 letter to Rutha Sparks.

Tues. 5    Cool pleasant morning.

Wed. 6    Nothing extraordinary.

Thurs. 7    Set out for Tookabatchee.    Went about two & a  
 half miles & Crossed at Rosses on Tellipposa river.    Good land  
 on the river after crossing we traveled through pretty good  
 level land, and tolerably watered & Lodged at an old village  
 (evacuated) 12 miles from F. Jackson

Fry. 8    We traveled through several villages for about 8 miles  
 distance to Simmonse's & eat & let our horses feed; this place is 3/4  
 of a mile from the ofuchsee Creek & two miles from its conjunc-  
 tion with the Talapoosa.    We then traveled along the mail  
 public road to B. Hawkins old place & then, turned off towards  
 Fort Decatur—very good land. in Simmonses neighborhood  
 for 4 or 5 miles square on the east side of the creek.    After crossing  
 this creek we came to the next two miles distance called (?)  
 Creek at the mouth Genl. Floyd had a bottle We lodged at (?)  
 Creek T. 18 miles.

Sat. 9    Dicky Brown very sick—We started late & traveled  
 miles to                    there is some tolerable land on Culluba (?)  
 Creek & about Hawkins old place, but between that & other see  
 (?) the land is sandy, poor, & the growth long leaf pine.

These were the last scraps of his pen.—yes, that arm that so  
 often drew the sword in defense of his country has long mouldered  
 in the soil of a sister State and Tennessee does not now know  
 where the mortal remains of Gen. John Sevier lies.    Feb. 1844.  
 Port Gibson, Sept. 20, 1871.

The above was the last of my grandfather's journal who died  
 in the Government service when running the boundary line in the  
 Creek Nation.

GEO. W. SEVIER.

Genl. John Sevier died in September, 1815. His remains  
 are near Fort Decatur, Ala.

## CHAPTER 29.

Andrew Jackson—Results arising from his death—  
Oration of George Bancroft, Secretary of the  
Navy, June 27, 1845, at Washington, D. C.

Eight years and three months elapsed between the end of Jackson's term as President on March 4, 1837, when he had arrived at the age of seventy years, and his death on June 8, 1845, at the age of seventy-eight, and during this period he lived in retirement at the Hermitage. This period of retirement softened some of the old animosity against him and antagonisms that at one time were rampant, became in a measure quiescent or disappeared altogether. His lot was enviable from almost any standpoint except that of his health, which was continually bad and grew worse down to the end. His fame had reached every civilized land. Public opinion desired his views on national questions. His influence over American voters was profound. His dignified retirement, his far-reaching fame and his great services to his country, clothed him in the minds of the people with the virtues of the sage, the patriotism of the statesmen and the philanthropy of the lover of the masses of mankind. Men who never saw him felt a personal loss in his death, and the phenomenon will bear referring to time and again, that, unlike the fate of political leaders generally, he left public office as popular as when he entered it. This unbroken devotion on the part of the nation is one of the wonderful facts of history, and gives testimony for Jackson with a strength and force that was never given for any other man, Washington possibly excepted.

Orations, addresses, editorials and estimates of him, of course came out in profusion on his death, and the greater part of it was eulogistic and some of it even affectionate; demonstrations of respect in every city of any size in the land were made and leading men extolled him before the people. George Bancroft delivered a eulogy in Washington City, June 27, 1845: Vice-President George M. Dallas, in Philadelphia, Pa., June 26; Benjamin

F. Butler, at one time Attorney General of the United States, in New York, on June 24; John Van Buren, son of Martin Van Buren, and Attorney General of the State of New York, at Albany, N. Y., on June 30; Honorable Francis R. Shunk, Governor of Pennsylvania, at Harrisburg, on July 24; Andrew Stevenson, at one time Speaker of the House of Representatives, at Richmond, Va., on June 28; Jeremiah George Harris, of Tennessee, at Charlotte, Tenn., on July 17; these are some of the prominent eulogists.

The eulogy of George Bancroft was one of the most carefully prepared of them all. Bancroft was always equal to the occasion. He never disappointed in his public functions and utterances. He was a son of Massachusetts and it is remarkable that through a long and distinguished life he constantly came in touch with the people of the South in a way that has led them to hold his personal as well as his literary memory in the kindest esteem and veneration.

#### EULOGY OF GEORGE BANCROFT, SECRETARY OF THE NAVY.

"The men of the American Revolution are no more! That age of creative power has passed away. The last surviving signer of the Declaration of Independence has long since left the earth. Washington lies near his own Potomac, surrounded by his family and servants. Adams, the Colossus of Independence, reposes in the modest grave-yard of his native region. Jefferson sleeps on the heights of his own Monticello, whence his eye overlooked his beloved Virginia. Madison, the last survivor of the men who made our constitution, lives only in our hearts. But who shall say that the heroes, in whom the image of God shone most brightly, do not live forever? They were filled with the vast conceptions which called America into being; they lived for those conceptions, and their deeds praise them.

"We are met to commemorate the virtues of one who shed his blood for our independence, took part in winning the territory and forming the early institutions of the West, and was imbued with all the great ideas which constitute the moral force of our country. On the spot where he gave his solemn fealty to the people, here, where he pledged himself before the world, to freedom, to the constitution, and to the laws, we meet to pay our tribute to the memory of the last great name, which gathers round itself all the associations that form the glory of America.

"South Carolina gave a birthplace to Andrew Jackson. On its remote frontier, far up on the forest-clad banks of the Catawba, in a region where the settlers were just beginning to cluster, his eye first saw the light. There his infancy sported in the ancient forests, and his mind was nursed to freedom by their influence.

He was the youngest son of an Irish emigrant of Scottish origin, who, two years after the great war of Frederick of Prussia, fled to America for relief from indigence and oppression. His birth was in 1767, at a time when the people of our land were but a body of dependent colonists, scarcely more than two millions in number, scattered along an immense coast, with no army, no navy, or union, and exposed to the attempts of England to control America by the aid of military force. His boyhood grew up in the midst of the contest with Great Britain. The first great political truth that reached his heart was, that all men are free and equal; the first great fact that beamed on his understanding was his country's independence.

"The strife, as it increased, came near the shades of his own upland residence. As a boy of thirteen, he witnesses the scenes of horror that accompany civil war; and when but a year older, with an elder brother, he shouldered his musket, and went forth to strike a blow for his country.

"Joyous era for America and for humanity! But for him, the orphan boy, the events were full of agony and grief. His father was no more. His oldest brother fell a victim to the War of the Revolution; another (his companion in arms) died of wounds received in their joint captivity; his mother went to the grave a victim to grief and efforts to rescue her sons; and when peace came, he was alone in the world, with no kindred to cherish him, and little inheritance but his own untried powers.

"The nation which emancipated itself from British rule organizes itself; the federation gives way to the constitution; the perfecting of that constitution—that grand event of the thousand years of modern history—is accomplished! America exists as a people, gains unity as a government, and takes its place as a nation among the powers of the earth.

"The next great office to be performed by America is the taking possession of the wilderness. The magnificent western valley cried out to the civilization of popular power, that it must be occupied by cultivated man.

"Behold, then, our orphan hero, sternly earnest, consecrated to humanity from childhood by sorrow, having neither father, nor mother, nor sister, nor surviving brother; so young, and yet so solitary, and, therefore, bound the more closely to collective man—behold him elect for his lot, to go forth and assist in laying the foundations of society in the great valley of the Mississippi.

"At the very time when Washington was pledging his own and future generations to the support of the popular institutions which were to be the light of the human race, at the time when the institutions of the Old World were rocking to their centre, and the mighty fabric that had come down from the middle ages was falling in, the adventurous Jackson, in the radiant glory and boundless hope and confident intrepidity of twenty-one, plunged into the wilderness, crossed the great mountain barrier that divides the



western waters from the Atlantic, followed the paths of the early hunters and fugitives, and, not content with the nearer neighbourhood of his parent State, went still further and further to the west, till he found his home in the most beautiful region on the Cumberland. There, from the first, he was recognized as the great pioneer; under his courage, the coming emigrants were sure to find a shield.

"The lovers of adventure began to pour themselves into the territory, whose delicious climate and fertile soil invited the presence of social man. The hunter, with his rifle and his ax, attended by his wife and children; the herdsman, driving the few cattle that were to multiply as they browsed; the cultivator of the soil—all came to the inviting region. Wherever the bending mountains opened a pass; wherever the buffaloes and the beasts of the forest had made a trace, these sons of nature, children of humanity, in the highest sentiment of personal freedom, came to occupy the beautiful wilderness whose prairies blossomed everywhere profusely with wild flowers; whose woods in springtime put to shame, by their magnificence, the cultivated gardens of man.

"And now that these unlettered fugitives, educated only by the spirit of freedom, destitute of dead letter erudition, but sharing the living ideas of the age, had made their homes in the west, what would follow? Would they degrade themselves to ignorance and infidelity? Would they make the solitudes of the desert excuses for licentiousness? Would the doctrines of freedom lead them to live in unorganized society, destitute of laws and fixed institutions?

"At a time when European society was becoming broken in pieces, scattered, disunited, and resolved into its elements, a scene ensued in Tennessee, than which nothing more beautifully grand is recorded in the annals of the race.

"These adventurers in the wilderness longed to come together in organized society. The overshadowing genius of their time inspired them with good designs, and filled them with the counsels of wisdom. Dwellers in the forest, freest of the free, bound in the spirit, they came up by their representatives, on foot, on horseback, through the forest, along the streams, by the buffalo traces, by the Indian paths, by the blazed forest avenues, to meet in convention among the mountains at Knoxville, and frame for themselves a constitution. Andrew Jackson was there, the greatest man of them all, modest, bold, determined, demanding nothing for himself, and shrinking from nothing that his heart approved.

"The convention came together on the 11th day of January, 1796, and finished its work on the 6th day of February. How had the wisdom of the Old World vainly tasked itself to frame constitutions, that could, at least, be the subject of experiment! the men of Tennessee, in less than twenty-five days, perfected a fabric, which, in its essential forms, was to last forever. They came together full of faith and reverence, of love to humanity, of confidence in truth. In the simplicity of wisdom, they framed

their constitution, acting under higher influences than they were conscious of.

"They wrought in sad sincerity,  
Themselves from God they could not free;  
They builded better than they knew;  
The conscious stones to beauty grew.

"In the instrument which they framed, they embodied their faith in God, in the immortal nature of man. They gave the right of suffrage to every freeman: they vindicated the sanctity of reason, by giving freedom of speech and of the press; they revered the voice of God, as it speaks in the soul of man, by asserting the indefeasible right of man to worship the Infinite according to his conscience; they established the freedom and equality of elections; and they demanded from every future legislator a solemn oath 'never to consent to any act or thing whatever, that shall have even a tendency to lessen the rights of the people.'

"These majestic law-givers, wiser than the Solons and Lycurguses and Numa of the Old World, these prophetic founders of a state, who embodied in their constitution the sublimest truths of humanity, acted without reference to human praises.

"They kept no special record of their doings: they took no pains to vaunt their deeds: and when their work was done, knew not that they had finished one of the sublimest acts ever performed among men. They left no record as to whose agency was conspicuous, whose eloquence swayed, whose generous will predominated; nor should we know, but for tradition, confirmed by what followed among themselves.

"The men of Tennessee were now a people, and they were to send forth a man to stand for them in the Congress of the United States, that avenue to glory, that home of eloquence, the citadel of popular power; and, with one consent, they united in selecting the foremost man among their lawgivers, Andrew Jackson.

"The love of the people of Tennessee followed him to the American Congress, and he had served but a single term, when the State of Tennessee made him one of its representatives in the American Senate, where he sat under the auspices of Jefferson.

Thus, when he was scarcely more than thirty, he had guided the settlement of the wilderness; swayed the deliberation of a people in establishing its fundamental laws; acted as the representative of that people, and again as the representative of his organized State, disciplined to a knowledge of the power of the people, and the power of States; the associate of republican statesmen, the friend and companion of Jefferson.

"The men who framed the constitution of the United States, many of them, did not know of the innate life and self-preserving energy of their work. They feared that freedom could not endure, and they planned a strong government for its protection.

"During his short career in Congress, Jackson showed his quiet, deeply seated, innate, intuitive faith in human freedom, and in the institutions of freedom. He was ever, by his votes and opinions, found among those who had confidence in humanity; and in the great divisions of minds this child of the woodlands, this representative of forest life in the west, was found modestly and firmly on the side of freedom. It did not occur to him to doubt the right of man to the free development of his powers; it did not occur to him to seek to give durability to popular institutions, by giving to government a strength independent of popular will.

"From the first, he was attached to the fundamental doctrines of popular power and of the policy that favors it; and though his reverence for Washington surpassed his reverence for any human being, he voted against the address from the House of Representatives to Washington on his retirement, because its language appeared to sanction the financial policy which he believed hostile to republican freedom.

"During his period of service in the Senate, Jackson was elected major-general by the brigadiers and field officers of the militia of Tennessee. Resigning his place in the Senate, he was made judge of the supreme court in law and equity; such was the confidence in his integrity of purpose, his clearness of judgment, and his vigor of will to deal justly among the turbulent who crowded into the new settlements of Tennessee.

"Thus, in the short period of nine years, Andrew Jackson was signalized by as many evidences of public esteem as could fall to the lot of man. The pioneer of the wilderness, the defender of its stations, he was their lawgiver, the sole representative of a new people in Congress, the representative of the State in the Senate, the highest in military command, the highest in judicial office. He seemed to be recognized as their first love of liberty, the first in the science of legislation, in judgment and integrity.

"Fond of private life, he would have resigned the judicial office, but the whole country demanded his service. 'Nature,' they cried, 'never designed that your powers of thought and independence of mind should be lost in retirement.' But after a few years, relieving himself from the cares of the bench, he gave himself to the activity and the independent life of a husbandman. He carried into retirement the fame of natural intelligence, and was cherished as 'a prompt, frank and ardent soul.' His vigor of character constituted him first among all with whom he associated. A private man as he was, his name was familiarly spoken round every hearthstone in Tennessee. Men loved to discuss his qualities. All discerned his power; and when the vehemence and impetuosity of his nature were observed upon, there were not wanting those who saw, beneath the blazing fires of his genius, the solidity of his judgment.

"His hospitable roof sheltered the emigrant and the pioneer, and as they made their way to their new homes, they filled the mountain sides and valleys with his praise.

"Connecting himself, for a season, with a man of business, Jackson soon discerned the misconduct of his associate. It marked his character, that he insisted, himself, on paying every obligation that had been contracted; and rather than endure the vassalage of debt, he instantly parted with the rich domain which his early enterprise had acquired, with his own mansion, with his fields which he himself had first tamed to the ploughshare, with the forest whose trees were as familiar to him as his friends, and chose, rather to dwell, for a time, in a rude log cabin, in the pride of independence and integrity.

"On all great occasions, Jackson's influence was deferred to. When Jefferson had acquired for the country the whole of Louisiana, and there seemed some hesitancy, on the part of Spain to acknowledge our possession, the services of Jackson were solicited by the national administration, and were not called into full exercise only from the peaceful termination of the incidents that occasioned the summons.

"In the long series of aggressions on the freedom of the seas and the rights of the American flag, Jackson was on the side of his country, and the new maritime code of republicanism. In his inland home, where the roar of the breakers was never heard, and the mariner was never seen, he resented the continued aggression on our commerce and on our sailors.

"When the continuance of wrong compelled the nation to resort to arms, Jackson, led by the instinctive knowledge of his own greatness, yet with a modesty that would have honoured the most sensitive delicacy of nature, confessed his willingness to be employed on the Canada frontier; and it is a fact, that he aspired to the command to which Winchester was appointed. We may ask, what would have been the result, if the command of the northwestern army had at the opening of the war, been intrusted to a man who, in action was ever so fortunate, that his vehement will seemed to have made destiny capitulate to his designs?

"The path of duty led him in another direction. On the declaration of war, twenty-five hundred volunteers had risen at his word to follow his standard; but by countermanding orders from the seat of government, the movement was without effect.

"A new and great danger hung over the West. The Indian tribes were to make one last effort to restore it to its solitude and recover it for savage life. The brave, relentless Shawnees who, from time immemorial, had strolled from the waters of the Ohio to the rivers of Alabama, were animated by Tecumseh and his brother the Prophet, who spoke to them as with the voice of the Great Spirit, and aroused the Creek nation to desperate massacres. Who has not heard of their terrible deeds, when



their ruthless cruelty spared neither sex nor age? When the infant and its mother, the planter and his family, who had fled for refuge to the fortress, the garrison that capitulated, all were slain, and not a vestige of defence was left in the country? The cry of the West demanded Jackson for its defender; and though his arm was then fractured by a ball, and hung in a sling, he placed himself at the head of the volunteers of Tennessee, and resolved to terminate forever the hereditary struggle.

"Who can tell the horrors of that campaign? Who can paint rightly the obstacles which Jackson overcame, mountains, the scarcity of untenanted forests, winter, the failures of supplies from the settlements, the insubordination of troops, mutiny, menaces of desertion? Who can measure the wonderful power over men, by which his personal prowess and attractive energy drew them in midwinter from their homes, across mountains and morasses, and through trackless deserts? Who can describe the personal heroism of Jackson, never sparing himself, beyond any of his men, encountering toil and fatigue, sharing every labour of the camp and of the march, foremost in every danger, giving up his horse to the invalid soldier, while he himself waded through the swamps on foot? None equalled him in the power of endurance; and the private soldiers, as they found him passing them on the march, exclaimed, 'He is as tough as hickory.' 'Yes,' they cried to one another, 'there goes Old Hickory.'

"Who cannot narrate the terrible events of the double battles of Emucklaw, or the glorious victory of Tohopeka, where the anger of the general against the faltering was more appalling than the war-whoop and rifle of the savage? Who can rightly conceive the field of Enotchopco, where the general, as he attempted to draw the sword to cut down a flying colonel who was leading a regiment from the field, broke again the arm which was but newly knit together; and quietly replacing it in the sling, with his commanding voice arrested the flight of the troops, and himself led them back to victory!

"In six short months of vehement action, the most terrible Indian war in our annals was brought to a close; the prophets were silenced; the consecrated region of the Creek nation reduced. Through scenes of blood, the avenging hero sought only the path to peace. Thus Alabama, a part of Mississippi, a part of his own Tennessee, and the highway to the Floridas, were his gifts to the Union. These were his trophies.

"Genius as extraordinary as military events can call forth, was summoned into action in this rapid, efficient and most fortunately conducted war.

"Time would fail were I to track our hero down the water-courses of Alabama to the neighborhood of Pensacola? How he longed to plant the eagle of his country on its battlements!

"Time would fail, and words be wanting, were I to dwell on the magical influence of his appearance in New Orleans. His

presence dissipated gloom and dispelled alarm; at once he changed the aspect of despair into a confidence of security and a hope of acquiring glory. Every man knows the tale of the heroic, sudden, and yet deliberate daring which led him, on the night of the 23rd of December, to precipitate his little army on his foes, in the thick darkness, before they grew familiar with their encampment, scattering dismay through veteran regiments of England, and defeating them, and arresting their progress by a far inferior force.

"Who shall recount the counsels of prudence, the kindling words of eloquence that gushed from his lips to cheer his soldiers, his skirmishes and battles, till that eventful morning when the day at Bunker's Hill had its fulfillment in the glorious battle of New Orleans, and American independence stood before the world in the majesty of victorious power.

"These were great deeds for the nation; for himself he did a greater. Had not Jackson been renowned for the vehement impetuosity of his passions, for his defiance of others' authority, and the unbending vigor of his self-will? Behold the saviour of Louisiana, all garlanded with victory, viewing around him the city he had preserved, the maidens and children whom his heroism had protected, stand in the presence of a petty judge, who gratifies his wounded vanity by an abuse of his judicial power. Every breast in the crowded audience heaves with indignation. He, the passionate, the impetuous, he whose power was to be humbled, whose honor questioned, whose laurels tarnished, alone stood, sublimely serene; and when the craven judge trembled and faltered, and dared not proceed, himself, the arraigned one, bade him take courage, and stood by the law even in the moment when the law was made the instrument of insult and wrong on himself, at the moment of his most perfect claim to the highest civic honors.

"His country, when it grew to hold many more millions, the generation that then was coming in, has risen up to do homage to the noble heroism of that hour. Woman, whose feeling is always right, did honor from the first to the purity of his heroism. The people of Louisiana, to the latest hour, will cherish his name as their greatest benefactor.

"The culture of Jackson's mind had been much promoted by his services and associates in the war. His discipline of himself as the chief in command; his intimate relations with men like Livingston; the wonderful deeds in which he bore a part; all matured his judgment and mellowed his character.

"Peace came with its delights; once more the country rushed forward in the development of its powers; once more the arts of industry healed the wounds that war had inflicted; and, from commerce and agriculture and manufactures, wealth gushed abundantly under the free activity of unrestrained enterprise.

"And Jackson returned to his own fields and his own pursuits, to cherish his plantation, to care for his servants, to look after his stud, to enjoy the affection of the most kind and devoted wife, whom he respected with the gentlest deference, and loved with an almost miraculous tenderness.

"And there he stood like one of the mightiest forest trees of his own west, vigorous and colossal, sending its summit to the skies, and growing on its native soil in wild and inimitable magnificence, careless of beholders. From all parts of the country he received appeals to his political ambition, and the severe modesty of his well-balanced mind turned them all aside. He was happy in his farm, happy in seclusion, happy in his family, happy within himself.

"But the passions of the southern Indians were not allayed by the peace with Great Britain; and foreign emissaries were still among them, to inflame and direct their malignity. Jackson was called forth by his country to restrain the cruelty of the treacherous and unsparing Seminoles. It was in the train of the events of this war that he placed the American eagle on St. Marks, and above the ancient towers of St. Augustine. His deeds in that war, of themselves, form a monument to human power, to the celerity of this genius, to the creative fertility of his resources, his intuitive sagacity. As Spain, in his judgment, had committed aggression, he would have emancipated her islands; of the Havana, he caused the reconnoissance to be made; and, with an army of five thousand men, he stood ready to guaranty her redemption from colonial thralldom.

"But when peace was restored, and his office was accomplished, his physical strength sunk under the pestilential influence of the climate, and, fast yielding to disease he was borne in a litter across the swamps of Florida, towards his home. It was Jackson's character that he never solicited aid from any one; but he never forgot those who rendered him service in the hour of need. At a time when all around him believed him near his end, his wife hastened to his side, and, by her tenderness and nursing care, her patient assiduity, and the soothing influence of devoted love, withheld him from the grave.

"He would have remained quietly at his home in repose, but that he was privately informed his good name was to be attained by some intended congressional proceedings. He came, therefore, into the presence of the people's representatives at Washington, only to vindicate his name; and when that was achieved, he was once more communing with his own thoughts among the groves of the Hermitage.

"It was not his own ambition which brought him again to the public view. The affection of Tennessee compelled him to resume a seat on the floor of the American Senate, and, after years of the intensest political strife, Andrew Jackson was elected President of the United States.



"Far from advancing his own pretensions, he always kept them back, and had for years repressed the solicitations of his friends to become a candidate. He felt sensibly that he was devoid of scientific culture, and little familiar with letters; and he never obtruded his opinions, or preferred claims to place. But, whenever his opinion was demanded, he was always ready to pronounce it; and whenever his country invoked his services, he did not shrink even from the station which had been filled by the most cultivated men our nation had produced.

"Behold, then, the unlettered man of the West, the nurseling of the wilds, the farmer of the Hermitage, little versed in books, unconnected by science with the tradition of the past, raised by the will of the people to the highest pinnacle of honor, to the central post in the civilization of republican freedom, to the station where all the nations of the earth would watch his actions, where his words would vibrate through the civilized world, and his spirit be the moving star to guide the nations. What policy will he pursue? What wisdom will he bring with him from the forest? What rules of duty will he evolve from the oracles of his own mind?

"The man of the West came as the inspired prophet of the West; he came as one free from the bonds of hereditary or established custom; he came with no superior but conscience, no oracle but his native judgment; and, true to his origin and his education, true to the conditions and circumstances of his advancement, he valued right more than usage; he reverted from the pressure of established interests to the energy of first principles.

"We tread on ashes where the fire is not yet extinguished; yet not to dwell on his career as president, were to leave out of view the grandest illustrations of his magnanimity.

"The legislation of the United States had followed the precedents of the legislation of European monarchies; it was the office of Jackson to lift the country out of the European forms of legislation, and to open to it a career resting on American sentiment and American freedom. He would have freedom everywhere, freedom under the restraints of right; freedom of industry, of commerce, of mind; of universal action; freedom, unshackled by restrictive privileges, unrestrained by the thralldom of monopolies.

"The unity of his mind and his consistency were without a parallel. With natural dialectics, he developed the political doctrines that suited every emergency, with the precision and a harmony that no theorist could hope to equal. On every subject in politics—I speak but a fact—he was thoroughly and profoundly and immovably radical; and would sit for hours, and in a continued flow of remarks, make the application of his principles to every question that could arise in legislation, or in the interpretation of the constitution.



"His expression of himself was so clear that his influence pervaded not our land only, but all America and all mankind. They say that, in the physical world, the magnetic fluid is so diffused that its vibrations are discernible simultaneously in every part of the globe. So it is with the elements of freedom. And as Jackson developed its doctrines from their source in the mind of humanity, the popular sympathy was moved and agitated throughout the world, till his name grew everywhere to be the symbol of popular power.

"Himself the witness of the ruthlessness of savage life, he planned the removal of the Indian tribes beyond the limits of the organized States; and it is the result of his determined policy that the region east of the Mississippi has been transferred to the exclusive possession of cultivated man.

"A pupil of the wilderness, his heart was with the pioneers of American life towards the setting sun. No American statesman has ever embraced within his affections a scheme so liberal for the emigrants as that of Jackson. He longed to secure to them, not pre-emption rights only, but more than pre-emption rights. He longed to invite labour to take possession of the unoccupied fields without money and without price; with no obligation except the perpetual devotion of itself by allegiance to its country. Under the beneficent influence of his opinions, the sons of misfortune, the children of adventure, find their way to the uncultivated West. There, in some wilderness glade, or in the thick forest or the fertile plain, or where the prairies most sparkle with flowers, they, like the wild bee which sets them the example of industry, may choose their home, mark the extent of their possessions by driving stakes or blazing trees, shelter their log-cabin with the boughs and turf, and teach the virgin soil to yield itself to the ploughshare. Theirs shall be the soil, theirs the beautiful farms which they teach to be productive. Come, children of sorrow! you on whom the Old World frowns; crowd fearlessly to the forests; plant your homes in confidence, for the country watches over you; your children grow around you as hostages, and the wilderness, at your bidding, surrenders its grandeur of useless luxuriance to the beauty and loveliness of culture. Yet, beautiful and lovely as is this scene, it still by far falls short of the ideal which lived in the affections of Jackson. His heart was ever with the pioneer, his policy ever favoured the diffusion of independent freeholds throughout the labouring classes of our land.

"It would be a sin against the occasion, were I to omit to commemorate the deep devotedness of Jackson to the cause and to the rights of labour. It was for the welfare of the labouring classes that he defied all the storms of political hostility. He longed to secure to labour the fruits of its own industry; and he unceasingly opposed every system which tended to lessen their reward, or which exposed them to be defrauded of their dues.

The labourers may bend over his grave with affectionate sorrow; for never, in the tide of time, did a statesman exist more heartily resolved to protect them in their rights, and to advance their happiness. For their benefit, he opposed partial legislation; for their benefits, he resisted all artificial methods of controlling labour, and subjecting it to capital. It was for their benefit that he loved freedom in all its forms, freedom of the individual in personal independence, freedom of the States as separate sovereignties. He never would listen to counsels which tended to the centralization of power. The true American system presupposes the diffusion of freedom, organized life in all the parts of the American body politic, as there is organized life in every part of the human system. Jackson was deaf to every counsel which sought to subject general labour to a central will. His vindication of the just principles of the constitution derived its sublimity from his deep conviction that this strict construction is required by the lasting welfare of the great labouring classes of the United States.

"To this end, Jackson revived the tribunicial power of the veto, and exerted it against the decisive action of both branches of Congress, against the votes, the wishes, the entreaties of personal and political friends. 'Show me,' was his reply to them, 'show me an express clause in the constitution authorizing Congress to take the business of State legislatures out of their hands.' 'You will ruin us all,' cried a firm partisan friend, 'you will ruin your party and your own prospects.' 'Providence,' answered Jackson, 'will take care of me,' and he persevered.

"In proceeding to discharge the debt of the United States, a measure thoroughly American, Jackson followed the example of his predecessors; but he followed it with the full consciousness that he was rescuing the country from the artificial system of finance which had prevailed throughout the world, and with him it formed a part of a system by which American legislation was to separate itself more and more effectually from European precedents, and develop itself more and more, according to the vital principles of our political existence.

"The discharge of the debt brought with it, of necessity, a great reduction of the public burdens, and brought, of necessity, into view, the question how far America should follow, of choice, the old restrictive system of high duties, under which Europe had oppressed America; or how far she should rely on her own freedom and enterprise and power, defying the competition and seeking the markets and receiving the products of the world.

"The mind of Jackson, on this subject, reasoned clearly, and without passion. In the abuses of the system of revenue by excessive imposts, he saw evils which the public mind would remedy; and, inclining with the whole might of his energetic nature to the side of revenue duties, he made his earnest but tranquil appeal to the judgment of the people.

"The portions of country that suffered most severely from a system of legislation, which, in its extreme character as it then existed, is now universally acknowledged to have been unequal and unjust, were less tranquil; and rallying on the doctrines of freedom, which made our government a limited one, they saw in the oppressive acts an assumption of power which was nugatory, because it was exercised, as they held, without authority from the people.

"The contest that ensued was the most momentous in our annals. The greatest minds of America engaged in the discussion. Eloquence never achieved sublimer triumphs in the American Senate, than on those occasions. The country became deeply divided; and the antagonist elements were arrayed against each other under forms of clashing authority, menacing civil war; the freedom of the several States was invoked against the power of the United States, and under the organization of a State in convention, the reserved rights of the people were summoned to display their energy, and balance the authority and neutralize the legislation of the central government. The States were agitated with prolonged excitement; the friends of freedom throughout the world looked on with divided sympathies, praying that the union of the States might be perpetual, and also that the commerce of the world might be free.

"Fortunately for the country, and fortunately for mankind, Andrew Jackson was at the helm of state, the representative of the principles that were to allay excitement, and to restore the hopes of peace and freedom. By nature, by impulse, by education, by conviction, a friend to personal freedom—by education, political sympathies, and the fixed habit of his mind, a friend to the rights of the States—unwilling that the liberty of the States should be trampled under foot—unwilling that the constitution should lose its vigor or be impaired, he rallied for the constitution: and in its name he published to the world, 'THE UNION: It must be preserved.' The words were a spell to hush evil passion, and to remove oppression. Under his guiding influence, the favoured interests, which had struggled to perpetuate unjust legislation, yielded to the voice of moderation and reform; and every mind that had for a moment contemplated a rupture of the States, discarded it forever. The whole influence of the past was invoked in favour of the constitution, from the council chambers of the fathers who moulded our institutions, from the hall where American independence was declared, the clear loud cry was uttered—"The Union: It must be preserved." From every battlefield of the Revolution, from Lexington and Bunker Hill, from Saratoga and Yorktown, from the fields of Eutaw, from the cane-brakes that sheltered the men of Marion, the repeated, long-prolonged echoes came up—"The Union: It must be preserved." From every valley in our land, from every cabin on the pleasant mountain sides, from the ships at our wharves, from the tents of the hunter in our western-



most prairies, from the living minds of the living millions of American freemen, from the thickly coming glories of futurity, the shout went up like the sound of many waters, 'The Union: It must be preserved.' The friends of the protective system, and they who had denounced the protective system, the statesmen of the north, that had wounded the constitution in their love of centralism, the statesmen of the south, whose minds had carried to its extreme the theory of State rights, all conspired together; all breathed prayers for the perpetuity of the Union. Under the prudent firmness of Jackson, under the mixture of justice and general regard for all interests, the greatest danger to our institutions was turned aside, and mankind was encouraged to believe that our Union, like our freedom, is imperishable.

"The moral of the great events of those days is this: that the people can discern right, and will make their way to a knowledge of right, that the whole human mind, and therefore with it the mind of the nation, has a continuous, ever improving existence; that the appeal from the unjust legislation of to-day must be made quietly, earnestly, perseveringly, to the more enlightened collective reason of tomorrow; that submission is due to the popular will, in the confidence that the people when in error, will amend their doings; that in a popular government, injustice is neither to be established by force, nor to be resisted by force; in a word, that the Union, which was constituted by consent, must be preserved by love.

"It rarely falls to the happy lot of a statesman to receive such unanimous applause from the heart of a nation. Duty to the dead demands, that, on this occasion, the course of measures should not pass unnoticed, in the progress of which, his vigor of character most clearly appeared, and his conflict with opposing parties was most violent and protracted.

"From his home in Tennessee, Jackson came to the Presidency resolved to lift American legislation out of the forms of English legislation, and to place our laws on the currency in harmony with the principles of our government. He came to the presidency of the United States resolved to deliver the government from the Bank of the United States, and to restore the regulation of exchanges to the rightful depository of that power—the commerce of the country. He had designed to declare his views on this subject in his inaugural address, but was persuaded to relinquish that purpose, on the ground that it belonged rather to a legislative message. When the period for addressing Congress drew near, it was still urged that to attack the bank would forfeit his popularity and secure his future defeat. 'It is not', he answered, 'it is not for myself that I care.' It was urged that haste was unnecessary, as the Bank had still six unexpended years of chartered existence. 'I may die,' he replied, 'before another Congress comes together, and I could not rest quietly in my grave, if I failed to do what I hold so essential to the liberty of my country.' And his first



annual message announced to the country that the Bank was neither constitutional nor expedient. In this he was in advance of the friends about him, in advance of Congress, and in advance of his party. This is no time for the analysis of measures, of the discussion of questions of political economy: on the present occasion, we have to contemplate the character of the man.

"Never, from the first moment of his administration to the last, was there a calm in the strife of parties on the subject of the currency; and never, during the whole period, did he recede or falter. Always in advance of his party, always having near him friends who cowered before the hardihood of his courage, he himself, throughout all the contest, was unmoved, from the first suggestion of the unconstitutionality of the bank, to the moment when he himself, first of all, reasoning from the certain tendency of its policy, with singular sagacity predicted to unbelieving friends, the coming insolvency of the institution.

"The storm throughout the country rose with unexampled vehemence; his opponents were not satisfied with addressing the public or Congress, or his cabinet; they threw their whole force personally on him. From all parts men pressed around him, urging him, entreating him to bend. Congress was flexible; many of his personal friends faltered; the impetuous swelling wave rolled on, without one sufficient obstacle, till it reached his presence; but, as it dashed in its highest fury at his feet, it broke before his firmness. The commanding majesty of his will appalled his opponents and revived his friends. He, himself, had a proud consciousness that his will was indomitable. Standing over the rocks of the Rip Raps, and looking out upon the ocean, 'Providence,' said he to a friend, 'Providence may change my determination; but man no more can do it than he can remove these Rip Raps, which have resisted the rolling ocean from the beginning of time.' And though a panic was spreading through the land, and the whole credit system, as it then existed, was crumbling to pieces and crashing around him, he stood erect, like a massive column, which the heaps of falling ruins could not break, nor bend, nor sway from its fixed foundation. (At this point Mr. Bancroft turned to address the Mayor of the City of Washington, but, finding him not present, he proceeded).

"People of the District of Columbia:—I should fail of a duty on this occasion, if I did not give utterance to your sentiment of gratitude which followed General Jackson into retirement. Dwelling amongst you, he desired your prosperity. This beautiful city, surrounded by heights the most attractive, watered by a river so magnificent, the home of the gentle and the cultivated, not less than the seat of political power—this city, whose site Washington had selected, was dear to his affections, and if he won your grateful attachment by adorning it with monuments of useful architecture, by establishing its credits, and relieving its burdens, he regretted only that he had not the opportunity

to have connected himself still more intimately with your prosperity.

"As he prepared to take his final leave of the district, the mass of the population of this city, and the masses that had gathered from around, followed his carriage in crowds. All in silence stood near him, to wish him adieu; and as the cars started, and he displayed his gray hairs, as he lifted his hat in token of farewell, you stood around with heads uncovered, too full of emotion to speak, in solemn silence gazing on him as he departed, never more to be seen in your midst.

"Behold the warrior and statesman, his work well done, retired to the Hermitage, to hold converse with his forests, to cultivate his farm, to gather around him hospitably his friends! Who was like him? He was still the loadstar of the American people. His fervid thoughts, frankly uttered, still spread the flame of patriotism through the American breast; his counsels were still listened to with reverence; and, almost alone among statesmen, he in his retirement was in harmony with every onward movement of his time. His prevailing influence assisted to sway a neighbouring nation to desire to share our institutions, his ear heard the footsteps of the coming millions that are to gladden our western shores; and his eye discerned in the dim distance the whitening sails that are to enliven the waters of the Pacific with the social sounds of our successful commerce.

"Age had whitened his locks, and dimmed his eye and spread around him the infirmities and venerable emblems of many years of toilsome service; but his heart beat as warmly as in his youth, and his courage was as firm as it had ever been in the day of battle. But while his affections were still for his friends and his country, his thoughts were already in a better world. That exalted mind, which in active life had always had unity of perception and will, which in action had never faltered from doubt, and which in council had always reverted to first principles and general laws, now gave itself up to communing with the Infinite. He was a believer from feeling, from experience, from conviction. Not a shadow of scepticism ever dimmed the lustre of his mind. Proud philosopher, will you smile to know that Andrew Jackson perused reverently his Psalter and Prayer book and Bible? Know that Andrew Jackson had faith in the eternity of truth, in the imperishable power of popular freedom, in the destinies of humanity, in the virtues and capacity of the people, in his country's institutions, in the being and over-ruling providence of a merciful and ever-living God.

"The last moment of his life on earth is at hand. It is the sabbath of the Lord: the brightness and beauty of summer clothe the fields around him; nature is in her glory; but the sublimest spectacle on that day, on earth, was the victory of his unblenching spirit over death itself.

"When he first felt the hand of death upon him, 'May my enemies,' he cried, 'find peace, may the liberties of my country endure forever!'

"When his exhausted system, under the excess of pain, sunk, for a moment, from debility, 'Do not weep,' said he to his adopted daughter; 'my sufferings are less than those of Christ upon the cross;' for he, too, as a disciple of the cross, could have devoted himself, in sorrow, for mankind. Feeling his end near, he would see all his family once more; and he spoke to them, one by one, in words of tenderness and affection. His two little grandchildren were absent at Sunday-school. He asked for them; and as they came, he prayed for them, and kissed them, and blessed them. His servants were then admitted; they gathered, some in his room, and some on the outside of the house, clinging to the windows, that they might gaze and hear. And that dying man, thus surrounded, in a gush of fervid eloquence, spoke with inspiration of God, of the Redeemer, of salvation through the atonement, of immortality, of heaven. For he ever thought that pure and undefiled religion was the foundation of private happiness, and the bulwark of republican institutions. Having spoken of immortality in perfect consciousness of his own approaching end, he bade them all farewell. 'Dear children,' such were his final words, 'dear children, servants and friends, I trust to meet you all in heaven, both white and black—all, both white and black.' And having borne his testimony to immortality, he bowed his mighty head, and, without a groan, the spirit of the greatest man of his age, escaped to the bosom of his God.

"In life, his career had been like the blaze of the sun in the fierceness of its noon-day glory; his death was lovely as the mildest sunset of a summer's evening, when the sun goes down in tranquil beauty without a cloud. To the majestic energy of an indomitable will, he joined a heart capable of the purest and most devoted love, rich in the tenderest affections. On the bloody battlefield of Tohopeka, he saved an infant that clung to the breast of its dying mother: in the stormiest moment of his presidency, at the imminent moment of decision, he paused in his way to give good counsel to a poor suppliant who had come up to him for succor. Of the strife in which he was engaged in his earlier life, not one sprung from himself, but in every case he became involved by standing forth as the champion of the weak, the poor, and the defenceless, to shelter the gentle against oppression, to protect the emigrant against the avarice of the speculator. His generous soul revolted at the barbarous practice of duels, and by no man in the land have so many been prevented.

"The sorrows of those that were near to him went deeply into his soul; and at the anguish of the wife whom he loved, the orphans whom he adopted, he would melt into tears, and weep and sob like a child.

"No man in private life so possessed the hearts of all around him; no public man of this century ever returned to private life with such an abiding mastery over the affections of the people. No man with truer instinct received American ideas; no man expressed them so completely or so boldly or so sincerely. He was as sincere a man as ever lived. He was wholly, always and altogether sincere and true.

"Up to the last, he dared do anything that it was right to do. He united personal courage with moral courage beyond any man of whom history keeps the record. Before the nation, before the world, before coming ages, he stands forth the representative, for his generation, of the American mind. And the secret of his greatness is this: By intuitive conception, he shared and possessed all the creative ideas of his country and his time. He expressed them with dauntless intrepidity; he enforced them with an immovable will; he executed them with an electric power that attracted and swayed the American people. The nation, in his time, had not one great thought, of which he was not the boldest and clearest expositor.

"History does not describe the man that equalled him in firmness of nerve. Not danger, not an army in battle array, not wounds, not wide-spread clamour, not age, not the anguish of disease, could impair in the least degree the vigour of his steadfast mind. The heroes of antiquity would have contemplated with awe the unmatched hardihood of his character; and Napoleon, had he possessed his disinterested will, could never have been vanquished. Jackson never was vanquished. He was always fortunate. He conquered the wilderness; he conquered the savage; he conquered the bravest veterans trained in the battle-fields of Europe; he conquered everywhere in statesmanship; and, when death came to get the mastery over him, he turned that last enemy aside as tranquilly as he had done the feeblest of his adversaries, and escaped from earth in the triumphant consciousness of immortality.

"His body has its fit resting-place in the great central valley of the Mississippi; his spirit rests upon our whole territory; it hovers over the vales of Oregon, and guards in advance the frontier of the Del Norte. The fires of party spirit are quenched at his grave. His faults and frailties have perished. Whatever of good he has done, lives and will live forever."



## “Farewell

---

“He who have traced the pilgrim to the scene  
Which is his last, if in your memories dwell  
A thought which once was his, if on ye swell  
A single recollection, not in vain  
He wore his sandal-shoon and scallop shell.  
Farewell! with him alone may rest the pain  
If such there were---with you the moral of this  
strain.”

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